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Career advancement of women senior academic administrators in Indonesia: supports and challenges

Cecilia Titiek Murniati
University of Iowa

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CAREER ADVANCEMENT OF WOMEN SENIOR ACADEMIC
ADMINISTRATORS IN INDONESIA: SUPPORTS AND CHALLENGES

by

Cecilia Titiek Murniati

An Abstract

Of a thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in
Educational Policy and Leadership Studies
in the Graduate College of The University of Iowa

July 2012

Thesis Supervisors: Associate Professor Christine A. Ogren
Associate Professor Emeritus Scott F. McNabb

ABSTRACT

Increasing numbers of women have gained access to college and the college teaching profession worldwide. However, women continue to be underrepresented in academic, research, and leadership positions. Women who have aspirations for top leadership positions still encounter numerous internal and external challenges. Existent literature on women administrators' career advancement in higher education also has revealed that in order to reach top positions, it is necessary that women leaders utilize available resources and strategies. Studies on women administrators' career advancement have focused primarily on female leaders or professors in Western universities. This study contributes to this scholarly knowledge by adding women leaders' voices from the East. I used a qualitative descriptive approach to investigate how eight women senior academic administrators in two public research universities in Indonesia navigated their way to leadership positions. I collected the data using two to three hours of interviews with each woman during the summer of 2009.

From the interviews, six themes emerged: (a) family is key in these women's efforts to manage tensions between professional and domestic roles, (b) support from the closest individuals was important in balancing the participants' multiple roles, (c) my participants' personal attributes helped them in accomplishing their responsibilities, (d) heavy workloads contributed to women's lack of aspiration to pursue top leadership positions, (e) institutional policies regarding promotion systematically favor men, and (f) women had to work harder to become leaders.

Findings of this study revealed that culture and religious beliefs distinctive to Indonesian contexts can facilitate or hinder women senior academic administrators' career advancement. Reflections of these women suggested that the strong support system in the Javanese culture helps women administrators in balancing their domestic and public roles. Socioeconomic status has affected women's career advancement as well. Women who have the means, resources, and assistance to accomplish their

domestic roles are more likely to focus on their careers. Findings also indicated that women's religious beliefs affected how these women viewed their roles in public and at home and how they balanced their complex roles. All my participants agreed that women's God-given task is to be a mother and a wife. This belief served as a strong foundation as these women navigated their careers. They affirmed that women should not forego and neglect these roles when pursuing their careers. Despite their concern with women's low representation in top leadership positions, they agreed that policies designed solely to increase women's participation are not enough. They concurred that women had to work harder and showed strong determination to become leaders.

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CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

PH.D. THESIS

This is to certify that the Ph.D. thesis of

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To the loving memory of my mother and the enduring love of my father

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background

Literature on women's access to college and employment in higher education worldwide provides evidence that women's participation in higher education has improved (Jacobs, 1996; United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 2012). In the United States, women gained access to higher education as students early in the nineteenth century, although at first their enrollment was evident mostly in vocational schools and women's colleges (Thelin, 2004). Women's share of tertiary enrollment in the United States then improved and reached its peak in the 1930s (Nidiffer, 2001) before it slightly declined. In the 1970s, the percentage of college students who were female began to surpass the rate in the 1930s, and in the 1980s, women made up more than 50 percent of the total enrollment for undergraduate and graduate levels (National Center of Educational Statistics [NCES], 2004). In 2010, 57.2 percent of college students were female (NCES, 2012).

In many countries in Europe, Africa, and Asia, women's participation in higher education also has improved due to, among other things, positive attitudes toward girls' education (UNESCO, 2012). Since 2005, female enrollment has continued to grow, and in many regions of the world, women make up more than 50 percent of the total enrollment in tertiary education. In 2009, female enrollment surpassed male enrollment in most countries (UNESCO, 2012).

This promising figure, unfortunately, does not reflect women's share of research careers, teaching, and leadership positions in tertiary education worldwide. The worldwide trend in 2010 showed that most countries reached gender parity from primary education to graduate levels; however, following the Ph.D. level, men were in advantaged positions (UNESCO, 2012). On average, less than 50 percent of tertiary teachers worldwide are female. In only a very few countries, such as Belarus and Kazakhstan, is

women's share of teaching positions in tertiary education more than 50 percent. In the United States, female teachers in tertiary education in 2009 made up 46 percent of the total, which was slightly higher than in other developed countries in Western Europe. In 2009, only 43 percent of women in the United Kingdom held teaching positions in tertiary education, whereas in Germany, the figure was 39 percent. In other parts of the world, the trend remains the same; college and university teaching is a male-dominated arena (UNESCO, 2010).

Gender disparity tends to be wider in leadership positions. When teachers who are female fill less than 50 percent of the total teaching positions, the number of women who hold administrative positions is likely to be lower. In the United States, women still lack prominent administrative roles at prestigious institutions. Female administrators are also likely to work in less selective institutions (Rigaux, 1995) and earn less than male administrators (Compton & Palmer, 2009).

In her book, *Shattering the Myth: Women in Academe*, Glazer-Raymo (1999) contested the commonly held belief that women are now at par with men. In the United States, proponents of women's achievement of equal status tend to ignore the constraints—cultural, attitudinal, and structural—that women face in order to advance their careers. Glazer-Raymo added, "If they are included, it is only with the expectation that they will accommodate those differences and adapt to existing institutional norms" (p. 196). Throughout the book, she argued that current policies whose purposes are to promote equality have led to backlashes against women.

In the United States, affirmative action emerged during the 1960s and Title IX has been enforced since 1972; however, these policies have been under attack. Opponents of affirmative action have stated that such policies benefit minorities but are discriminatory against White males. In 1996, California passed Proposition 209, which prohibited public institutions from considering sex, race, and ethnicity in their hiring practices. This proposition represented a setback for the equality movement, according to Glazer-Raymo

(1999), who contended that “gender neutrality is a fiction” (p. 198), especially in the professoriate and within academic administration.

Scholars have attempted to analyze the persistence of a gender discrepancy in higher education administration through diverse lenses and theories. Some researchers have examined this issue using organizational perspectives (Johnsrud & Heck, 1994), sociological perspectives (Lee, 2001; Noe, 1988; Ramanan, Taylor, Davis, & Phillips, 2006), or even multiple perspectives (Lam, 2006; Luke, 1997, 1998a, 1998b). Some of the weaknesses of prior studies on women in leadership positions are that scholars use male norms and male-oriented lenses to analyze women’s lack of participation. In other words, scholars perceive the notion of leader as a neutral construct; thus, their studies are likely to disregard women’s own perspectives (Chliwniak, 2007). However, recent scholarship on women’s participation in administrative positions has attempted to promote women’s own voices. Scholars such as Eagly, Glazer-Raymo, Madsen, Johnsrud, and other prominent writers who focus on women’s experiences in higher education have presented more balanced insights on the gender discrepancy in leadership positions. Their studies have focused on women’s own stories about their experiences in higher education administration, thus allowing more accurate interpretations of women’s struggle to succeed in administrative positions.

Scholars have used numerous terms to describe the barriers related to women’s advancement. The most widely used term is the “glass ceiling.” Although Hymowitz and Schellhardt, as cited in Glazer-Raymo (1999), first introduced the term to portray invisible barriers that prevent women from moving to higher positions in corporations, scholars from various fields of inquiry have used the term to describe the barriers to women’s advancement in any social structure (Glazer-Raymo, 1999). The glass ceiling seems to be a universal phenomenon that explains why women, regardless of their capability and astuteness, cannot advance to the top administrative positions of certain institutions. In studies on higher education administration worldwide, the glass ceiling

phenomenon has received considerable attention. Most studies on the barriers to women's career advancement reveal that women administrators have to face many external challenges (Adair, 1994; Beck, 2003; Glazer-Raymo, 1999; Lam, 2006; Luke, 1997, 1998a; Umbach, 2003).

In addition to the glass ceiling, some scholars also use the term "sticky floors" to describe how women tend to be stuck in low-skilled and low-paid positions (Iverson, 2011). In her qualitative study of women in a public research university, Iverson (2011) found that many of her participants stated that they were trapped in their low-mobility jobs. A few of them managed to move up from classified ranks (routine, mechanical, and physical types of responsibilities) to professional ranks (jobs that require advanced knowledge and intellectual ability), but they felt they were trapped "in between" ranks. They neither belonged to the classified groups, nor were welcomed into professional circles.

Eagly (2007) used the term "labyrinth" to describe the circuitous paths that women have to navigate in order to attain top positions. She argued that many women are able to break the ceiling and make it to the top. Although the paths exist, the barriers have become more invisible and more difficult to detect; thus, she named the path to success a labyrinth.

One of the most often cited causes of women's lack of participation in higher education administration is the pressure to balance family responsibilities and work. In most studies, the pressure to balance academic work and family responsibilities stands out as the main impeding factor for administrative mobility (Johnsrud, 1995; Leach, 1998; Lee, 2001; Luke, 1997, 1998a; Setiadarma, 1993). Eastern and Southeast Asian societies strongly embrace cultural values that prescribe the role of a woman in her society, family, and marriage. Women who are in administrative positions acknowledge these responsibilities, yet they realize they do not have the power to change social expectations and they accept their roles. As Johnsrud explained, "to maintain their

ideology of male supremacy in the public domain, men must keep their distance from family life, and this leaves women in charge of the household” (1995, p. 31).

Studies on the role of mentors in Western higher education have shown that female academics benefit from mentors or role models to help them advance their careers (Tierney & Bensimon, 1996). Mentors not only help women adjust to the workplace but also open opportunities for wider social networking (Beck, 2003). In the East, the idea of mentoring implies a slightly different notion. In studies conducted in Southeast Asia, mentoring implies informal grooming. Women who are in leadership positions train their successors informally. In other words, the realization of women’s career aspirations often comes from informal mentoring and successor grooming (Luke, 1997, 1998a).

This type of mentorship helps women who lack experience to succeed in the academic setting, but the mentoring relationship often requires individuals’ loyalty to their informal mentors. In her qualitative study of women in Hong Kong higher education, Lam (2006) found that the participants in her study viewed mentoring as one of the critical factors for the fulfillment of women’s career aspirations. Very few women can move up the career ladder and become leaders, and when they do, they sometimes perform better than their male counterparts. Ironically, these results can constitute a disadvantage for other women (Lam, 2006; Luke, 1998a) because female leaders tend to be unsupportive of other women. Staines, Travis, and Jayarante (1974) called this the “queen bee” phenomenon. In this situation, women in leadership roles do not function as role models and mentors; rather, they become enemies in disguise because they want to secure their positions.

The studies of women’s career advancement in higher education worldwide also reveal several internal barriers. Many women cannot achieve higher leadership positions because of their own lack of self-confidence, the pressure to maintain a professional image (Lam, 2006; Luke, 1997), and lack of self-confidence in their ability to lead (Lam, 2006; Omar 1993; Setiadarma, 1993). Setiadarma (1993) argued that these types of

internal barriers have the most debilitating effect on women's career aspirations. Women who lack self-confidence or self-esteem are less likely to overcome their challenges.

While many studies look closely at factors that hinder women from advancing in their careers, only a few studies have attempted to examine various factors that facilitate women to achieve higher leadership positions (Adair, 1994; Beck, 2003; Lam, 2006). It is true that gender parity remains an issue in higher education; therefore, it is necessary to examine how certain women in the academy can make their way to the top. A review of the literature on the factors facilitating women's career advancement in higher education worldwide shows that cultural capital is a key internal factor. Introduced by Bourdieu (1986), this term refers to norms, beliefs, and knowledge that enable an individual to succeed, which are then transferable from one generation to the next. Women who possess a higher degree of cultural capital are likely to have a higher degree of career aspiration. Education and parental involvement are important for women in the early stages of their career paths (Umbach, 2003). In addition, personal traits such as hard work, attitude toward work, communication skills, and problem-solving skills are some of the other facilitating factors that help women advance (Beck, 2003; Ismail & Rasdi, 2006; Lam, 2006).

Studies on women's career advancement in higher education mostly focus on women academic administrators and faculty in North American and Western European universities. The few existent studies that attempt to examine in depth the experiences of professional women in universities in the rest of the world tend to focus only on the barriers. A more balanced perspective on factors that account for women's career advancement in higher education is pivotal to understanding the persistence of gender disparity in higher education.

Rationale for the Study

Similar to most parts of the world, women's share of tertiary enrollment in Indonesia has been increasing at a faster rate than their share of employment as teachers

and administrators for the last three decades. In 2005, 43 percent of the students in higher education in Indonesia were women. In 2008, the enrollment rate for women in both public and private universities reached 47 percent (United Nations Development Programme [UNDP], 2010). The latest data from *Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Tinggi* (Directorate General of Higher Education) show that in public institutions, women comprise 33 percent of the faculty, whereas in private institutions, 39 percent are female (*Direktorat Jenderal Perguruan Tinggi* [DIKTI], 2009). To date, DIKTI does not provide data on women's share of leadership positions in higher education in Indonesia.

However, data obtained from the universities' web sites provide some information about women's representation in higher education administration. Table 1 shows the proportion of men to women in top administrative positions in five public research universities in Central Java and Yogyakarta Special Territory.

Table 1. *Top Academic Administrative Positions in Select Public Research Universities in Central Java and Yogyakarta Special Territory*

| University | President | | Associate President | | Dean | | Associate Dean | |
|-----------------------------|-----------|---|---------------------|---|------|---|----------------|----|
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F |
| Diponegoro University | 1 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 30 | 9 |
| Semarang State University | 1 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 21 | 3 |
| Gadjah Mada University | 1 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 15 | 3 | 45 | 10 |
| Sebelas Maret University | 1 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 18 | 3 |
| Yogyakarta State University | 1 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 6 | 0 | 15 | 3 |

As shown in Table 1, very few women have assumed top leadership positions in leading public universities in Central Java and Yogyakarta Special Territory. This figure is likely to be larger in less prestigious institutions such as private teaching universities or

non-degree granting colleges. In such institutions, women have better opportunities to hold administrative positions because qualifications for academic administrators are not as rigorous as those in leading institutions. In public research universities, only senior lecturers that hold the title *guru besar* (professor) can hold administrative positions and they usually have doctorate degrees. From the data excerpted from the website of *Koordinator Perguruan Tinggi Swasta* (Coordinator of Private Universities) in Java, many presidents and associate presidents have master's degrees (*Koordinator Perguruan Tinggi Swasta* [Kopertis], 2009).

The Indonesian government enacted several legal measures to ensure the participation of women in politics in the 1980s, and in 1998 established The National Commission on Violence Against Women to promote public awareness of violence against women and to defend women's rights. These measures prompted the establishment of Centers for Women's Studies in many public and private universities to conduct a wide range of research on the status of women in Indonesia (Parnohadiningrat, 2002). Unfortunately, national and local laws or policies do not promote gender equity in higher education. In addition, the establishment of Centers for Women's Studies in Indonesian universities ironically has not helped to address and examine closely the gender issues in higher education in general and academic administrative positions in particular. This raises certain questions about the role of women in academic administrative positions: Why are there so few women in top positions? What factors hinder women from reaching top positions, and what factors motivate women who are already in top positions? It is therefore necessary to conduct a study that investigates women's participation as decision makers and agents of change in Indonesian higher education.

Purpose of the Study

The overall purpose of the study was to learn about women administrators' perspectives on their career paths to success in two public research universities in Central

Java and Yogyakarta Special Territory. More specifically, this study aimed to (a) investigate factors that motivated women senior academic administrators in their career advancement, (b) explore factors that hindered those women in moving to higher administrative positions, (c) analyze strategies that those women employed to reach their current positions, and (d) examine resources used by those women to achieve their current positions.

Research Questions

The following research questions guided this study:

1. What factors facilitated women senior academic administrators in achieving their current positions?
2. What factors discouraged their efforts to reach top administrative positions?
3. What strategies did they employ to achieve their current positions?
4. What types of support did they utilize to attain their current positions?
5. How did Indonesian women senior academic administrators perceive the current policies related to promotion in their institutions?

Overview of Methods

The overall purpose of this study was to explore in depth how women senior academic administrators reflected on their journey to top administrative positions and to examine their individual experiences and struggles to succeed in their careers. In Indonesia, the number of women holding top academic administrative positions is very small. Thus, in order to understand and analyze the factors that supported and impeded their career advancement as well as to develop a conceptual model of the interplay of those factors, the qualitative method was more appropriate for this study. Qualitative research enables researchers to “develop concepts, insights, and understanding from patterns in the data rather than collecting data to assess preconceived models, hypotheses, or theories” (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998, p. 7).

Qualitative research design allows researchers to examine people, settings, and contexts as a whole instead of as isolated variables. It places more emphasis on individuals' personal experiences and struggles in society (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). This study used a qualitative descriptive approach because it aimed at investigating the experiences of women senior academic administrators in two public research universities in Central Java and Yogyakarta Special Territory, Amarta University and Nusantara University. Compared to women in small or private universities, female administrators in public universities are likely to face greater challenges in advancing in the organizational hierarchy because the top administrative positions are more competitive, more challenging, and more demanding. The study focuses on female associate deans, deans, and associate presidents in two public research institutions in Central Java and Yogyakarta Special Territory, Indonesia. I selected women administrators who had administrative experiences before becoming associate deans or deans. I identified 15 women senior academic administrators in Amarta University and Nusantara University who matched my criteria. Out of the 15 women, nine agreed to participate in the study. However, due to illness, one woman could not schedule an interview and had to discontinue participation in the study. To capture their experiences, I conducted interviews with these women during the summer of 2009, transcribed the interviews, and analyzed the data for emerging themes.

Brief Overview of the Research Sites

To better understand the pertinent sociocultural values that affect Indonesian higher education, I will provide a brief overview of Indonesia, Central Java, and Yogyakarta Special Territory where I conducted my study.

The Republic of Indonesia is an archipelago in Southeast Asia. It consists of 17,508 islands, but only 6,000 islands are inhabited (Central Intelligence Agency [CIA], 2012). *Badan Kependudukan dan Keluarga Besar Nasional* (National Population and

Family Planning Board) stated that in 2010, the population of the Republic of Indonesia was 237 million (*Badan Kependudukan dan Keluarga Besar Nasional* [BKKBN], 2011).

The capital of the Republic of Indonesia is Jakarta, which is located on Java Island. Java consists of five main regions: Special Capital Territory of Jakarta, West Java, Central Java, Yogyakarta Special Territory, and East Java. The Javanese are the largest ethnic group in Indonesia (40 percent). Javanese people live in East Java, Central Java, and Yogyakarta Special Territory (Koentjaraningrat, 1989). The people in these three regions speak Javanese while people who live in West Java speak dialects of Sundanese, a completely different language from Javanese (Harsojo, 1990).

Indonesian people embraced animism, Hinduism and Buddhism, the major religions in Java, before Islam spread to Indonesia in the fifteenth century (Vickers, 2005). Today, Indonesia has the highest Muslim population in the world; 88.2 percent of the Indonesian population is Muslim (Pew Research Center, 2009). The rest of the population embraces Hinduism, Buddhism, and Christianity. Clifford Geertz (1976) in his book *The Religion of Java* divided Javanese society into two religious groups: *abangan* (people who do not practice religion) and *santri* (Muslims). Although Indonesia has the largest Muslim population in the world, Muslims in Indonesia do not embrace radical or extreme views of Islam (Assyaukanie, 2009; Rinaldo, 2008). Only Aceh Special Territory enforces Sharia Laws (Sjamsuddin, 1989).

Overview of Indonesian Higher Education

To recognize the value of this study for the intellectual community, it is important to understand how higher education institutions function in Indonesia and the social and cultural values that influence their development. This section provides a brief overview of the development of higher education in Indonesia before and after Indonesian independence, and the characteristics of Indonesian higher education.

Indonesian Higher Education from 1900 to 2000

Literature on the development of higher education in Indonesia generally refers to the establishment of *School tot Opleiding van Indische Artsen* (STOVIA) or the Training School for Indian Doctors (later the University of Indonesia) and other prominent vocational schools in Java in the 1920s as the foundation of higher education (Atmakusuma, 1973; Bachtar, 1993; Thomas, 1993). However, this claim is debatable because literature exists tracing the evolution of higher education over a span of almost 800 years (Balderston & Balderston, 1991; Buchori & Malik, 2004; Cummings, Malo, & Sunarto, 1997).

Literature on the development of Islam in Indonesia shows Islam's influence on modern education through traditional, non-formal, and less structured religious education (Wanandi, 2002). In addition, some of the literature on Indonesian history and education shows the existence of vocational schools and normal schools established by the Dutch and the Jesuit missionaries in the 1850s and 1900s (Adam, 1995). Themes within the literature pertaining to the history of Indonesia and the development of higher education in Indonesia also suggest that the spread of Islam, the colonization of the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the Japanese, and the political movement toward Indonesian independence were instrumental in shaping the form and the orientation of Indonesian higher education.

In the fifteenth century, the Portuguese and Dutch arrived and colonized the archipelago. Catholic and Christian missionaries strengthened their missions by building churches and schools for the local population. However, a more stratified education system was established as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century. In this era, the Dutch set up primary and secondary schools for Europeans and primary schools for indigenous people on a number of islands. Schools for the Europeans used European languages as the language of instruction whereas schools for indigenous people used the local vernacular for instruction. Indigenous students from elite families were allowed to continue to secondary education. By the 1850s, the Dutch government and Catholic

missionaries opened many teacher training schools in numerous places throughout the archipelago (Graves, 1981).

These teacher training schools admitted native students (Graves, 1981). To regulate these schools, the colonial government established a Department of Education in 1860. By 1892, enrollment reached approximately 52,000, but the majority of students were Europeans (Johnson, Gaylord, & Chamberland, 1993). In the beginning of the twentieth century, the establishment of village schools and Hollandsche-Indische School (HIS) opened educational opportunities for more indigenous people. Graduates of HIS could continue their study in the Dutch secondary schools and apply for jobs at the colonial administration upon graduation.

In the nineteenth century, Islam had a large role in shaping the form of higher education in Indonesia as it evolved from non-formal and less structured religious education into *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools) and *madrasahs* (Islamic schools). Similar to the early development of higher education in the United States in the seventeenth century, the education of young men in the archipelago was religiously oriented. The purpose of *pesantren* was to educate young men to become future *kyai* or clerics (Wanandi, 2002). Education in *pesantren* was highly autonomous because it depended on the *kyai*, the leader of the *pesantren*. It was non-formal. The meeting between the *kyai* and his students generally took place in houses, mosques, or *surau* (smaller mosques). The curriculum emphasized the mastery of Arabic and the Koran. The graduates generally established their own *pesantren* (Wanandi, 2002). Before the turn of the twentieth century, many affluent graduates of *pesantren* and *madrasah* already had opportunities to pursue advanced religious education in universities in the Middle East.

During World War II, the colonial government needed additional lower level administrative officers and technicians to address the shortage of manpower from the Netherlands, so they established vocational schools to train local inhabitants. In 1902, they established a medical school for indigenous doctors or STOVIA (Buchori & Malik,

2004). From 1902 to 1924, the colonial government instituted an engineering school, an agricultural school, and a law school in West Java. These pioneer institutions later evolved into prominent public research universities.

Students in those early higher education institutions were mainly European and Chinese. High tuition accounted for low indigenous student enrollment and high dropout rates. For instance, in 1940, 57 indigenous Indonesians enrolled and only 37 graduated (Hutagaol, 1985). Nevertheless, these early institutions contributed greatly to the founding of the Republic of Indonesia. The colonial government established vocational schools to serve the interests of Europeans but in doing so they “encouraged the creation of organizations dedicated to cultural goals—organizations of indigenous Indonesians that soon became significant instruments for nationalist and independence movements” (Thomas, 1993, p. 15). Some of the graduates of these institutions pursued more advanced studies in the Netherlands and became more politically and socially aware of the Indonesian people’s condition (Buchori & Malik, 2004) and later they fought for Indonesian independence.

In 1942, the Dutch surrendered to Japan. Under the Japanese occupation, the education system deteriorated, especially higher education. The Japanese closed all formal education, prohibited the use of Dutch as the language of instruction, and banned Dutch books. They thought that higher education was inappropriate for indigenous people because they were subordinate to the Japanese (Buchori & Malik, 2004; Hutagaol, 1985). From 1942 to 1945, the number of primary and secondary schools declined greatly and only a few institutions of higher education survived. As a result, students and local people became anti-Japanese and fought harder for Indonesian independence (Malik & Buchori, 2004). On August 17, 1945, the Japanese surrendered and they were forced to retreat. The surrender of Japanese ended the period of educational decline in Indonesia.

Indonesian independence in 1945 marked the rebirth of the educational movement. The Indonesian founding fathers recognized the role of education in building

the new nation and were determined to improve the quality of the educational system. Shortly after Independence Day, the Indonesian government founded *Balai Perguruan Tinggi Republik Indonesia* (Center for Higher Learning of the Republic of Indonesia) in Jakarta (Buchori & Malik, 2004). The center was an association of three colleges in Jakarta (a medical school, a law school, and a college of literature).

In 1947, the Dutch reclaimed Indonesia as its colony resulting in the Revolutionary War from 1947 to 1949. The Indonesian government was forced to move the capital to Yogyakarta. The Dutch took charge of the *Universitet van Indonesie*, which later became the University of Indonesia, and reopened small schools and colleges. At the same time, the Indonesian government established *Universitas Gadjah Mada* in Yogyakarta. After the Dutch recognized Indonesian sovereignty in 1949, the Indonesian government took charge of both the University of Indonesia and Gadjah Mada University. Smaller colleges in Jakarta and Yogyakarta also began to thrive and many developed into universities.

The establishment of the Gadjah Mada University, the reopening of *Universitet van Indonesie*, and the revival of small schools and colleges during the Revolutionary War increased enrollment threefold. By the end of 1950, the number of students matriculating in colleges and universities was 5,200 (Buchori & Malik, 2004). At this point, the number of Indonesian students increased at a higher rate than that of the European and Chinese students.

After the Dutch left Indonesia in 1949, the leaders of the New Republic faced social and economic revolution. The transfer of power from the Dutch to the new government, the shortages of experts, and budget shortfalls constituted new challenges for the new republic (Hutagaol, 1985; Thomas, 1993). During this period, the government of the new republic decided to adopt a centralized approach to education. The government then set up *Kementrian Pendidikan Nasional dan Kebudayaan* (Ministry of National Education and Culture), or *Kemendiknas*, to oversee both K-12 education and

higher education in 1950. The national entrance examination for public universities introduced in 1955 also reflected the centralized nature of higher education in Indonesia. The increase of students prompted the government to devise a national entrance examination to ensure that public universities enrolled only qualified applicants (Atmakusuma, 1993). This national entrance examination still exists to this day.

In 1955, the government changed the higher education system to the American system. During the Dutch occupation, Indonesian higher education followed the Dutch system. Under the Dutch system, students had “free time” study and determined their own pace in finishing their courses. Under this system, many students could spend more than 10 years to finish their degrees (Hayden, 1967). This was clearly a waste of time and money. During this period, the government decided to adopt the American system, which was based on credit hours and a semester system. The American-based curriculum was first introduced in the University of Indonesia’s medical school (Hayden, 1967).

During this period, Indonesian higher education also enjoyed rapid growth. New colleges were established in a number of provinces in Java and on other islands. Smaller colleges that once made up the University of Indonesia became separate public institutions. The government met the increasing demand for teacher education by establishing more teacher training institutes or *Institut Keguruan and Ilmu Pendidikan*. Private universities and academies (vocational three-year colleges) also proliferated from two institutions to 80 in 1959 (Thomas, 1993).

New colleges and the existing colleges’ expansion effort in subject fields brought an influx of students. Traditionally, the subject fields were limited to law, medicine, and agriculture. From 1950 to 1970, higher education institutions offered new subject areas such as literature and language, technology, political science, economics, and engineering (Thomas, 1993). The enrollment rate in public universities increased significantly. By the end of 1969, enrollment grew from 5,200 in 1950s to approximately 156,000 students (Buchori & Malik, 2004; Thomas, 1993).

Considering gender and college access, Thomas (1993) asserted that “observers of Indonesian social structure have often commented that the place of women in Indonesian society has traditionally been quite different from that of women in predominately Muslim countries” (p. 100). In the early 1950s, women in general made up approximately one-fourth of the total enrollment. In the universities of West Sumatra, a province that embraces matrilineal culture, women made up 51 percent of the total enrollment (Buchori & Malik, 2004). Male students dominated engineering and technology departments whereas women were concentrated in areas such as education, literature, and social sciences. By the end of the 1960s, women represented 50 percent of the total enrollment in certain colleges (Thomas, 1993).

Maintaining the quality of education in the New Republic became the biggest challenge for the government as institutions struggled with budget and human resources shortages and limited facilities. Limited budgets severely affected the daily operation of institutions. Universities could hardly afford expensive equipment for laboratories and books. Public institutions were in more advantaged positions than private institutions because they received financial support from the government and generous external support from overseas organizations such as the Ford Foundation and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). On the contrary, private institutions, since their inception, did not receive any funding from the government; therefore, they had to depend on students’ tuition, fees, and private donors for their survival (Welch, 2007). However, external support was not enough to cover the expenses. In addition to poor laboratories and libraries, public and private universities struggled with a scarcity of experts and well-trained lecturers. Immediately after the Revolutionary War, the European professors left Indonesia, and newer public universities and private universities had to hire lecturers and experts from older institutions. This resulted in low quality education because many lecturers from older institutions devoted most of their time to teaching at various institutions (Buchori & Malik, 2004).

In the 1970s, despite Suharto's totalitarian leadership, Indonesia enjoyed rapid economic growth. The improved socio-economic situation resulted in a stronger and larger middle class and a population with increasing college aspirations. The much improved K-12 education system raised the likelihood of students enrolling in tertiary institutions. Higher education succeeded in attracting a more diverse student body and was no longer a privilege of upper class society. Higher education became a means of social mobility (Ranuwihardjo, 1995). Between 1959 and 1970, the enrollment rate increased 460 percent from 60,000 to approximately 270,000 (Thomas, 1973).

In 1975, the Indonesian government established *Direktorat Jendral Pendidikan Tinggi* (Directorate General of Higher Education), or DIKTI, specifically to oversee higher education institutions. DIKTI set up the offices of *Koordinasi Perguruan Tinggi Swasta* (Coordination of Private Higher Education) or *Kopertis* to manage, supervise, and evaluate the operation of private universities.

The significant influx of students reflected Indonesia's rapid economic growth. Despite significant growth, Indonesian higher education was not able to meet the demand. Most high school graduates applied to public universities, but the universities could not accommodate all of the interested students. Religious groups, businesses, and academics used this opportunity to establish private institutions. From 1979 to 2009, the number of private institutions grew from 384 to 2910 (DIKTI, 2009; Johnson et al., 1993). The proliferation of higher education institutions unfortunately brought about certain consequences. First and foremost, the quality of higher education ranged from highly competitive to unacceptable (Johnson et al., 1993). Many private institutions were not qualified to provide high-quality teaching and learning. Only 11 percent of the total teaching staff in private institutions held master's or doctorate degrees compared to 30 percent of the teaching staff in public institutions (Welch, 2007; World Bank, 1996). Some newly established public universities, especially those located in other islands, faced challenges such as poor libraries, ill-equipped laboratories, and lack of well-trained

lecturers. Second, many private institutions competed to attract applicants by lowering their admission standards while at the same time charging high tuition and fees. These practices were detrimental to the overall quality of higher education (Welch, 2007).

Prior to the establishment of the National Accreditation Board in 1996, *Kemendiknas* was responsible for ensuring the quality of private universities and conducting evaluation and assessments for those institutions. Private universities were required to submit documentation and arrange visitation from the members of the ministry in order to obtain their operating licenses. Public universities, regardless of their quality, were exempt from this requirement. However, the globalization of education prompted the Indonesian government to change its accreditation policies. In 1996, the National Accreditation Board was established to ensure the quality of both private and public universities (Pramoetadi, 1993). In more recent decades, additional public and private universities have adopted quality assessment and assurance methods from the private sector to maintain their standards.

Types of Institutions

According to *Undang-Undang Nomor 20 Tahun 2003 tentang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional* (the Law of National Education System Number 20, 2003), there are five types of institutions in Indonesia's higher education system: academies, polytechnics, advanced schools, institutes, and universities. Academies are three-year non-degree granting vocational schools that specialize in one field of study, such as science, language, or art. Polytechnics are three-year, non-degree granting institutions that offer a course of studies in one field of study related to engineering. Advanced schools are vocational schools that specialize in one field of study and award bachelor's degrees and professional licensures. Institutes are four-year institutions that offer a course of studies in one field of study such as Engineering or Agriculture. They can award undergraduate, postgraduate, and professional degrees. Universities provide education in various fields of study. They can

award undergraduate, postgraduate, and professional degrees. Table 2 shows the number and percentages of each type of institution in 2007 as reported by *Kemendiknas* (2009).

Table 2. *Indonesian Higher Education Institutions by Type in 2007*

| Institutions | Public | | Private | | Total |
|--|--------|-------------------------|---------|-------------------------|-------|
| | Number | Percentages of total | Number | Percentages of total | |
| University | 48 | 11.46 | 371 | 88.54 | 419 |
| Institute | 6 | 13.95 | 37 | 86.05 | 43 |
| Advanced schools of higher learning | 2 | 0.17 | 1,164 | 99.83 | 1,166 |
| Academy | 0 | 0 | 869 | 100 | 869 |
| Polytechnic | 26 | 18.44 | 115 | 81.56 | 141 |

Governance

Indonesia has a centralized education system. *Kemendiknas* supervises K-12 education and institutions of higher learning and has four *Direktorat Jendral* (Directorate Generals) who oversee early education, elementary education, secondary education, and post-secondary and tertiary education. *Direktorat Jendral Pendidikan Tinggi* or DIKTI oversees higher education institutions. DIKTI serves two main purposes: to formulate and implement policies pertaining to higher education and to develop and maintain technical standards in higher education. It controls and determines university degrees, promotion of teaching staff, curriculum, accreditation, grants, and many other issues pertaining to the operation of higher education institutions, both private and public. With the exception of university presidents, public universities have to seek approval from *Kemendiknas* for

administrator appointments. Public university presidents are appointed by the President of the Republic of Indonesia. However, the Minister of National Education and DIKTI are not in charge of administrator appointments in private universities (Hayden, 1967).

University administrations typically consist of presidents and three or four associate presidents. Each associate president is responsible for a certain area such as student affairs, academic affairs, finances and budget, and research and development. These responsibilities vary according to the needs of individual institutions. Deans are in charge of colleges and have three or four associate deans. Colleges commonly have more than one department. Department Chairs and Secretaries to the Department Chairs are in charge of the day-to-day operation within the department. Unlike universities in North America, Indonesian universities do not seek administrators from outside institutions. Academic administrators are generally senior level teaching staff and hold the highest university degree.

Amarta University has one president and four associate presidents: associate president for Academic Affairs, associate president for Finances and Administration, associate president for Student Affairs, and associate president for Research and Collaboration. Most colleges in Amarta University have one dean and four associate deans. Nusantara University has one president and four associate presidents: associate president for Teaching, Research, and Community Service, associate president for Administration and Development of Human Resources, associate president for Information System and Finances, and associate president for Alumni and Entrepreneurship Development. All colleges in Nusantara University have one dean and three associate deans: associate deans for Academic Affairs and Quality Assurance, associate deans for Finances, Administration, and Human Resource, and associate dean for Student Affairs, Research, and Collaboration. These three areas might differ slightly depending on the vision and mission of each college. For instance, some colleges

combine Academic Affairs and Research into one area and expand Student Affairs to include Alumni Affairs.

Promotion of Teaching Staff

For both public and private universities, DIKTI determines the promotion of teaching staff. *Keputusan Menteri Negara Koordinator Bidang Pengawasan and Pendayagunaan Aparatur Negara Number 38, 1999* (The Decree of The Minister of Development Supervision and Human Resources No. 38, 1999) stipulates four ranks of teaching members: *Asisten* (junior level), *Lektor* (lower mid-level), *Lektor Kepala* (upper mid-level) and *Profesor/Guru Besar* (senior-level). University teachers are required to complete the *Tri Dharma Perguruan Tinggi* (Three Pillars of Service of Higher Education) which encompass teaching, research, and community service. Failure to fulfill one of the elements results in the delay of promotion.

Teachers are expected to move from one level to a higher level in four to six years. However, in practice, they need more time to move up to the next level. A faculty member can move up quickly if she has high teaching loads, conducts a lot of research, publishes papers in accredited journals, and joins community outreach projects. Promotion is important because it determines the standard salary for public university teachers and the authority teachers have in their classrooms. For instance, junior teaching members can only teach as assistants to mid-level and senior staff. They cannot supervise students' theses and lead research and community outreach projects.

Since the last decade, public and private universities, especially research universities, have begun to increase qualifications for new teaching staff. They now look for applicants who hold a master's degree. Once hired, the new faculty members have to comply with DIKTI's regulations.

Administrative Promotion

Peraturan Menteri Pendidikan Nasional Nomor 24 Tahun 2000 (The Minister of National Education Regulation Number 24 Year 2000) on the appointment and the

termination of a president in public universities lists general and special requirements of a university presidential candidate. The general requirements stipulate that a president must be a civil servant, be not more than 60 years of age, and be an outstanding faculty member. In addition, he or she must have had at least two years of prior managerial experience in his or her college or other units and have never been prosecuted for violations of Indonesian laws.

The special requirements for a university president stipulate that a university president candidate must have a doctoral degree and hold at least a *Lektor Kepala* (upper mid-level) position. The regulation also states that university Senate members and the Minister of National Education and Culture are in charge of selecting the best candidates. The President of the Republic of Indonesia then appoints the selected candidate to become the president. Once he or she is appointed, a president has the prerogative to select associate deans.

However, university Senate members have to approve the candidate for the associate dean positions (*Universitas Diponegoro, 2010; Universitas Gajah Mada, Universitas Indonesia, 2007*). One of the responsibilities of a university president is to appoint and terminate deans and associate deans. A university president and Senate members can set up general requirements for candidates of a dean position and an associate dean position. Each candidate for a dean position usually has to have a doctoral degree, several years of prior managerial experiences, and hold an upper mid-level position (*Universitas Diponegoro, 2010; Universitas Gajah Mada, Universitas Indonesia, 2007*). However, in practice, all the candidates for president and associate president positions hold the title of *Guru Besar* which is the most senior rank and is equivalent to full professor in North American universities (*Suara Merdeka, 2010; Universitas Gajah Mada, 2012; Universitas Indonesia, 2010*).

Significance of the Study

Given the dearth of literature on women in higher education in East and Southeast Asia, research on women's academic administrators in Indonesia will be a valuable contribution to the field. This study is therefore significant because it examines the extent to which current literature discussing the known constraints on women's upward mobility applies uniformly across cultures, what the differences are, if any, and how women take advantage of or conform to the available resources to make their way to the top. Comparative international studies add to our collective understanding regarding how social, historical, political, and cultural factors in settings other than Europe or North America affect women's efforts to represent themselves in a predominately male world. In addition, the findings of studies that focus on women in higher education will serve to inform the administrators at institutions of higher learning how they can create a more female-friendly professional environment.

Limitations of the Study

This study possesses several limitations. First, this present study focuses on the experiences of women senior academic administrators in only two public research universities in Central Java and Yogyakarta Special Territory. While some of the experiences of the participants resonate with the experiences of female administrators in other settings, they do not represent the experiences of all women administrators in higher education in East and Southeast Asia, or even Indonesia in general, especially those who work in institutions outside Central Java and Yogyakarta Special Territory. Institutions outside these two regions might have different organizational cultures because of the different contexts and settings.

Second, I was able to conduct interviews with only eight participants due in part to my time constraints and in part to conflicts with scheduling. I had less than two months to conduct interviews, and even though these two institutions in my study were only three hours apart, the logistics of the interview process proved to be challenging to arrange.

Some of the participants in Amarta and Nusantara universities requested interviews on the same day, but the distance did not allow me to travel back and forth on the same day.

Third, I was able to conduct only two to three hours of interviews with each participant because of slow communication when arranging interviews and my participants' hectic schedules. To add to the scheduling difficulties, I had limited direct access to my participants because only three administrators were willing to respond by email and text messages. In order to contact the other administrators, I had to communicate with their secretaries. In addition, my participants' hectic schedules did not allow me to conduct more than one interview with each participant. Most of the participants had a very limited time slot for interviews because I conducted my research during the time of the year when public universities typically administer the national entrance tests and then host new student orientation. I was certain that if I had conducted more in-depth interviews, I would have obtained richer data.

Fourth, researcher bias is also one of the limitations of this study. I lived in Central Java for 24 years and am familiar with the social and cultural values in Central Java. In addition, I have preconceived notions about the experiences of women administrators in Indonesian higher education; my personal background on the teaching staff and a former academic administrator in one of the private higher education institutions in Indonesia had a potential to affect data collection and analysis. To limit researcher bias, I utilized techniques and methods such as peer examination, member checks, and triangulation to ensure that I interpreted these women's stories from their points of view.

Definition of Terms

Career advancement: Upward mobility in administrative positions.

Direktorat Jenderal (Directorate General): A bureau or a government agency.

Direktorat Jendral Pendidikan Tinggi (Directorate General of Higher Education):

A bureau under The Ministry of National Education and Culture that oversees higher education institutions in Indonesia.

Gender: In this study, gender refers to the social and cultural prescription of a male or female individual.

Glass ceiling: Invisible barriers that deter women who try to move to higher leadership positions. Scholars have been using this term to describe barriers in any work place.

Labyrinth: The circuitous paths that women have to take to achieve leadership positions.

Senior academic administrators: People who hold leading positions in colleges and universities such as vice deans, deans, vice presidents, and presidents.

Sticky floors: A phenomenon in which women tend to be stuck in low-skilled and low-paying jobs.

Tri Dharma Perguruan Tinggi (Three Pillars of Service of Higher Education):

The three service areas of Indonesian higher education institutions that include teaching, research, and community service.

Summary

Numerous studies have shown the prevalence of the gender discrepancy in higher education administration in the West and in the East. Although enrollment status for women in higher education is improving, women's role in academic leadership does not show substantial progress. Studies examining why few women can move up to higher positions in the West discuss several barriers including the phenomenon of a glass ceiling, or the invisible barriers in the work place that hinder women from moving into top leadership positions. These barriers may be external or internal.

A few studies have attempted to explain numerous external and internal factors that facilitate or hinder women when they aspire to achieve higher positions. The current

literature on women's career advancement in higher education in countries other than North America and Europe focuses mostly on female faculty. To date, very little research has been published on the progress and challenges women administrators experience in higher education in East and Southeast Asia, including Indonesia. Therefore, this study contributes to the existent literature and facilitates a better understanding of the interplay of factors that account for the lack of women administrators in higher education. In addition, this study helps to identify factors that contribute to the success of a select number of women currently serving as academic administrators in higher education.

Preview of Subsequent Chapters

The study consists of four additional chapters, as follows: Chapter II presents a synthesis of relevant research on the career advancement of women senior academic administrators. To fully explain the issue under investigation, this chapter presents seminal works on this particular topic, what areas have been extensively examined, and what areas are still underrepresented. Chapter III explains the methodology of the study. It presents the rationale of using a qualitative descriptive approach, data collection, and data analysis procedures. It also provides in detail the information about the site and sample selection, ethical considerations, and trustworthiness of the study. Chapter IV presents the results of the study and consists of two sections. The first section describes the participants, and the second section provides the themes from the data. Chapter V presents the discussion of the findings, the conclusions of the study, and the implications of the study for policies and future research.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

The purpose of the study was to examine the experiences of women senior academic administrators in Indonesia, the factors that affected their career advancement, and the strategies they employed to succeed in their current position. This study sought to explicate more fully how these women overcame various obstacles and used available resources to obtain their current positions. In this chapter, I review the literature relevant to this study, specifically research on women's career advancement, primarily in higher education in developed and developing countries. Comparing studies conducted in the West and in the East is crucial to understanding whether the determinants of women's career advancement in higher education apply across cultures or whether they are culturally specific. In this review, I first discuss the gender gap in higher education in Western and non-Western universities. Then, I review the literature on women's career advancement by focusing on four key determinants of career advancement in higher education: societal factors, governmental policies, organizational practices, and personality.

Gender Discrepancy in Higher Education

While much of the literature on gender in higher education worldwide depicts the persistence of gender discrepancy, the literature also delineates the variations or different factors that account for the gender discrepancy such as the differences within social, cultural, and historical contexts within countries. Literature on the early history of women in higher education reveals the slow progress of women's participation in higher education. Formal education for women began in the late eighteenth century in the United States and the mid-nineteenth century in European countries although colleges were founded many centuries earlier. In the United States, women first entered academies and seminaries as students as early as the 1790s. Colonial colleges were founded about a

century earlier but their students were men of high social status (Solomon, 1985). After the American Revolution, the new leadership deemed that the education of women was important for the building of the fledgling nation. The public also supported female education. The education of women through the establishment of female seminaries and normal schools in the nineteenth century helped women rethink their participation in the public sphere (Ogren, 2005; Scott, 1979).

In her article, “The Ever Widening Circle: The Diffusion of Feminist Values from the Troy Female Seminary,” Scott (1979) maintained that the opening of Troy Female Seminary in 1821 was “an important source of feminism and the incubator of a new style of female personality” (p. 3). The establishment of Troy Female Seminary in Troy, New York, was a major development for women and the way women viewed themselves in their families and society. In her article, Scott (1979) contested the classification of women in the nineteenth century into feminists and traditionalists. Instead of categorizing women into separate categories, she proposed a continuum with traditional values on one end and feminist values on the other end. She argued that women could hold two opposing values at different degrees at the same time. Some women were more comfortable than others in embracing more feminist values yet were not ready to let go of some of their traditional values. Likewise, other women might struggle to accept some feminist values and prefer to hold more traditional values.

The founding of normal schools further challenged the tenets of “separate gender spheres” (Ogren, 2005, p. 151). The establishment of normal schools in the 1840s opened more opportunities for women to become teachers. The purpose of the establishment of the normal schools was to “awaken the conscience...of the importance of teaching and teacher training” (Ogren, 2005, p. 1). Nonetheless, it also succeeded in broadening students’ world view (Ogren, 2005). Ogren described how students in normal schools challenged the prescribed gender roles even though they did not call themselves feminist. On the contrary, middle and upper class female students on college campuses showed

adherence to those prescribed gender roles. This discussion of traditional values versus feminist values is key to understanding the growth of college aspirations and the development of the feminist movement later on because education was “the major force in the spread of feminism” (Scott, 1979, p. 20).

Between 1930 and 1950, the United States witnessed a decreasing rate of female student enrollment in colleges and universities. In 1944, in an effort to provide assistance for veterans of war, the United States Congress enacted the GI Bill — a bill whose purpose was to provide financial assistance for returning veterans to attend college. Thelin (2004) argued that the enactment of the bill “masculinized the postwar campus” (p. 267). It resulted in an influx of male students and a decrease in female students (Eisenmann, 2006; Thelin, 2004). Windolf (1992), who conducted a comparative study on the university expansion in five countries (Germany, Italy, U.S., France, and Japan), reported that the enrollment rate declined between World War I and World War II. He also found that university expansion increased during economic recessions (for instance the Great Depression between 1890 and 1900 and the World Economic Crisis between 1929 and 1935). His findings agree with the worldwide trends of the expansion of college enrollment.

Women’s participation in higher education in North America and Europe began to increase steadily in the 1960s as the feminist movement swept the West. In the United States, scholars attributed the increasing role of women in universities in part to Title IX of 1972 Educational Amendment (Altbach, Berdahl, & Gumport, 2005) because it barred discrimination based on gender. In France, feminist activities concerning women’s right to birth control were followed by a strong student movement in 1968. In 1974, the French government established a *Secretariat d’Etat a la Condition Feminine* to improve and promote equal opportunity for women (Feldman & Morelle, 1994).

Likewise, in the United Kingdom, the Sex Discrimination Act of 1975 ensured that women had an equal chance of participation in education and employment

(Sutherland, 1994). Germany introduced the Bill for the Advancement of Women Students in 1972 to give more opportunities for women to advance in universities (Grimm & Meier, 1994). Although these movements and legislative acts did not automatically increase the number of students, faculty members, and administrators, they provided a safeguard to protect women from unfair treatment and ensured that women would have equal chances to participate.

From 1970 to 1990, women's share of undergraduate enrollment in developed countries grew markedly. In the German Democratic Republic in 1980, female students were 48.7 percent of the total student body, a 3.3 percent increase from the 1970 figure. By 1990, the enrollment was relatively stagnant at 48.6 percent (Grimm & Meier, 1994). In the United Kingdom in 1980, women made up 39.8 percent of the student body, a 3.6 percent increase compared to the 1975 enrollment. By 1990, female students' enrollment reached 45.1 percent (Sutherland, 1994). Likewise, in Australia in 1982, 43.7 percent of its students were women, a 4.1 percent increase from the 1977 figure. In 1990, female students outnumbered male students, reaching 51 percent of the total student body (Allen, 1994). In the United States, female student enrollment increased significantly from 41 percent in 1970 to 48 percent in 1980. By 1990, women's rate of enrollment surpassed that of men at 54 percent (NCES, 2004).

Nonetheless, these figures were much smaller for women graduate students, staff, and administrators. In Australia, the percentage of female master's and doctoral students in 1990 was 41.2 and 34.4, respectively, although female undergraduate enrollment ultimately surpassed male students' enrollment. The percentage of women teaching staff was smaller; in 1991, only 7.31 percent of the total teaching staff were women (Allen, 1994). In the United States, while female undergraduate students outnumbered male students in 1990, the percentage of women earning a Ph.D. was only 41.6. In the meantime, the percentage of female professors reached only 17.2 in 1993 (Glazer-Raymo, 1999). These figures imply the persistence of gender discrimination in higher

education. In other words, women remained underrepresented in higher academic positions all over the world.

Similar to women in the West, women's access to higher education in non-Western countries began in the late nineteenth century or early twentieth century, but the progress to wider opportunities for women was slower. Prior to the 1900s, students in higher education worldwide were mostly young men from the upper class society (Amano, 1997; Mak, 1994). In countries like China and Iran, missionaries played a great role in the education of women by opening schools for girls in the late nineteenth century (Hojjat, 1994; Mak, 1994). Nevertheless, revolutions and colonization in developing countries in part slowed down the progress of women's education. In the beginning of the twentieth century, the percentage of women in the East who entered colleges was far lower than that in the West.

Feminist movements in the Western countries in the second half of the twentieth century influenced similar movements in non-Western countries although this influence was gradual. Such movements raised governments' awareness of women's rights, including their right to better education (Leach, 1998). The number of women students enrolling in higher education increased steadily from the 1960s to the 1990s but the gender discrepancy remained wider in teaching and top administrative positions. For instance, in China, in 1991, the percentage of women students was approximately 33 while the percentage of women faculty was only 25 (Mak, 1994). In Indonesia, in 1990, the percentage of female professors in universities reached 22 whereas only 1.9 percent of women professors became presidents (Setiadarma, 1993).

The representations of women as students have improved in the last decades, but numerous scholars have indicated that women tend to enroll in less prestigious fields such as education and social science. Female teachers also specialize in the humanities and teach in less prestigious departments (Jacobs, 1998; Malik & Lie, 1994), and only a very few women hold senior academic administrative positions (Lie, Malik, & Harris,

1994; Mukherjee & Kearney, 1993). In addition, while female students constituted almost half of the total student body in most developing countries in the 1990s, Asian female students still lagged behind their male counterparts.

In its latest publication, *Gender Parity in Education: Not There Yet*, UNESCO (2008) reported that the higher the levels of education, the larger the gender disparities. In tertiary enrollment, North America and Western Europe lead all other countries in decreasing gender disparity whereas Sub-Saharan Africa and Asian countries are not making as much progress. Lie and Malik (1994) and Mukherjee and Kearney (1993) argued that gender parity is influenced by social, cultural, and economic factors. Many Western countries have adopted policies or enacted legislation to narrow the gap and, thus, have improved gender parity (UNESCO, 2012). Programs such as affirmative action in the United States and Bills for the Advancement of Women Students in the United Kingdom have also helped in part to decrease the disparity. In many Asian countries, however, numerous obstacles such as the revival of fundamentalism and radical Islam, economic crises, and political turmoil hamper the government's effort to address gender inequality and prevent women from fully exercising their rights (Lie & Malik, 1994).

The growing evidence of international variation, therefore, necessitates separate studies on individual countries. Each country faces different challenges that are likely to create barriers to women's career advancement in academic administration. Individual countries, therefore, need to recognize their distinct structural, social, and economic factors in order to be able to design policies, initiatives, and legislation that will open more opportunities for women to participate in fields and positions where men still dominate. Existent administrators need to overcome the gender discrepancy in higher education according to their country's social and cultural history and development (Malik & Lie, 1994).

Women and Career Advancement in Higher Education

Researchers of women's career advancement in higher education have used numerous social science theories to explain the issue of gender in the work place. Through both qualitative and quantitative methods, scholars have adopted seminal theories in sociology, psychology, economics, and other social sciences to explain gender inequality. Depending on their own research purposes, researchers have employed different approaches and strategies to explain factors that hinder and facilitate women's career advancement in general. Although there is a substantial body of literature on women's career advancement in higher education focusing on women faculty members and administrators in the West, there is scant research addressing women's career advancement in higher education in Asia. Nevertheless, the ongoing work of researchers in Asia contributes to a better understanding of factors that account for gender disparity in academic administrative positions worldwide. In this section, I will present a review of literature on women's career advancement in higher education in developed and developing countries, especially in Asia. A review of the literature suggests four key determinants of career advancement: societal factors, governmental policies, organizational practices, and personality.

Societal Factors

The literature on women's career advancement worldwide suggests that among the most important determinants of women's careers are societal factors, which include social systems and cultural values.

Cultural Values

Previous studies examining the impact of cultural values on women administrators in higher education worldwide have mostly demonstrated that cultural values are more likely to block than facilitate women's career advancement. Cultural values refer to norms or standards that are considered acceptable in a society or a community. Clark, Caffarella, and Ingram (1999) conducted a qualitative study of 23

women managers in educational administration, mostly in higher education and in corporations in the United States. The women in their study suggested that the greatest barriers to career advancement were “systematic devaluation of women in our society” (p. 67) and “cultural stereotypes of women” (p. 67). Some women in their study reported that in the United States, society still regards women as primary care-takers. Whenever they had to follow their husbands who moved to other states, they had more limited career options.

In another quantitative study, Zhong (2006) surveyed students, educators, and recruiters in the hospitality industry in the United States and found that there are differences between men’s and women’s perceptions about factors that facilitate and constrain women’s career advancement. Women ranked family issues as a key constraint to their career advancement while men did not. Even in a more egalitarian society like the United States, women’s multiple roles are great barriers to their career advancement. The conflict between family and work creates pressure when societies tend to be judgmental about how women balance family and career (Madsen, 2008).

A cross-cultural study by Cubillo and Brown (2003) demonstrated that women’s perception of socio-cultural constraints to career advancement is dependent on women’s family background, the origin of the country, and wealth. Cubillo and Brown (2003) interviewed women from different countries studying or working in higher education in the United Kingdom and found that women who grew up in European culture and society did not perceive socio-cultural values as barriers. Those who grew up in Middle East or Africa were more sympathetic of their culture that still considers a woman mainly as a family care taker and a child bearer.

The few existing studies examining women’s career advancement in Asian higher education shows similar findings. The socio-cultural values in this part of the world regard women as subordinate to men. Stereotypes such as “a woman’s place is in the home” remain alive and well in Asian societies. Studies focusing on Asia found that

societal norms in this region of the world still embrace cultural values emphasizing the subordinate position of a woman in her society, family, and marriage. For example, in countries like China, Korea, and Japan, Confucianism has a prominent influence on historical, social, cultural, and political life (Johnsrud, 1995; Lam, 2006; Lee, 2001; Luke, 1997, 1998a).

The major themes of Confucianism are personal and sociopolitical order (Lee, 2001). To maintain harmony, people have to know their place in their society. Among the greatest virtues of Confucian thought are filial piety and loyalty. People must respect their ancestors, younger people must respect their elders, children respect their parents, and wives respect their husbands. In Confucian thought, women are always in a subordinate position. In childhood, they must obey their parents, in married life, they must obey their husbands, and in their old age, they must obey their sons (Johnsrud, 1995). Women who are in administrative positions acknowledge and accept their responsibilities, and they also realize that they do not have the power to change their dutiful, subservient roles. Johnsrud furthermore stated that “to maintain their ideology of male supremacy in the public domain, men must keep their distance from family life, and this leaves women in charge of the household” (1995, p. 31). Thus, women inevitably have to balance their work and family responsibilities (Lam, 2006) in order to maintain social harmony.

Literature on women in Indonesia shows that the traditional Javanese culture also views women as subordinate to men (Arimbi, 2010; Endraswara, 2003). Proverbs about women and their place in society are still visibly present in today’s Javanese culture. Many Javanese are familiar with the identity of women as *konco wingking* (friends at the back of the house). Women are merely companions to their husbands, and do not have significant roles in making decisions in the household. Javanese women are also supposed to *suargo nunut neraka katut* (follow their husband to heaven or hell). This saying indicates that women are to follow their husbands wherever they go. Javanese

culture also determines that the female's main duties are *masak*, *macak*, *manak* (cooking, putting on make-up, and breeding); a woman's main responsibility involves making sure that family members are well-fed, taking care of her physical appearance, and procreating and raising children. According to traditional Javanese culture, women's spheres are confined primarily to *kasur*, *dapur*, *sumur* (bed, kitchen, and wells). These beliefs underscore the idea that women have a subservient role in Javanese households (Arimbi, 2010).

Studies on women's career advancement in Asia reveal the tensions women face when they are in a top position (Lam, 2006; Luke, 1997, 1998a, 1998b, 2000). They demonstrate that women who become administrators in higher education face pressures to maintain a professional image as a key factor to succeed as managers. Society is more likely to scrutinize women's physical appearance than men's. Society expects all leaders, especially women, to be able to act professionally; for instance, they cannot gossip, must wear formal and professional attire, and should be assertive yet modest. When women stay out for formal meetings until late in the evening, society does not appreciate their hard work. Rather, society tends to be judgmental about women who stay out late. Consequently, Asian cultural values limit rather than enhance women's ability to succeed in their career as they must balance workplace pressures and society's perception of 'a good woman' (Lam, 2006; Luke, 1997).

Another telling finding in studies of women in higher education in Thailand and Singapore is the tension between the need to be assertive and the need to be polite (Luke, 1997, 1998a). A common understanding in Asian culture is that assertiveness implies impoliteness. While it is acceptable for men to be somewhat assertive, for women administrators who are already in the men's world playing by the men's rules, the pressure to balance their assertiveness and politeness is nevertheless greater. Their male colleagues demand that women administrators have to be "sufficiently assertive" so as

not to make their male colleagues lose face. Women can be assertive but they have to do it in a 'womanly' manner (Luke, 1997, 1998a).

Although studies generally agree that balancing personal and professional demands is a challenge, Luke's findings in Singapore and Thailand revealed that women's wealth and social status greatly benefit women in meeting these demands (Luke, 1998a, 1998b, 2000). In communal societies, women's role in the household does not seem to be a problem because of abundant support from relatives or neighbors, and cheap human labor. Relatives and neighbors are willing to help with the childcare. If they cannot help, women can rely on a live-in maid. Women in Luke's studies reported that they acknowledged the existence of socio-cultural constraints, and that women were subordinate to men; yet, they did not perceive it as a major problem for their career mobility because of the additional support they received from their spouses, family members, relatives, and servants (Luke, 1998a). It is a common practice among middle and upper class families to hire live-in maids to do house work and take care of the children when they do not have support from family members. Other members of the family such as grandparents are typically willing to assume responsibilities in childcare because they believe that it strengthens the intergenerational relationships. Social class and extended family support, therefore, do enable women to break free of domestic and social constraints to pursue careers.

Luke's studies underscore an important issue that might apply to the Indonesian context. The fact that Javanese culture is a communal society makes it easier for working women to ask for help from closest family members. One of the principles in Javanese ethics is *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation). Javanese people believe that maintaining good relationships with neighbors and helping each other in times of need is important (Koentjaraningrat, 1989; Yumarma, 1996).

In addition, high dependency on domestic workers in middle class families, either permanent or temporary, is a unique characteristic of Indonesia (International Labour

Organization [ILO], 2004). A 2004 ILO report on domestic workers in Indonesia pointed out that the high demand for domestic workers among middle class families was partly the result of the increasing number of women who participated in the public sphere (ILO, 2004). The report cited that provinces in Java employed the most domestic workers compared to other provinces in Indonesia. In 2004, approximately 1.4 million out of 2.5 million domestic workers worked in large cities in Java alone. This figure may be much higher because many households regarded their domestic workers as family (ILO, 2004).

The impact of social class on women's career advancement is another important avenue to examine in the Indonesian context. Singapore, Malaysia, and Indonesia share similar characteristics, including the dependence on domestic workers and the available support from extended families. It was important to explore whether my participants received support from hired workers and extended family members, and if they did, to what extent they benefited from such support.

The literature also describes the role of religion in women's career advancement. The idea that women in Islamic countries are marginalized is nevertheless quite common. In her study of female college chairs in Pakistan, Shah (2009) found that her participants were still subject to power plays and gender demarcations. One of the participants reported that it was considered inappropriate to visit a male-dominated public space even in her own campus without being accompanied by a male relative. Another participant said, "Going to the accounts office itself is a problem" (p. 138). Shah stated that "women's restricted and proscribed mobility not only caused delay and malpractice in performance of professional tasks, but also subjected women to exploitation" (p. 138). One of her participants described how a clerk wanted to extort money from her so that she could get her paperwork done. She refused to give him money and used personal influence to process her paperwork.

However, the existent literature on the role of women in Indonesia and Malaysia offers compelling arguments that women in Islamic countries such as Malaysia and

Indonesia embrace both modernity and religious norms (Rinaldo, 2008; Stivens, 2000). The influx of Western influence creates a call for an Islamic revival to counter negative Western influences, however. This results in a generalized call for more conservative Islamic values.

Rinaldo (2008) noted that professional women do not dismiss their socially prescribed roles and continue to view their responsibilities as a mother and a wife as a reflection of their religious piety. They strongly believe that women and men are created to complete different tasks in life. Women's main role is to be the primary caretaker in the family, and the husband's role is to be the provider and head of the household. Women may participate in public life as long as they do not neglect their most important role as wives and mothers. Men should also share the burden of domestic tasks as long as they do not abandon their main responsibility as the providers. This implies that men can take part in the domestic sphere and women can work and participate in the public sphere (Mahmudah, 2008; Mas'ud, 2006; Rinaldo, 2008). For working Muslim women, participating in social life, politics, and a profession, as well as taking care of their families, provided a way to become "important religious and political agents" (Stivens, 2000, p. 31).

In a similar vein, religious scholars Hassan (1995) and Engineer (2008) pointed out that how scholars interpret a woman's place in society depends on the politics of power in a particular country. They argued that Qur'an supports the idea that women are equal to men. Engineer (2008) further emphasized that Qur'an

gave [a woman] an independent existence of her own and an active role of life in her own right. Though there were certain constraints in the contextual sense, the intention of the Qur'an was quite clear. A woman has an active, independent role to play and has well-defined rights. She does not exist at the pleasure of her male adjuncts. (p. 68)

However, the Qur'anic ideals are often different from the practice. Many Islamic states treat women as having less authority and status than men (Engineer, 2008; Hassan, 1995).

Indonesia, a predominantly Muslim society, embraces a more moderate Islam than many other Islamic states such as Pakistan or countries in the Middle East. The worldwide feminist movement in the 1980s shaped the dynamics of women's participation in the public sphere in Indonesia (Rinaldo, 2008). This is evident through the growing number of women who have joined non-governmental organizations. The gender equality movement has inspired women from all groups, including Muslim women, to actively participate in nation-building efforts (Rinaldo, 2008). Discourse on gender was increasingly more popular as women participated more actively in various social organizations in the 1990s. Currently, women in Indonesia enjoy more opportunities to participate actively in public spheres than women in more conservative countries.

The above studies raise questions about the strategies that women administrators use to overcome the constraints imposed by cultural values and stereotypes, and especially how women who aspire to become leaders negotiate the tension between societal values regarding women's identity and their career aspirations. The studies also raise questions about various ways women administrators in Asia benefit from communal societies and the role of social class and wealth in women's career advancement.

Social Systems

Although many studies discuss the impact of cultural values, only a few studies look more in-depth at the impact of the social systems on women's career advancement. Despite the lack of literature on the subject, the existing literature provides insight on the positive impact of social systems—the organizations of society—on the gender stratification in higher education (Bain & Cummings, 2000; Malik & Lie, 1994). Women are more likely to have better opportunities to participate as students, staff, teachers, or administrators and are more likely to hold professorships in countries that embrace egalitarianism such as Norway, the United States, and France (Bain & Cummings, 2000)

Egalitarian societies show greater dispositions toward gender equity than hierarchical societies—societies that are characterized by power, rank, class, or caste (Lipset in Bain & Cummings, 2000). Hausmann, Tyson, and Zahidi's (2010) *The Global Gender Gap Report 2010* corroborated the studies summarized above. According to the report, Oceanian countries, Western European countries, and North America have narrowed the gender parity index to over 70 percent whereas Asian, Sub-Saharan African, and Middle Eastern countries have succeeded in closing a little over 58 percent of the gender discrepancy (Hausmann et al., 2010). This report used the variables of female student enrollment in K-12 and tertiary institutions for its educational attainment index, but it did not specifically address the gender discrepancy in administrative positions in higher education. Nevertheless, the results imply a link between social systems and women's participation in higher education. The first three groups of countries represented more egalitarian societies, whereas the last three groups were countries with hierarchical societies.

Geertz (1957) and Anderson (1983) argued that Javanese culture is traditionally hierarchical. Power and social status are important in any social relationship. However, this hierarchical system seems to be less apparent in the Indonesian higher education system. Altbach (2004) suggested that Asian universities abandoned their traditional system to build on the European or American system of higher education, which defines higher education institutions as more egalitarian than other social institutions such as family or governments. The question arises as to what extent other social institutions influence the policy making in higher education, however, especially those policies pertaining to women's career advancement.

Governmental Policies

Governmental policies and practices also have the potential to facilitate or hinder women from moving into higher administrative positions. A closer look at existent studies addressing gender discrepancy in higher education reveals that gender equity

policies sometimes do not directly improve the gender gap (Glazer-Raymo, 1999; Jayaweera, 1997; Malik & Lie, 1994). Developed countries such as Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States established programs, initiatives, and policies on the national and institutional levels in the 1970s to increase women's access to higher education and to address the issue of gender inequity (Grimm & Meier, 1994; Sutherland, 1994). The policies these developed countries initiated, however, have yet to promote complete gender equity.

In Asia, the literature on the gender discrepancy demonstrates that the issue of gender equity is even much more complex due to the clash between modernization and Asia's traditional socio-cultural values (Altbach, 2004; Luke, 2002; Roces & Edwards, 2000). Western traditions introduced new gender ideologies, but the local socio-cultural norms greatly restricted the policy makers in higher education from addressing gender equity effectively (Jayaweera, 1997; Luke, 2002). Governments in Asian countries acknowledge feminist movements and make commitments to improve gender equity; yet, such commitments tend to be rhetorical because of the specific socio-cultural values entrenched in their patriarchal systems (Luke, 2000). For these reasons, local and national policy makers have not fully succeeded in establishing gender equity. Even if programs to promote gender equity exist, decision makers and policy makers are still reluctant to promote women to top positions (Jayaweera, 1997).

In addition, in Asian countries, women's movements tend to focus more on education and training than on rights and equality (Johnsrud, 1995). Government policies designed to empower women aim to equip women with sufficient education to be able to participate in society. Thus, education "has not been able to counter the economic and social constraints that perpetuate poverty and social class differentiation or the social construction of gender that reinforces gender inequality in the family, labor market and society" (Jayaweera, 1997, pp. 422–423). Gender equity programs exist but they are not well-organized or well-implemented. Moreover, such programs are merely superficial, as

other policies do not support gender equity. Most often such programs are merely symbolic and are often difficult to implement at the local level. Religious values have also made gender-oriented programs more difficult to implement (Jayaweera, 1997).

The socio-cultural values that put men first are often invisible and entrenched in daily practices. For instance, the hidden curriculum in schools reflects the belief that women's place is in the home (Leach, 1998). School textbooks also reinforce gender stereotypes and promote women's main role as homemakers and men's as breadwinners by portraying girls helping their mothers with cooking and household chores, and boys helping their fathers fixing the house or even just playing with their friends. The hidden curriculum in schools reinforces "messages about girls' inferior status on a daily basis and provides them with a negative learning experience, thus creating a culture of low self-esteem and low aspirations" (Leach, p. 14). The hidden curriculum is often unnoticeable, yet it has a profound impact on how women perceive themselves. Women tend to subconsciously accept their culturally constructed roles in family, marriage, and society as natural.

The literature also reveals several examples of government policies that actually discriminate against women. In her study of women faculty in universities in Singapore, Luke (1998a) reported that women felt discouraged with government policies, which put women at a disadvantage. The Singaporean government, for example, does not allow homemakers and non-waged women to contribute to a retirement pension fund, women do not qualify for unemployment and medical benefits for their children, and in higher education only men are eligible for sabbatical leave and return air fare when they have to travel (Luke, 2000).

The literature also demonstrates how, paradoxically, women are sometimes resistant to policies that are designed to address gender equity, and how women perceive religious values as motivators to advance. Ismail and Rasdi (2006) interviewed women professors in Malaysian universities and found that the women viewed religion as

important for establishing social order and strongly believed that adherence to religion guided them into “complete individuals in [the] academic world” (p. 168). Acceptance of women’s roles according to traditional values reflects these women’s adherence to religious values as well. Women in Thailand and Malaysia believed strongly that education in rural communities should conform to traditional values. Luke (2000) argued that this could bring gender equity programs to a halt, and the absence of gender equity programs is likely to return women to their traditional gendered roles.

Governments in both developed and developing countries design policies and practices to decrease gender disparity, but many factors such as societal values in patriarchal society, resistance from women, and lack of commitment restrict their implementation. In Indonesia, the lack of women representatives in the political arena further slows down the efforts to improve gender equity (Setiadarma, 1993). Given the centralized characteristics of Indonesian higher education, it is, therefore, necessary to look at what government policies contribute to women’s career advancement and what policies hinder women from reaching top positions in Indonesian academic administration.

Organizational Practices

The organizational structure and culture of higher education institutions vary greatly between countries. These differences are clearly present in the way institutions establish policies and practices that address the gender discrepancy. The review of literature on the impacts of organizational practices on women’s career advancement points to two important factors: mentoring and promotion

Mentoring

The effect of mentoring on women’s career advancement is the most researched topic in the literature on women’s careers in higher education. Most studies focusing on the role of mentors for women faculty and administrators reveal that mentorship is one of the motivating factors for women’s career advancement (Beck, 2003; Collins, 1983; Noe,

1988; Seibert, Kraimer, & Liden, 2001; Williams, 2008; Wolverton & Gmelch, 2002). Literature on the effect of mentoring in the West and the East reveals several important findings.

First, women and minorities particularly benefit from mentors because they serve as role models. Madsen (2008) interviewed 10 women presidents in American universities who shared how their mentors inspired them to achieve their best potential. The mentors taught them about the politics of higher education. Even when these women were already in higher positions, having other administrators as role models helped them when they needed to interact with other leaders. In another study, Williams (2008) researched the effect of mentoring on career advancement of African-American female administrators and found that mentoring can have a profound effect on women in all stages of their careers. For those women, it was more important to have mentors who had power and were thus better able to help them navigate the political culture in the university. The above findings support research by Beck (2003), who studied women faculty and administrators in a large research university. She found that women who enter the academic profession need support from other people in their department to adjust to their profession and to understand the culture of the institution. In addition, the presence of mentors, both formal and informal, is most often beneficial for women in the professoriate or administrative positions because those mentors are already familiar with the overall organizational culture in their institutions. Mentors serve as a useful source of information about the organizational culture, how things are accomplished and managed in particular institutions (Beck, 2003).

Studies on mentoring in North American universities have shown that many women academics agree that mentors or role models help them advance in their careers (Beck, 2003; Collins, 1983; Noe, 1988; Seibert et al., 2001; Tierney & Bensimon, 1996; Williams, 2008; Wolverton & Gmelch, 2002). However, research focusing on Asian universities is less conclusive. Researchers have found that some women academics

stress the importance of an informal mentor (Luke, 2000), while other findings have contradicted the view that mentoring is one of the mediating factors for women's career aspirations (Lam, 2006; Luke, 1998a).

Lam's studies suggested that when women assumed top positions, they were more authoritative than male leaders and personal conflicts were more likely to occur. Luke's (1998a) findings reveal the silent yet tense conflicts among women. Women in her study reported that "women are most unsupportive, most unkind. They oppose other women. There are so few women and when they get in power, they are certainly not helpful to other women" (p. 50). Staines et al. (1974) contended that women leaders sometimes do not function as role models and mentors for other women. Rather, they become the enemy in disguise because they want to secure their place as the only woman or one of a few women in a leadership position.

The second key finding is the multiplicative effect of race and gender in mentoring. In her essay, "Todos Vuelven: From Potrero Hill to UCLA," Pegueros (1995) recalled her personal struggle as a black woman in academe—how her professors judged her because of her race and gender. She expressed her concern about the lack of support for people of color to survive in graduate school even when the university recognizes the need to address minority retention. In addition, Pegueros observed that very little support was available for female students. In another essay, bell hooks (1993), an African-American feminist and writer, described her personal and professional struggle to be accepted in a world which privileges white males. Hooks (1993) argued that the underlying assumption is that women need to assimilate to the values of the ruling class—that is, the values of middle and upper class White males. Therefore, having other women serving as role models is crucial.

These two personal accounts reflect the multiplicative effect of race and gender on mentoring. William's (2007) study confirmed the above accounts. She interviewed African-American women administrators on mentoring and found that African-American

women administrators credited their achievement to their mentors. They suggested that the most important aspect of mentoring is that mentors should have a vested interest in their protégés and that they both must have a strong commitment to the relationship.

The third important finding is that the notion of mentoring is different across cultures. Tourigny and Pulich (2005) distinguished between formal and informal mentoring. Formal mentoring is usually in the form of programs that are designed, upon the approval of the institution, to select and match mentors and protégés while informal mentoring refers to “a relationship based on mutual identification and attraction and personal development needs” (p. 71). There are many studies on formal mentoring in the Western literature, but studies examining the impact of mentoring on women administrators in higher education describe informal mentoring rather than formal mentoring, even though these studies do not refer specifically to either type of mentoring (Madsen, 2008; Ramanan et al., 2006; Williams, 2007).

Literature on mentoring in Asian universities reveals that it is mostly informal. Women who are in higher positions sometimes train their successors by involving them in daily activities as administrators (Luke, 1998a). Mentoring is based on “patronage and successor grooming” (Luke, 2000, p. 654). The interaction between the mentor and the protégé involves loyalty and obligation. This suggests that the career path to a higher administrative position is built upon interaction with more influential people instead of upon programs or interventions from the institutions.

The last important point from the review of literature on mentoring and women administrators' career advancement worldwide is the close relationship between mentoring and networking. Several studies in the West argued that formal and informal mentoring create opportunities to establish a strong network (Johnson, 1998; Madsen, 2008; Wolverson & Gmelch, 2002). In the work setting, women administrators are likely to have more access to information and resources if they have wider social networks. Seibert et al. (2001) conducted a quantitative study on the determinants of career success

among graduates of a business school in a large private university. They adopted social capital constructs to find the factors that most influenced the career success of the graduates in their study. They found that women in managerial positions are likely to gain more career sponsorship when they have a wider social network. In managerial levels where access to resources and information is limited, having a wider social network is critical. In such cases, mentorship is crucial because women who have encouraging and experienced mentors are more likely to be able to widen their social network. Their study also showed the linkage between networks and mentoring and shed light on the idea of “mentoring networks” or a network of mentors. Subordinates benefit from relationships with different mentors. Studies by Madsen (2008) and Wolverton and Gmelch (2002) confirmed these findings. Women senior administrators are scarce because they have limited access to power. When they establish relationships with influential people or superiors through formal or informal mentoring, they build a path to power and set up wider networks. The women presidents in Madsen’s study emphasized the importance of effective networking as a means for “long term leadership, ...for further development, opportunities, collaboration, creativity, assistance, and support” (Madsen, 2008, p. 207).

The review of literature on mentoring in the West and the East reveals differences in mentoring practices between Western and Asian universities. The dearth of literature on formal mentoring in Asian universities might suggest that in university leadership, mentoring is a personal exchange, and therefore does not need to be institutionalized. This raises questions about the different ways mentoring can affect women in Asian universities. It is important to examine whether the informal type of mentoring applies universally in Asia and how women with an Asian cultural background employ mentoring as a strategy to advance their careers.

Hiring and Promotion Practices

The purpose of gender equity programs and legislative actions such as Affirmative Action and Title IX in the United States and Bill for the Advancement for Women Students in Germany is to ensure that men and women receive equal treatment in recruitment, hiring, appointment, and promotion in higher education. Nevertheless, these policies have not completely improved gender equity. Literature on women's career advancement worldwide consistently shows the underrepresentation of women in certain fields, departments, and leadership positions (Glazer-Raymo, 1999; Sagaria & Johnsrud, 1992). Some studies argued that gender has an impact on an individual administrative promotion (Johnsrud, 1991; Johnsrud & Heck, 1994; Sagaria, 1988; Sagaria & Johnsrud, 1992; VanderLinden, 2004) but they were inconclusive regarding the significance of gender in an individual's promotion. These inconclusive results may be due in part to other moderating variables such as degree of aspirations, education, age, the structure of work (Johnsrud, 1991; Johnsrud & Heck, 1994), work habit, and level of performance (Over, 1993).

Organizational cultures may also account for the difficulty in examining whether women are indeed discriminated against in hiring and promotion practices. In some organizations, promotion is based on trust more than performance (Glazer-Raymo, 1999). Some institutions adopt a sponsored-mobility system while others adopt a contest mobility system (Sagaria & Johnsrud, 1992). Individual attributes such as the degree of aspirations, education, age, and the structure of work also play a huge role in determining an individual's administrative promotion (Over, 1993). Personal accounts of women in qualitative studies on women's career advancement discuss the "chilly climate" (Sandler & Hale, 1986) in higher education. However, Tierney, and Bensimon (1996) contended that such a climate is often the result of an absence of gender consciousness on the part of the decision makers rather than overt discriminatory practices.

In Asian universities, studies on women faculty's career advancement show that women are disadvantaged in promotion because of the challenge to balance professional and family life (Lam, 2006; Luke, 1997, 1998a, 1998b, 2000). In Asian higher education, research productivity and publication are very important for promotion (Gaskel et al., 2004; Ismail & Rasdi, 2006; Lam, 2006; Luke, 1997, 1998a, 2000) but studies demonstrate that women encounter a greater challenge than men to maintain their research productivity because they have to fulfill their domestic duties (Ismail & Rasdi, 2006; Luke, 2000). As a result, it takes longer for women to get promoted to senior positions. Currently, the internationalization of universities in Asia compels universities to expand and intensify their emphasis on research and publication outcomes, which is likely to perpetuate the gender discrepancy in hiring and promotion.

Asian universities, especially public research universities, are typically bureaucratic and centralized (Postiglione, 1997), but studies on women's career advancement in Asian universities do not specifically address how organizational culture affects their promotion practices. Administrative mobility in Asian universities might be different from that in Western universities. Therefore, it is essential to examine how female faculty members navigate the promotion process in bureaucratic and centralized systems of higher education in Asia.

Personality

In the literature related to women's personality, three topics are prominent: personality traits, leadership styles, and education/training.

Personality Traits

Personality is a strong determinant of success for an academic administrator. One of the most consistent themes in studies on women's career advancement worldwide is that women's personal attributes can be a motivating or an impeding factor to career advancement. Studies focusing on Western universities and non-Western universities are uniform in their findings. Several personal attributes that are likely to help women in

reaching top positions are networking skills (Lam, 2006; Madsen, 2008, Seibert et al., 2001; Wolverton & Gmelch, 2002); flexibility/adaptability, resilience, sense of humor, determination, self motivation, confidence, and independence (Beck, 2003; Cubillo & Brown, 2003; Ismail & Rasdi, 2006; Lam, 2006, Madsen, 2008); and a high level of job commitment (Johnsrud & Heck, 1996; Lam, 2006). These studies demonstrate that women with the above-listed personal attributes are likely to survive in the male-dominated world of higher education.

Further observation of women's personal traits reveals evidence of an identity clash among women (Madsen, 2008; Suspitsina, 2000). Traditionally women bear the roles of mother and possess characteristics of a mother; they are nurturing, comforting, and protective. When becoming leaders, women need to develop a new identity, one that makes them productive and effective leaders. Women, in addition to being nurturing, comforting, and protective, have to be assertive, strong, and decisive.

Women often struggle with these two identities, however. Studies on this issue consistently show that women are torn between personal and professional responsibilities and behavior. Studies on women academics in Hong Kong and Southeast Asia look at women's own reluctance to move into the top positions for a multitude of reasons. Assuming a leadership role takes its toll on women's various roles in their family, marriage, and society as well as on their academic productivity. Awareness of these conflicting roles renders women less interested in applying for administrative positions (Lam, 2006; Luke, 1998a, 1998b).

Women who are already in top administrative positions view their career path as something that "just happened" and not as a result of their own carefully executed plan (Lam, 2006; Luke, 1997), and when they finish their first term, they generally tend to refuse to hold the same or an even higher position for another term. Their role as leaders in higher education takes much of their time and makes it difficult for them to balance work and family responsibilities. Studies by Cubillo and Brown (2003), Lam (2006), and

Madsen (2008) showed the importance of having supportive family and friends in balancing the different responsibilities. Supportive husbands can decrease job-related stress, and supportive superiors are helpful when women have family emergencies to which they must attend. Compared to women in Western cultures, women leaders in Asia seem to benefit from their communal society. In Asia, it is still a common practice for relatives or even neighbors to help take care of the babies and children of working women. Even when the husbands are unable to assume the responsibilities of childcare, working women can depend on their relatives and neighbors (Luke, 1998a).

Several studies in Western and non-Western universities found that the barriers for women's advancement sometimes lay within the women themselves (Adair, 1999; Cubillo & Brown, 2003; Lam, 2006; Omar, 1993; Setiadarma, 1993). Some women refuse to fight their way to the top because of their lack of self-confidence. Setiadarma (1993) asserted that gender stereotyping has a profound impact on women's behavior and attitude. In other words, women have long been the victims of the socially and culturally generated values that portray them as weak and dependent on men. As a result, many women do not aspire to leadership positions because they believe themselves incapable. Women are worried that they cannot solve problems or maintain effective and productive work relationships with their male subordinates or superiors. Setiadarma (1993) further maintained that

...this attitude consists of the psychological dependence of a woman who wants to be taken care of and protected by another person. Perhaps this attitude is the last and the most paralyzing challenge for women today...Such an approach can be fatal since a woman lacks enough courage to fulfill her own creativity and to realize her own aspirations. (pp. 114 – 115)

Cultural portrayals of women as less intelligent and less able than men to manage challenges are likely to make women believe they cannot be risk-takers (Lam, 2006). Even women who are achievement-oriented can suffer from such stereotypical views (Madsen, 2008). For this reason, the role of supportive family, friends, and superiors is vital for women to move forward as leaders.

Studies of women in Malaysia and Singapore revealed that supportive family members are keys in women's career advancement (Luke, 1998a, 2000). Given similarities between the social and cultural values of those two regions and of Indonesia, it is important to examine whether women leaders in Indonesia benefit from supportive family members. It is also useful to explore what programs and initiatives universities in Indonesia provide to help women balance their personal and professional demands.

Leadership Styles

Carli and Eagly (2007) wrote that studies on gender and leadership elucidate the concerns about relationships between leader characteristics and gendered stereotypes. Society commonly relates leader characteristics to stereotypical male traits such as ambition, confidence, dominance, and assertiveness. Female stereotypical traits, however, such as kindness, helpfulness, warmth, and gentleness do not make women effective leaders. This assumption is misleading because effective leaders should be able to select the most appropriate characteristics depending on the settings, problems, and audience (Keohane, 2007).

Research on gender and leadership in the West focuses extensively on men's and women's leadership styles. In their meta-analysis of 50 studies on gender and leadership style of school principals, Eagly, Karau, and Johnson (1992) stated that earlier studies on women and leadership styles focused on either a task-oriented style or an interpersonally oriented style, whereas recent studies focus on three types of leadership styles that are useful in achieving effectiveness in an institutional setting: transformational, transactional, and *laissez-faire* styles. Transformational leaders are leaders who focus on the empowerment of subordinates by showing interest in employees' personal growth and relationship exchanges. Transactional leaders are those who are more concerned with punishment and reward, and *laissez faire* leaders are those who demonstrate little involvement during a crisis. After reviewing 50 studies, the authors found that women's

leadership style was more transformational than men's and related positively to effectiveness.

Wolverton and Gmelch (2002) conducted a study of college deans that supported the findings of Eagly et al. (1992). They found that gender had a significant effect on tasks such as budgeting and encouraging personal growth. Women deans ranked these tasks higher than male deans did. Clark et al. (1999) studied 23 women leaders in business and educational administration and found that most women in their study related their professional capabilities to feminine traits such as empathetic listening, sensitivity, and conscientiousness, which fit into the description of transformational leadership styles.

Rosser's (2001) quantitative study of faculty/staff members and deans in a research university in North America further corroborated women's transformational leadership styles. In her study, the administrative staff perceived women leaders as more likely to engage in the quality of education, more involved in research and community, more likely to promote and support diversity, and more likely to manage personnel and financial resources more effectively than men.

Most scholarship on gender and leadership styles in the West has underscored the dual identity of women leaders (Carli & Eagly, 2007; Christman & McClellan, 2008; Madsen, 2008; Suspitsina, 2000). Women leaders face greater challenges because they have conflicting roles as women and as leaders. Women presidents in Madsen's (2008) study reported that they had an androgynous (highly instrumental and expressive) leadership style and at the same time were supportive, nurturing, and connective. Suspitsina (2000) studied women in Russian higher education and invented the phrase "phantasmic superwoman identity" to describe the imaginary identity of a superwoman that women administrators created to reconcile public (leader) and private (woman, mother, wife) identities. In many cases, women leaders are often forced to create these conflicting identities in order to succeed in the male world.

In Asian universities, women experience additional pressures. In addition to having to create conflicting identities, women have to conform to culturally appropriate leadership styles (Lam, 2006). For instance, the notions of face, power, and distance are important in Asian culture. Although these notions are observable through spoken language, they are also present in less visible exchanges such as gestures and body language. Leadership characteristics such as assertiveness, dominance, and ambitiousness are not appropriate for women who are considered subordinate. (Luke, 1997, 1998b, 2000).

While existing literature clearly demonstrates different leadership styles between men and women, more studies are needed on how women administrators set their goals and how they, as individuals with authority, can make a difference by creating special programs or initiatives directed to women.

Education and Training

A significant amount of literature on women's career advancement in the West has discussed the impact of education on career advancement (Ross & Green, 1998; Seibert et al., 2001; Umbach, 2001). Some scholars have used theories from sociology such as human and cultural capital to examine the effect of education on career aspiration, career trajectories, or career mobility (Seibert et al., 2001; Umbach, 2001, 2003). Ross and Green's *American College Presidents* (1998) presents a figure on the highest educational background of presidents in North American universities. In 1998, 58.7 percent of presidents held a doctorate. According to the theory of social capital, education and training are forms of human capital and they are keys in women's career trajectories (Seibert et al., 2001; Umbach, 2003). Umbach (2001) reported that individuals with the most professional experience and the highest level of education became presidents in every institutional type. Education is often the first step in a career path. A qualitative study of 10 women presidents (Madsen, 2008) captured the important role of education. Those women recalled that their college education was critical for them

because they had opportunities to become involved in student organizations and were able to sharpen their leadership skills.

Studies of women leaders in Asia have yielded similar findings. Ismail and Rasdi's (2006) study of 39 women faculty in Malaysia showed that women's career mobility was often dependent on their objective career experiences (types of schools and degrees) and subjective career experiences (early exposure to learning and parental support). In another study of women professors in universities in Hong Kong, Lam (2006) found that early education might not directly relate to women's career mobility but it shapes women's personalities, which later help women in overcoming possible obstacles in their career in higher education.

In addition to early education, women faculty members benefit from graduate education to achieve professorships. Ismail and Rasdi (2006) discovered that in countries where women with doctorate degrees are scarce, experiences in graduate schools, especially overseas, will benefit women by providing more access to local, national, and international networks. Literature on women's career advancement in Asia has discussed the role of a college education for women in building their career path. However, more studies need to focus on leadership training for women who already hold top administrative positions. Will they benefit from leadership training, and how do they use such training to improve their careers?

Summary

Studies and reports on the gender discrepancy in higher education have demonstrated that many countries have made better progress in addressing gender equity issues whereas others have made only minor progress due to social, political, and economic barriers. On a global level, statistics indicate that women's participation as students, teachers, and administrators has increased since the beginning of the twentieth century, but that does not necessarily mean gender equity has been achieved. Women are still underrepresented in many fields and especially in top administrative positions.

The literature review on women's career advancement in higher education identified four key factors that account for women's upward mobility in higher education: societal factors, governmental policies, organizational practices, and personality. These factors are interrelated but their influences on women's career advancement vary depending on the characteristics of an individual country. Therefore, a study on the various factors that affect women senior academic administrators in Indonesia will contribute significantly to the literature on women's career advancement in higher education.

In the next chapter, I will discuss the methods and the strategies utilized in this study. In addition, I will describe in detail the samples, the data collection, and the data analysis. Finally, I will explicate the steps to ensure an ethical process and the trustworthiness of this study.

CHAPTER III METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This study examined and explicated numerous factors affecting the career advancement of women senior academic administrators. It analyzed in depth the personal and professional experiences of women senior academic administrators in public research universities in Central Java and Yogyakarta Special Territory. The focus was to explore the women's understanding of the personal and professional experiences they encountered in their career path, their perceptions of any challenges they faced in their career advancement, and the strategies they utilized to overcome challenges in their career advancement.

This chapter presents the rationale for choosing the qualitative method and the research strategies used in this study. It discusses the rationale for using qualitative methodology, the site and sample selection, the pilot study, data collection procedures, ethical considerations, data analysis procedures, and the trustworthiness of study.

Rationale for Qualitative Method

This study employed qualitative inquiry to address the research questions. Qualitative inquiry was appropriate for several reasons. First, the essence of this study was to investigate how women senior academic administrators, as individuals, perceived the challenges and motivations that affected their career paths, what factors hindered them from advancing to higher level positions, how they took advantage of available resources to attain their current positions, and what factors motivated them to advance later on in their careers. In brief, this study focused on how women attach meanings to their experiences. This perspective is one of the chief characteristics of qualitative research. Taylor and Bogdan (1998) suggested that the essence of the qualitative research is "understanding people from their own frames of references and experiencing reality as they experience it" (p. 7). Qualitative researchers are interested in "the complexity of

social interaction expressed in daily life and the meanings that the participants themselves attribute to those interactions” (Marshall & Rossman, 2006, p. 3). As a researcher studying how women leaders in Indonesia have attained their current positions, I took into account the personal beliefs, values, significant events, and professional experiences those women brought to their current positions. Using qualitative methodology allowed me to understand the phenomenon of the glass ceiling in women’s senior academic career advancement in a holistic manner, in a way that allowed me to understand how women’s past experiences shape their aspirations and perspectives regarding their present achievements. To address the research questions, I utilized a qualitative descriptive approach. A qualitative descriptive approach is commonly used when a researcher seeks to “stay close to the data and to the surface of words and events” (Sandelowsky, 2000). Sandelowsky pointed out that this approach can benefit researchers who are particularly interested in collecting valuable information for policy making and practice. In this study I adopted this approach because I intended to investigate the experiences of women senior academic administrators of two public research universities in Central Java and Yogyakarta Special Territory in navigating their career paths. This method allowed me to describe these women’s perceptions about gender equity in higher education elaborately and to look for commonalities and differences in their experiences. Their reflections were key in understanding factors that influenced their career paths and suggested issues to consider in formulating policies.

Understanding how a select group of Indonesian women senior academic administrators were able to use various resources to make informed decisions in achieving their career goals will contribute to better comprehension of gender inequity and the obstacles women face in higher education, which will ultimately serve to improve women’s status as they pursue administrative positions.

Site and Sample Selection

Site Selection

I conducted my study in two public research universities in Central Java and Yogyakarta Special Territory. Major research universities in Indonesia typically have approximately 1,500 to 2,000 faculty members. In such universities, top administrative positions are more competitive than in smaller public or private universities. Therefore, only a few individuals can attain the top positions. Appointments to administrative positions, especially for presidents and vice presidents, are based on academic achievements and prior administrative experience. University senates appoint the candidates but the senate has to seek approval from the *Kemendiknas* (The Ministry of National Education and Culture). Most administrators are senior faculty members who have more academic and administrative experience than other faculty. Only faculty members working in a particular institution can hold academic administrative positions in that institution. Unlike in the United States, where it is common to hire people from outside the university to be administrators, in Indonesia, such practice is very uncommon. The *Kemendiknas* are unlikely to appoint administrators from other universities, regardless of their academic achievement and administrative experience in their former institutions.

There were 15 public universities in these two areas, but I conducted my study in two public research universities in two cities in Central Java and Yogyakarta Special Territory, Amarta University and Nusantara University, because they were likely to have a more similar institutional culture than other universities in these regions. They are the two largest higher education institutions in Central Java and Yogyakarta Special Territory; the other institutions are historically teacher education colleges, Islamic universities, or Advanced Schools (leaning toward vocational schools). There are two other research institutions but they are not as competitive or as large as Amarta

University and Nusantara University. The following are the profiles of Amarta University and Nusantara University.

Amarta University

This university is the largest public research university in Central Java. Located in Wonoagung, a city on the north coast of Central Java, it has 11 colleges offering 44 undergraduate majors and 53 graduate and professional majors. The total student body of Amarta University numbers 52,542. The university is located in several areas in Wonoagung covering a total of 495 acres. The downtown campus is the older campus and houses the graduate and professional schools. The newer campus is located on the outskirts of Wonoagung and is used for most of administrative offices and undergraduate programs. Some colleges have buildings and laboratories in other areas and cities as well.

Nusantara University

Nusantara University is one of the oldest and largest public research universities in Indonesia. Located in Karangwulan, it has 18 colleges offering 73 graduate majors and 62 graduate and professional majors. Nusantara University currently has about 55,000 students, 605 international students, 2,301 employees, and 2,266 faculty members. The university's campus covers an area of 742 acres and houses 670 buildings.

Sample Selection

This study used purposeful sampling to recruit participants. Maxwell (1996) defined purposeful sampling as “a strategy in which particular settings, persons, or events are selected deliberately in order to provide important information that can't be gotten as well from other choices” (p. 70). In other words, researchers select participants whom they consider the most appropriate to assist them in addressing the research questions and understanding the phenomenon to be studied.

For this study, I selected prospective participants from the universities' web sites. Almost all of the universities' web sites posted information on academic administrators. From the web sites, I selected women associate presidents, deans, and associate deans.

Relying on the universities' web sites, however, had some disadvantages. First, some of the information was not up to date; thus, it was difficult to know whether the administrators listed on the web sites still had their positions. I addressed the problem by contacting the staff in the Public Relations Office at each university to find out the most up-to-date information on the current administrators in the university. Based on the data I obtained from the universities' web sites and the staff in the Public Relation Offices, I found 21 prospective participants in Amarta University and Nusantara University. From the list of prospective participants, I selected those who had prior managerial experiences and obtained their curriculum vitae from the institutions' web sites and from the secretaries of their departments. Of the 21 women administrators, only 15 met the criteria.

Pilot Study

While I was waiting for my prospective participants' responses to my request, I conducted a pilot study. According to Marshall and Rossman (2010), a pilot study is very useful for any investigation "not only for trying out strategies but also to buttress the argument and rationale for the genre and strategy" (p. 95). I conducted a pilot study to test the instruments and refine my strategies in obtaining participants' stories. To conduct the pilot study, I approached two colleagues who were faculty members in other public or private universities and who had several years of administrative experience. I selected them based on the ease of access and geographical convenience. The interviews with these two faculty members were conducted in public places of their choice and not in their offices. Each interview took approximately one hour to complete.

The interviews I conducted with my pilot study participants allowed me to review the interview protocol and reframe the questions for the main study. As Yin (2008) noted, a pilot study allows a researcher to improve the protocol, modify interview strategies, and try out different approaches. I also asked my participants to provide feedback that would

be useful for me during the main interviews. For the pilot interviews, I also used field notes to record the process and any changes that I might need to make.

The pilot interviews helped me in several ways. First, I was able to detect possible problematic questions. For example, one participant asked, “What do you mean?” in response to my question, “What makes your job easier?” The intent of the question was to learn what factors might facilitate their career advancement. The other participant was able to describe support from colleagues and spouse as the main factors. I decided to keep the questions and then explain them if the participants in the main study did not seem to understand a question.

During the pilot study, I also found that recording field notes was very challenging. Initially, I planned to allocate space for a reflective journal to record my observations and used two different columns for the researcher’s observation and comments as suggested by Marshall and Rossman (2010). However, I found that recording observations and comments on the same page as the interview protocol was more complicated than I expected. I found myself pausing several times to go back and forth between the list of questions and the field notes. To improve the process of recording observation and comments, I kept the interview protocol and the field notes separate. In addition, I decided to modify the format of the field notes by using just one note and marking my observations in brackets. During the interviews, when I noticed different tones such as hesitancy or reluctance to answer my questions directly, I wrote my comments in the field notes and marked the minutes of the interviews from my digital recorder. After I completed the two pilot interviews, I revisited my interview questions and made changes in the format of my field notes.

Instruments

In qualitative studies, one of the most widely used methods is open-ended, in-depth interviews. In-depth interviews are defined as “face-to-face encounters between researchers and informants directed toward understanding informants’ perspectives on

their lives, experiences, or situations as expressed in their own words” (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998, p. 88). To capture my participants’ personal journeys and their career paths, I used in-depth, open-ended, and semi-structured interviews. I prepared an interview protocol, as suggested by Creswell (2003), to ensure that the conversations covered the key issues to be addressed. An interview guide is not a predetermined set of questions; it is a list of issues that qualitative researchers have to address (Taylor & Bogdan, 1996). The interview protocol for this study consisted of the following (see Appendix B):

Heading. The heading of the interview protocol listed the title of the study and the participants’ background information.

Introduction and Opening Statements. I used this section to assist me in introducing myself and the study, explaining the purposes of the study, and clarifying the use of information and ethical issues such as confidentiality.

Background Information Questions. In this section, I asked my interviewees to provide short descriptions about their current positions, work experiences, and previous experiences as academic administrators.

Key Research Questions. This section listed the interview questions. The purpose of this list was to assist me in making sure I addressed the research questions.

Closing. I used this section to confirm my interviewees’ addresses, telephone numbers, and e-mail addresses for future correspondence and clarification.

Data Collection Procedures

To gain access to the participants, I sought formal permission from the respective university presidents to conduct my research. Such formal request is important in Indonesia. The participants are likely to agree to participate when the researcher has obtained formal approval from the university president. As previously noted in the Limitations of the Study, communication was a problem in Indonesia. In these two universities, each president had an email address but did not open their messages; the secretaries in each president’s office were responsible for checking incoming emails and

responding to them. I sent my request to the Office of President in Amarta University on February 29, 2009 and obtained his approval on March 10, 2009.

The process of obtaining approval from Nusantara University, however, took much longer because I had to send my interview protocol and the list of eligible participants to the Director of Research. I sent my request on March 9, 2009, but I did not hear from the President's office for several days, so I decided to call the office. The secretary said that she had not yet opened her email accounts and informed me that she would process my requests immediately. Later, the secretary directed me to contact the Director of Research first in order to obtain the approval. In addition, I had to submit my interview protocol and the list of eligible participants to the Director of Research so that he could decide whether to give me access to conduct the research. After several weeks of communicating through emails and phone with the secretary of the Director of Research, I finally obtained approval from Nusantara University on April 29, 2009.

When I secured approval from both presidents, the next step was to send consent forms in Indonesian (see Appendix A) to prospective participants. After I received The University of Iowa Internal Review Board approval, I began the process of recruiting participants in Indonesia on July 2, 2009. Reflecting on my experience of communication with the Office of the President in Amarta University and in Nusantara University, I decided to deliver the consent forms in person. I could have sent my consent forms through the mail or email; however, I was concerned that my eligible participants would not respond quickly or that the consent forms would be delayed in the administrative offices. Therefore, I decided to meet my participants in person in their offices to tell them about my study and ask them whether they were interested in participating. I also asked for their cell phone numbers and their secretaries' phone numbers and extensions. For those who were not in, I left the consent form with their secretaries and asked for my prospective participants' cell phone numbers.

When a participant agreed to participate in the study, I arranged schedules for the interviews. Given that I had to travel to different cities, I tried to allocate a block of interview time for participants in the same cities. To accommodate the participants' busy schedules, I conducted interviews in venues of their own choice as long as I could conduct the interviews in private. Out of 15 eligible participants, only nine women administrators agreed to participate and only three responded to my request through emails. To reach the other women administrators, I had to contact their secretaries. One of the prospective participants was hospitalized before we met for the interview. Rescheduling with her was difficult because I had to conduct interviews in another city. Out of the eight women who agreed to the interviews, two were from Amarta University and six were from Nusantara University.

The interviews began in Amarta University on July 22, 2009 and ended in Nusantara University on August 10, 2009. During the three-week span, I conducted eight interviews. Each interview lasted approximately two to three hours. With the exception of Imawati, all interviews took place in my participants' offices. Imawati said she was unavailable during the weekdays and requested that I conduct the interview at her house on a Sunday. Given the fact that the interviews were in Indonesian, I translated the interview protocol guide and crosschecked it with a translator for accuracy. I recorded the interviews with a digital recorder because I could easily transfer the audio files to the computer and organize them into folders and files. To assist with the data collection process, I also used field notes to record the interview process and any relevant events pertaining to data collection.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations require that researchers respect the rights of participants and be aware of the potential risks of their studies to their participants. In this study, I used the following safeguards to protect the participants' rights:

Obtaining Approval from the Institutions

Marshall and Rossman (2006) pointed out that the Internal Review Board process and the requirement to obtain informed consent is a Western practice. Thus, any researcher who conducts research in non-Western settings should be aware of cross-cultural differences in regard to research ethics. A Human Subjects Office is not common in Indonesia. To gain access to participants, researchers must seek approval from the highest authority at the institutions where they will conduct the research. After a researcher obtains permission, the prospective participants are likely to comply, although they can certainly refuse to participate. In this study, the participants were women senior administrators in public research universities. To gain access to these participants, I obtained permission from the university presidents to conduct the research before establishing contacts with the prospective participants.

Obtaining Verbal Informed Consent from Prospective Participants

Upon obtaining research approval from the University of Iowa Internal Review Board, I attempted to establish contact with the prospective participants by meeting them in person. When I could not meet my participants in person, I contacted them through e-mails and telephone calls. Communication with participants served as an invitation to participate. The consent form included a more detailed description of my study: the purposes of the study, the voluntary nature of participation, the procedures, and the confidentiality of the participants.

Ensuring the Safety of Data and Data Storage

To protect the confidentiality of information collected from the participants, I took the following measures: (a) making sure I was the only person with access to the data, (b) storing the data in a password-protected computer, (c) and using pseudonyms for my participants and the universities under study in the research report.

Obtaining IRB Approval

Before starting the data collection, I complied with the rules of the Human Subjects Office by seeking research review approval from the Internal Review Board at The University of Iowa.

Data Analysis Procedures

The first step in the data analysis process was transferring audio files to my password-protected laptop. After I uploaded audio files, I began transcribing them using Express Scribe, a free transcription software. With the aid of a foot pedal and headsets, Express Scribe allowed me to complete the transcription process easily. Because the interviews were conducted in Indonesian, I had to translate them into English. To check the accuracy of my translation, I hired an Indonesian colleague, a University of Iowa graduate student who was also familiar with the research in other languages. He crosschecked my interview transcripts in Indonesian and the English translation.

To analyze my data, I used Atlas.ti, software for qualitative research and created pseudonyms for my interviewees and the universities where I conducted my research. The next step was to upload the audio files to Atlas.ti as my Primary Documents and to assign codes. When assigning codes for my Primary Documents, I referred back to my research questions so that I could relate the codes to the research questions. For instance, I used the codes *too many classes to teach*, *heavy workload*, *encouragement from spouse*, *family responsibility is from God*, *being assertive and active* for particular chunks of information from the interviews. Then I used the Code Families feature in Atlas.ti that allowed me to sort my codes into several categories. I used, for example, *challenges for career advancement* for *too many classes to teach*, *heavy work load* or other similar codes. Atlas.ti also allowed me to insert memos from my field notes and to the Primary Documents. These memos helped me to interpret and to recall the pertinent information that I managed to record in my field notes. From the Code Families, I could build themes and select important quotations (particular sections from transcriptions). These themes

and related quotations presented rich and interesting stories of my participants' experiences in their journeys to their top administrative positions.

Trustworthiness of the Study

One of the researcher's most salient tasks is to ensure that the findings are trustworthy. Lincoln and Guba (1985) asserted that findings of any research should meet these criteria: truth value (internal validity), applicability (external validity), consistency (reliability), and neutrality (objectivity). Qualitative studies commonly utilize several techniques to ensure that the findings meet the aforementioned criteria (Creswell, 2003; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The ones I used in this study were peer examination, member checks, controlling for personal bias, triangulation, and use of reflective journals.

Peer Examination

Peer examination refers to feedback from peers, colleagues, or other academics during the duration of the research project (Shenton, 2004). According to Shenton, peer examination is crucial in a qualitative study because a researcher can use the feedback "to challenge assumptions made by the investigator, whose closeness to the project frequently inhibits his or her ability of view it with real detachment" (p. 67). In this study, I received continuous feedback about my interpretations from my dissertation directors. During the writing of the project, they challenged and scrutinized my assumptions and made me rethink my interpretations. I also received feedback from my colleague who helped me crosscheck the translation of the interviews.

Member Checks

According to Maxwell (1996), one of the threats to validity in qualitative methodology is the interpretation: "The main threat to valid interpretation is imposing one's own framework or meaning, rather than understanding the perspective of the people studied and the meaning they attach to their words and actions" (pp. 89-90). Some scholars use the term "researcher bias" to refer to this type of threat (Marshall & Rossman, 2006; Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). One of the ways to minimize researcher bias is

member checking. Member checking is also known as participant feedback (Johnson, 1997). It refers to the process in which a researcher tests the accuracy of the data, analysis, themes, interpretations, and conclusions with the participants in the study. During data collection and analysis, a researcher commonly comes across confounding or ambiguous data. In such situations, it is vital for the researcher to ask for more clarification and verification from the participants in order to minimize possible errors in the interview and interpretation. Researchers are not value-free, and to some extent, researchers bring their own values and beliefs to their research either consciously or subconsciously. In addition to preventing misinterpretation, member checking is vital to ensure that a researcher's personal bias does not distort the findings. In this study, I sent emails and made phone calls to my participants to ask for further clarification. This took place in June 2010 after I finished transcribing and translating the interviews. The emails however, were left unanswered.

Controlling for Personal Bias

Dwyer and Buckle (2009) suggested that the discussion of insider-outsider in any qualitative study is imperative because a researcher “plays a direct and role in both data collection and analysis” (p. 55). A researcher is an insider when she shares commonalities with her participants. On the contrary, a researcher can be an outsider when she does not belong to the group under study. Both membership roles have their advantages and drawbacks. Being a member of the group under study increases the possibility of understanding the culture of the group and the ability to communicate naturally. However, a researcher's prior experiences can result in less objective interpretations (Breen, 2007). As an outsider, a researcher can decrease her subjectivity because she does not share similar backgrounds. Nonetheless, she might face greater challenges in gaining acceptance and building rapport with the group under investigation.

I acknowledged that my experience as a woman academic administrator and a faculty member at a private university in Central Java was the impetus of this study.

When I became a dean in my institution, I faced numerous internal and external challenges and had to seek assistance from my mother-in-law to manage my roles both at home and at work. However, in my college, being an administrator was an obligation that we had to fulfill because my college had only seven teaching staff members. In public research institutions, administrative positions are more desirable because they come with tangible and intangible benefits. Therefore, I was curious why only few women held top leadership positions in Indonesian higher education.

My previous experience as a woman administrator was a benefit when I conducted my research. First, my familiarity with the procedure and bureaucracy in the field of higher education in Indonesia allowed me to gain access to university officials and participants. In addition, my prior knowledge of rules and regulations in Indonesian higher education was useful in asking pertinent questions related to policies in these women's institutions. However, in some respects, I was an outsider in this study because I did not share some commonalities with my participants. I worked in a Catholic private university where administrative positions were less desirable and competition for top positions was not as fierce as that in public institutions. Thus, the nature of the challenges was different. My participants were raised in upper middle class families, but I came from lower middle class family. In this case, being an outsider increased the objectivity of my research interpretations.

Taylor and Bogdan (1998) argued that in any study, a researcher's personal and professional bias might come into play to a certain extent. However, this might not constitute a threat to the results if the researcher carefully employs strategies and techniques to minimize or even to eliminate bias. In this study, to limit my personal bias from entering the process of data collection and analysis, I used several methods. During the data collection and analysis, it was important for me to acknowledge my perspectives, compare them to my participants' data, and be aware of the contrasts and similarities between my perspectives and those of my participants. I carefully noted my perspectives

and assumptions in my journals for self-reflection. In addition, after each interview, I cross-checked the data with my reflective notes to examine any confounding or ambiguous data that needed further clarification and verification.

Triangulation

Triangulation is also another way to maintain the trustworthiness of a study because it helps to minimize the threat of researcher bias. Triangulation, simply put, is a method used to judge the validity and accuracy of data by comparing differing points of view (Creswell, 1998). Denzin (1978) distinguished four types of triangulation: sources (the use of multiple data sources), methods (the use of multiple research methods), investigators (the use of multiple investigators), and theories (the use of diverse theories). Out of those four types of triangulation, source triangulation is more common in qualitative studies (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Source triangulation often applies to the broader definition of a source. It can include transcripts of interviews with different participants in different places, or data from the same participants collected at different times (Johnson, 1997; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In this study, I used interviews, field notes, numerous documents on policies in Amarta University and Nusantara University, and government documents that especially pertained to higher education and civil servants.

The Use of Reflective Journals

A reflective journal is vital for qualitative studies that deal with extensive data collection. A reflective journal was used in this study to record issues and problems encountered before, during, and after data collection, such as problems gaining access to participants or institutions, problems with trust building, participants' reactions to questions, interruptions during interviews, problems with personal bias, verification of data, and many other important issues (Creswell, 1998). A reflective journal can also serve as a reserve should technical problems arise. Maxwell (1996) cited description threat as one of the potential threats to validity. Description threat refers to the

“inaccuracy and incompleteness of the data” (p. 89). The loss of information because of technical issues is a serious threat to validity. To address this problem, I made sure the digital recorder worked prior to data collection and used notes in case technical problems arose during the interview.

Summary

To address the research questions, I used a qualitative descriptive design with a purposeful sampling strategy to recruit participants. I used the universities’ web sites to identify eligible associate deans, deans, and associate presidents. Participants were eight women senior academic administrators who worked in public research institutions in Central Java and Yogyakarta Special Territory. Data were collected using semi-structured interviews. To ensure the trustworthiness of the study, I took the following measures: peer examination, member checking, controlling for personal bias, triangulation, and the use of a reflective journal and notes.

The next chapter presents the findings of this study and consists of two sections. The first section introduces my participants and the second section presents several themes that emerged from the interview data.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

Introduction

As stated in Chapter 1, this was a qualitative descriptive study whose general purpose was to investigate how women senior academic administrators in two public research universities perceived their journey to their current positions. I used interviews to capture the voices of women senior academic administrators in two public research institutions in Central Java and Yogyakarta Special Territory. I developed interview questions to elicit responses from the participants about their personal experiences as women senior academic administrators. More specifically, I sought their views regarding the factors that hindered or facilitated their career advancement and the strategies that they employed to successfully navigate their academic life, administrative responsibilities, and family life.

I divided this chapter into two sections. The first section introduces the eight participants. The second section presents the overarching themes from the interviews with the eight participants. The interviews yielded 169 single-spaced, typed transcript pages in Indonesian. The English translation of the transcript resulted in 148 single-spaced, typed pages. Six major themes emerged from the interview data. The first theme portrayed these women's view that family is key in their efforts to manage the tensions between professional and domestic roles. The second theme described the importance of support from the individuals closest to these women in balancing their multiple roles as wives, mothers, and administrators. Theme three reflected my participants' stories of how their personal attributes helped them in fulfilling their responsibilities. Theme four focused on how heavy workloads contributed to the lack of aspiration to pursue higher administrative positions. The fifth theme highlighted my interviewees' reflections on how institutional policies were systematically more favorable for men. The last theme described the participants' perceptions that women had to work harder to become leaders.

About the Participants

Imawati

Imawati was an associate president at Nusantara University. Imawati's office was located in the office building for top administrators. When I went there to turn in my consent form, it was overwhelmingly quiet outside her office and I wondered if I had come to the wrong building. I saw neither students nor employees walking around. When I stepped into the administrator's office suite, I found a formal atmosphere.

Imawati shared an office suite with separate offices for each of the four associate presidents. Three secretaries worked at the front desks. Imawati's secretary greeted me very politely and asked me to wait because she was still in a meeting which took place in a room beside the office suite. He said that she had been in several meetings since morning and she would probably not have time to meet with me. Nevertheless, I insisted that I would like to see her for just a couple of minutes to give her my consent form. The secretary made me anxious as to whether Imawati would agree to participate.

After I waited for about an hour, Imawati finally finished her meeting. She was wearing a batik suit and did not wear a hijab. Her secretary informed her of my presence, and I introduced myself. She asked me to come to her office. Before I met her, I was worried about the formality of the recruiting process. However, Imawati was very welcoming and informal. She said she had been busy since morning but she didn't look tired at all. She said she had heard about my study from the president. We talked a little bit about the study and she agreed to participate.

She asked me to make an interview schedule through her secretary, who was very helpful and reliable. Through her secretary, I arranged an interview on Sunday afternoon at Imawati's house, but she told me she could meet me only once since she had to go out of town for the rest of the month.

A friend who lives in the city drove me to Iwamati's house on Sunday morning. Imawati's house was located in a busy neighborhood. One of the things that struck me

again was the formal atmosphere. Her home had a guard house where three guards sat at their post. This is not surprising because Imawati's husband is one of the most important officials in the Indonesian government. However, for me personally, the situation was a somewhat intimidating. One of the guards greeted me and told me that Imawati wanted the interview to be conducted in the gazebo in the middle of her large backyard, away from her guards and personal assistants. He asked me to follow him.

The entrance to the backyard was on the side of the building through a huge green iron gate. One of Imawati's guards let me enter the backyard on my own after he pointed to the gazebo where Imawati asked to meet with me. Inside the gazebo was a set of four seats and a table made of red clay. The mango and rambutan trees growing around the gazebo made the air much cooler. A few minutes later she came out from inside the house. She was wearing a pink blouse and skirt. She welcomed me nicely and her smile dispelled my fears.

Before the interview began, we chatted a little bit about her house and her plants. I was impressed by her collection of orchids. She said that her gardener did a very good job taking care of the plants and that the mango and the rambutan trees were already there when she bought the house. When they produced fruit, Imawati had to give the fruit away because it was too much for her family of four. After a short while, a maid came out with the two cups of hot tea for us.

In the gazebo, Imawati started to talk about her childhood. Imawati was a woman in her late 50s. She was born to a middle class family in a city in Yogyakarta Special Territory. Imawati was the first daughter in the family. Her father was a headmaster of an agricultural vocational school who introduced her to the world of science. She recalled a good example of how her father, a biology teacher, taught her to be a scientist. When she was a little girl, her father would wake the children up in the morning and bring them to the back yard. He asked them to collect caterpillars and some leaves. The task was to bring them home and take care of them. It sounded like an easy task, but for little

Imawati, it was daunting because she had to figure out what leaves each caterpillar ate. She said that some of the activities she did with her father when she was little shaped her interests. She knew she wanted to be a scientist at a very young age.

When she was a little girl, it was common for a household in Indonesia to give priority to boys to attend college. However, Imawati recalled that her family did not discriminate between genders. Both boys and girls in her family had the same chance to go to college. Her father encouraged his children to pursue their education regardless of their gender. After high school, she was admitted to and attended Nusantara University, one of the most prestigious higher educational institutions in Central Java. She majored in chemistry.

While she was still in college, her father passed away in an accident. This caused major problems for her family because her father was the primary breadwinner. Her brother decided to quit his studies and work to support the family. Imawati continued to work toward her college degree but she promised to support the family and help her brother continue his college education once she graduated. That was exactly what she did.

When Imawati graduated, she accepted a job working for a company in another province. Imawati later resigned because her boss treated her unfairly because she was a Javanese. Her boss preferred Chinese Indonesian to Javanese employees. She then accepted a job in a hospital supervising the hospital's pharmacy. She was happy with her job. However, during her college reunion, she met a former classmate, who was a professor of Economics at Nusantara University. When they married, she agreed to move and follow her husband.

After she and her husband were settled in their new home, the dean of the College of Pharmacy at Nusantara University asked her to work for the institution. She accepted the position because she had wanted to be a scientist since childhood. When the couple

had their first child, her husband received a scholarship to pursue a doctoral degree in the United States, so she took a leave of absence and joined her husband.

In the United States, she decided to work toward her master's degree while her husband finished his doctoral degree. When they both graduated, they returned to Indonesia. Imawati wanted to continue her graduate study but her husband did not approve of her decision. She received several scholarships but she had to relinquish them because her husband did not want her to be away from her family for a couple of years. Imawati said she respected her husband's decision but she was heartbroken that she had to let her dream slip away. She believed, however, that a woman should make her family life a priority.

She later compromised by taking a 'sandwich' Ph.D. program, a doctorate program offered via a collaboration between Indonesian and foreign universities. Graduate students do coursework in an Indonesian university and do research in a university outside Indonesia for a short period of time. Imawati went to a U.S. university in the Midwest for six months. While she was doing research in the United States, her children were with her husband who also had maids and nannies to help care for the children.

Imawati explained that the keys to achieving her dreams were perseverance and hard work. Perseverance and hard work elevated her to one of the top leadership positions in her university. She simply convinced herself that nothing is impossible if she worked hard.

When I ended the interview, she left me with a strong personal message. "Your job is a place where you can contribute your ideas and thoughts. Don't work just for making money because it is not going to be rewarding."

Kinanthi

Kinanthi was the associate dean of Academic and Student Affairs in the College of Political Science at Nusantara University. I went to meet with her at midday. The

building for the administrative offices was on the first floor near a cafeteria full of students hanging out or having lunch. Three associate deans and the dean had separate offices. Kinanthi's was next to a big conference room. When I arrived no one was in her office. One of the people I met in one of the other associate dean's offices told me Kinanthi was in a meeting and I would have to wait. I sat in the lounge outside Kinanthi's office and read newspapers in the lounge. Fifteen minutes later she returned. She quickly apologized for the delay explaining that the meeting was longer than she expected.

Kinanthi's informality relieved my anxiety, and she made me feel welcome. She wore a white blouse and grey skirt and did not wear a hijab. She took me to her office first. Her office was probably 13 feet square. It looked crowded because she had two large tables, one for her and one for her secretary, a bookshelf, filing cabinets, and chairs. Kinanthi asked if she could finish some paperwork before the interview because she had not had the chance to look at the papers. A moment later, her secretary came and Kinanthi took care of the paperwork with her secretary. After that, she wanted to continue the interview in the conference room.

During the interview, the secretary interrupted us several times because she wanted to make sure that Kinanthi's schedule had been updated. Kinanthi served on a thesis committee and that day she was scheduled to be present for the student's thesis defense. In the middle of our conversation, Kinanthi checked her Blackberry and said she had to go. She apologized about her hectic schedule and said the thesis defense would probably end in an hour. Since I had nothing to do, I went to the café and had lunch. An hour later, Kinanthi returned. The conference room was already occupied, so we moved the interview back to her office. Kinanthi's secretary was still in her room typing but Kinanthi did not mind her being there. The second part of the interview went smoothly without any interruptions.

Kinanthi had been serving as the Communication Department chair for just a year before the university offered her a position as the associate dean for academic and

administrative affairs. Kinanthi said she did not have a lot of experience as an administrator because she spent eight years pursuing her graduate degree. She received her B.A. from Nusantara University in 1995, and then the university offered her a position as a faculty member. In 1996, she took a leave to pursue her master's degree, which she completed in 1998. Two years later, she received a scholarship for a Ph.D. program in Germany. She spent six years abroad, away from her husband and their son (who was three years old when she left for Germany), to pursue her doctorate. It was impossible for her husband to come with her to Germany because he worked in the Indonesian Army. She said it was hard but her husband was supportive of her endeavors. She graduated in 2006.

When the university offered Kinanthi the position as the associate dean for academic and administrative affairs in 2007, she was initially hesitant to accept the offer because she felt she needed to know more about the position. She had spent six years abroad and just had another baby in 2007; and she thought there must have been changes in higher education policies that she would need to familiarize herself with if she were to accept the position. However, her department colleagues urged her to accept the position because the college needed representation from their department. They thought she would be a very good representative of the younger faculty members. She finally accepted the position. Working as an associate dean took most of her time as a faculty member. Sometimes she had events to attend on weekends. She relied mostly on her two maids to take care of her children and complete her household chores. Her husband was always willing to check on the children because his office was nearer to their home than her office was. She told me that she wished society's opinion on women's position in the home and at the workplace would improve so that women had more opportunities to advance themselves.

Sundari

Sundari was the associate dean of Academic Affairs in the Forestry College at Nusantara University. Sundari was one of the interviewees who was willing to answer her own emails, and she responded to my interview invitation eagerly and promptly. Usually, when I emailed an administrator or made a phone call, it was her secretary who responded. Consequently, because I could not contact the administrators directly, communication was very slow. A few days prior to my interview, I went to Sundari's office to leave my consent form. The next day, I emailed her and told her that I left the consent form with her secretary. The following day, she emailed me and expressed her approval. We arranged the interview schedule in a matter of hours via emails back and forth.

When I arrived for the interview, the building looked empty. I heard someone speaking through a microphone in a room. I thought it must be a student or a department event. Sundari shared an office suite with the dean and the other associate deans. They had a secretary. When I came to the main office, the secretary told me all faculty members were still in the conference room attending a lecture about accreditation and program evaluation. She added that Sundari had not forgotten about the interview and asked me to wait. There were four rooms in the dean's office and one secretary was assigned to all four administrators. Near the secretary's desks were sofas, a newspaper stand, and a water dispenser. I read newspapers while waiting for the lecture to end.

About an hour and a half later, the lecture ended. The dean and his associate deans came back to the office. Sundari greeted me and she said she had to have lunch with her guest lecturer before he left. So I waited for another half an hour. When Sundari was done with her lunch, she invited me into her office. She was wearing a white hijab and a long-sleeved robe-like grey dress. Before we began the interview, she said she had to finish some paperwork because some faculty members were waiting for the

paperwork. In her office, I told her I appreciated her prompt response. She responded that it was always her habit to respond to emails promptly.

After we settled down in her office, she began telling me about her childhood. Sundari came from a large family and was the third youngest of the ten siblings. She was born in a coastal town in East Java. She said she fit the stereotypes of the Eastern Javanese—tough, assertive, and loud. Her father was a teacher so she was familiar with the world of education. When she decided to apply to the College of Forestry as a student in Nusantara University, her parents were skeptical.

Her parents worried about how she would fit in a very masculine college. They also worried that their daughter had to move to other islands far away from her hometown to study, and possibly, to work. Sundari was not so sure herself, but she was willing to give it a try. After she started, she enjoyed her studies and was one of the top students in her class. Consequently, her dean offered her a faculty position prior to graduation. In 1987, she was a full-time faculty member in the Forestry Program at Nusantara University.

Sundari's husband had been her classmate in the same department but she graduated first. From the beginning of their relationship, Sundari's husband had always been supportive of her. Even before they married, he wanted Sundari to decide what was best for her. After he graduated and she became a faculty member in the Forestry Program, they married. One year later, they had a son.

When Prince Charles came to Indonesia in 1989, he visited Nusantara University because of its successful Forest Rehabilitation Program. Prince Charles was so impressed with the program that he offered scholarships for a master's degree three consecutive years. Because Sundari was proficient in English, she was a good candidate for the scholarship, and subsequently applied and was accepted to a university in Wales. Her husband had just accepted a position in a private institution so Sundari had to leave her husband for a year. She completed her master's degree in Wales in 1995.

In 2000, she earned a scholarship for a Ph.D. program in Australia. However, she insisted that her husband and her two children, born after her return from Wales, would be with her in Australia to complete her doctorate. She knew she would not be able to live away from her family for more than a year. Her decision was a very good one, she said. Not only could she concentrate on her studies, but her husband was able to utilize the university library to finish writing his book. After she graduated, her dean at Nusantara University appointed her as the department chair. Her experience in managing the department provided her invaluable experience as an administrator at the college level. In 2008, her dean offered her a position as associate dean for Administrative Affairs. She accepted the position because she received considerable support from her colleagues.

Tanti

Tanti was the associate dean of Research and Student Affairs in Nusantara University. The Biology College building looked deserted when I arrived for the interview. It was 7:30 in the morning and the workday started at 8 a.m. On the previous day I had received a text message from Tanti. She wanted to be sure I would come on time to our 8:00 a.m. appointment because she had important commitments after the interview, so I came half an hour early. Inside the building I did not see any one except the janitor and a woman in a beige long robe-like dress and a dark blue hijab talking on the phone. She later introduced herself as Tanti. The interview began a few minutes early. The administrators' office suite was spacious, and a variety of potted plants and comfortable sofas decorated the lounge. All the three associate deans had their own offices. There were two secretaries working in the administrator's office suite but they were yet to arrive when I began the interview.

We began by discussing Tanti's family. She has two children; one attends college and one is in high school. Her husband is also a scientist and works in the same department. She comes from a big family and has six siblings. Since childhood Tanti had

dreamed of being an educator because her father was a teacher. Her parents encouraged her to become a professor.

Her advisor, Professor Riandi, was one of the most distinguished scientists in Indonesia. As she was one of the top students in her class, Professor Riandi recruited her to become one of his assistants. Her advisor became a mentor to her, and with his guidance, Tanti learned how to become a good scientist. In 1986, she graduated cum laude. The department had new teaching positions when she graduated, and because of her achievements as an undergraduate, the dean offered her a teaching position. The offer excited her because being a researcher and a teacher had always been her goal.

In 1996, she received a scholarship to pursue her graduate degree in Japan. At that time, Tanti's husband was also working on his Ph.D. in Vienna, Austria. Her children were six and three years old when she decided to go to Nagoya, Japan for her graduate studies. It was a difficult decision for her because she had to leave her children for five years in her brother's care. Her brother was a physician in another large city north of Karang Wulan. He had three children but he agreed to take care of Tanti's two sons. Tanti recalled how she cried for days during her first week in Japan because she missed her family. Tanti made the decision to leave her sons because she wanted to focus on her studies. She had promised Professor Riandi that she would come back on time.

In Nagoya, Tanti's advisor was one of the most prominent scientists in Japan. She was glad to be able to work with him because he supported her during her stay in Japan. Her advisor's family became a family to her, but she spent most of her time in the laboratory. Tanti said she was fortunate to have an advisor who was encouraging and supportive of her hard work. Tanti said he was her mentor and a very good teacher. When Tanti worked in the laboratory until late at night, her professor brought her food and took care of her. His kind attention and encouragement were the strongest motivators for Tanti to survive her graduate studies. Even after she graduated in 2001 and came back to Indonesia, her professor continued to give support and encouragement.

After completing her doctoral degree, Tanti dedicated her expertise to developing her research laboratory in Indonesia. She maintained contacts with her former advisor in Japan who remained a strong supporter of Tanti's research. He donated some of his research equipment to Tanti's research laboratory in Nusantara University. Tanti and her former advisor have been doing collaborative research for several years. Tanti received awards in Indonesia and from notable associations abroad for her research on orchid cultivation. She credited her professor and her family for her achievements.

In 2008, the College of Biology elected Mariani (one of my other interviewees) as the dean. Tanti's friend and colleague of many years, Mariani was also an accomplished scholar and scientist. She and Tanti had graduated from the same department. Tanti's national and international acclaim as a professor of biology appealed to Mariani, and she wanted Tanti to assist her in managing the college. She asked her to be the associate dean in Research and Student Affairs. At first, Tanti was doubtful whether she was capable of fulfilling this huge responsibility but she believed that she could achieve anything if she tried. Finally, she agreed to accept the position of associate dean of Research and Student Affairs.

Mariani

Mariani was the dean of the Biology College at Nusantara University. I arrived on time to interview Mariani. The dean's office was still bustling with students who wanted to meet the dean or one of the associate deans, even though the office was getting ready to close. Classes would be starting in a few weeks at most universities across Indonesia and students were desperately trying to register.

Mariani's secretary informed her that I had arrived for the interview. Mariani came to greet me shortly thereafter and invited me into her office. She was wearing a green hijab and a green knee-length tunic and pants. Despite her busy day, she did not look tired and she was very welcoming. There were already some snacks and a bottle of iced tea for me on the table.

Mariani told me that she had guests from out of town who had brought her some specialty foods and she wanted to share the food with me. As we ate, we began the interview by talking about her family and childhood. She was born in Karang Wulan , the youngest of seven children. Her father was a biology teacher in a vocational school. Mariani's father introduced all seven of his children to the world of science. When she was a little girl, her father taught her to make observations, talked to her about plants, and explained the secrets of nature. Her father's interest in science inspired Mariani and all six of her older siblings to enroll in science programs such as pharmacy, animal husbandry, agriculture, and biology.

When her father passed away, she was still in college. Her older brothers and sisters helped pay her tuition. To pay for her living expenses, Mariani had to accept a job as a tutor in a test preparation company. All of her siblings had at least one part-time job to pay for their own living expenses. Mariani also taught biology in a vocational school to gain teaching experience. She accepted the teaching position without pay and thought about being a teacher when she graduated.

When Mariani graduated from college, her department offered her a position as a professor. She accepted the offer. She loved being a researcher and never dreamed about being a dean. However, when the department was looking for a dean in 2008, some of her colleagues encouraged her to apply for the position. Her previous positions in the department helped her navigate the challenges of an administrator but she felt she had much to learn.

Mariani lived with her children in Karang Wulan but her husband worked in Jakarta. The couple met on the weekends. Mariani also had two sons who were in college. She admitted it was a challenge to live apart from her family, but she said her husband understood her choice to keep her job and promote her career.

Ranita

Ranita was the dean of the College of Social and Cultural Science in Nusantara University. The administrators' office suite was located on the first floor. When I came on the day of the interview, a few students were gathered in front of the building. To save time, I asked one of the students the location of the dean's office. Instead of explaining where the room was, she asked me to follow her to a hallway with rooms on the left and on the right. Ranita's office was the largest. The remaining rooms were for all three associate deans. Ranita's office consisted of two rooms. One room was for her secretary. When I arrived, her secretary told me that Ranita could not meet me at the scheduled time because she was still in a meeting. He told me that Ranita would like to meet me an hour later. Because I had another interview with one of my participants later in the afternoon, I decided to wait. I saw no sofa in the secretary's room so I waited outside. Near the building were benches and tables. The weather was not so hot and I always brought books with me everywhere I went. I sat on a bench and read a book for approximately an hour. An hour later, Ranita's secretary sent me a text message saying Ranita was waiting for me. She was in her office when I came in, and two cups of hot tea were already on the table. She was wearing a dark blue suit and did not wear a hijab.

Ranita was also born in Karang Wulan. She came from a family of teachers. Her grandfather owned 16 schools and had translated the Koran. Her father was also a teacher in a high school in Karang Wulan. Ranita was still in high school when her father passed away. Ranita wanted to work after she graduated from high school to ease her mother's burden, but her mother did not approve of her decision. She knew her mother could have used the money to support her younger brothers and sisters and pay for their education.

Her mother, however, insisted that Ranita go to college and leave the financial matters to her. To make her interested in going to college, Ranita's mother took her a couple of times to Nusantara University to walk around the campus. Finally Ranita decided to enroll in the English Department. At that time, university students could

choose to apply to non-degree programs (three-year vocational programs) or the regular B.A. programs (four-year programs). Ranita decided to apply to the non-degree program, hoping that she could find a job as soon as she graduated from the university.

When she was in her first year of studies, Ranita worked part-time in the front office of a hotel. She attended classes in the morning and worked in the hotel in the afternoon. In her second year of college, she got a job as an assistant in her English Department. Ranita said she had an entrepreneurial spirit, and she wanted to be busy. She kept her part-time job in the big hotel, but she no longer worked in the front office. She had a new position in the hotel as Master of Ceremonies, and occasionally she danced for their events. She also taught in a personality development program and offered private tutoring. During the break, she earned money by making dresses for her relatives. Later Ranita decided to continue to the B.A. program in English.

Ranita married while she was still in college. She was expecting her second child when she started working on her thesis. When she graduated, she accepted a teaching position at her alma mater, Nusantara University. A few years later, she applied to the master's program at the University of Michigan. The University of Michigan accepted her but then she could not go because she was expecting her third child. Therefore, she decided to apply and attend Nusantara University and graduated with a master's degree in English Literature. Having two children and one child on the way did not discourage her from finishing her degree, however. Instead, her situation motivated her to work harder so she could finish her studies before her baby was born. While pursuing her graduate degree, Ranita was concerned with how the people around her and her colleagues would respond to her intentions. She worried that people would think of her as being too ambitious.

Ranita remembered that her aunt once said that for a woman, family was still the priority but a priority that should not prevent a woman from advancing her career. Her aunt, who ultimately became Ranita's role model, was a physician and a clinical

professor in the medical school. She was a dedicated wife and yet she was able to become a distinguished professor in her college. Ranita thanked her husband because he was supportive of her decision. They both remain committed to their professions. Ranita lived in Karang Wulan while her husband worked as a private consultant in Jakarta, which is a 10-hour drive from Karang Wulan. Their four children are now independent.

Ranita said that being a dean was not what she had in mind. She was involved in several internal associations at Nusantara University and she led a very busy life. She had the support from several of her colleagues to pursue the deanship, but she was reluctant. She was worried that people would criticize her for being “thirsty for power.” However, her family and several of her colleagues encouraged her. They believed she could bring some changes to the department because they saw her achievement in managing several organizations and associations at the university level. In 2008, she became the first female dean in the College of Letters.

Mulyaningsih

Mulyaningsih was the dean of the College of Mathematics and Science at Amarta University. When I arrived for the interview, a group of students were chatting outside the building. The new semester had not started yet, but some students were there registering for the new academic year. The dean’s office was on the second floor. The main part of the second floor was mainly for administrators’ offices. In front of the dean’s office was the reception desk. When I introduced myself, one of the secretaries told me to wait because Mulyaningsih had a guest. The guest left the dean’s office a few minutes later and Mulyaningsih came to greet me and took me to her office. Her office was nicely decorated with batik and handmade crafts. She told me later that some of the dried flowers and handmade crafts were her own creations.

Mulyaningsih, who was born in Karang Wulan, began the interview by talking about her education. She was admitted to the Chemistry Department in Amarta University in 1972. She was one of the outstanding students in her department, so during

her senior year her department recruited her as an assistant to a professor. When she graduated in 1977, her department offered her a position as a full-time faculty member which she accepted.

In 1992, Mulyani moved with her husband to Madukoro where he was elected as a *bupati* (a person who governs a regency, a part of a province). That same year, Mulyani also began a master's degree at Nusantara University in Karang Wulan, which was only a two-hour drive from Madukoro and a four hour drive from Wonoagung. While she was studying, she remained an active faculty member at Amarta University in Wonoagung, where she taught several classes and supervised students' theses. It was a difficult situation for Mulyaningsih because she had to finish her master's degree in Karang Wulan, teach courses in Wonoagung, and support her husband in Madukoro. Sometimes she made students come to the *bupati's* residence in Madukoro for consultation.

Her duties as the wife of a *bupati* made it impossible for her to stay in Wonoagung. She had to attend official ceremonies and events. She had to become the chairperson for some of her husband's programs, especially ones that were pertinent to the empowerment of women. Life was not easy, she said. She had three small children to care for, events and ceremonies to attend, classes to teach, students to supervise, and a graduate degree to finish. In Indonesia, a master's degree usually takes two or three years to finish. However, it took five years for Mulyaningsih to finish her studies because her other responsibilities took priority and monopolized most of her time. Her dean specifically requested that she finish her master's degree as soon as possible because they needed more of her time as a faculty member. Mulyaningsih finally graduated in 1997, the same year her husband was elected mayor of Mejayan, a city near Madukoro. Mulyaningsih could not stay in Wonoagung because she had to support her husband. She traveled to Wonoagung when she taught classes or if she had to attend mandatory events and programs in Amarta University.

At the time, 1998, there was political unrest in Indonesia that resulted in the resignation of Suharto. The political unrest began in Jakarta, but it quickly spread to other cities. Mejayan was one of the cities in Central Java that suffered the most. Angry mobs burned down government offices, including the mayor's office, stores, schools, and many other public facilities. The city enforced a curfew for several days to minimize the damage. For several weeks, Mulyaningsih could not travel to teach. It would have been unsafe for anyone to travel. In addition, she had to support her husband during the turmoil.

She explained that being the wife of a mayor is difficult even under the best of circumstances. Moreover, during the political unrest she felt the need to devote her time mainly to her family and her husband's programs. She did not have any time to get involved in administrative roles in her college. She had more important public responsibilities. When the situation improved, she would commute to Wonoagung to teach, but she spent most of her time at the mayor's residence in Mejayan.

When Mulyaningsih's husband was no longer mayor, the couple moved to the Wonoagung. Her husband retired and their children were all married and working. She was happier because she could focus on her teaching and research. In 2008, she decided to pursue a dean's position because she thought it was the time for the department to have a female dean. She felt relieved that her husband and their children fully supported her decision.

Widiani

Widiani was the associate dean of Administration and Financial Affairs in the Medical College at Amarta University. This was probably the most painful interview I had, not because the interview itself was painful, but because of the dental extraction procedure I had done one day before the interview. My dentist removed a tooth and told me that the bleeding should stop in a couple of hours. However, on the morning of the interview, the bleeding had not stopped. I called Widiani's secretary to reschedule the

interview but she said Widiani would be away for the rest of the month. She suggested that I do the interview or I would probably not be able to meet her at all. My only hope was that the medicine my dentist gave me would stop the bleeding by the time I arrived at Widiani's office.

I arrived a few minutes early. The medical college's new administrative office was located in Wonoagung's general hospital. It was not hard to spot the salmon-colored building because it was the newest addition to the general hospital. The administrative office I was looking for was on the third floor. I did not meet many students in the building. The dean and the associate deans' offices were adjacent to each other. No one was in Widiani's office when I arrived. I asked another person I met outside her office whether he knew where she was. He said that the secretary was out and Widiani had not yet returned. I waited outside for a couple of minutes before Widiani's secretary approached me and asked me to wait a few more minutes in Widiani's office; and then she brought me bottled tea. Widiani was still taking her driving test for renewing her driver's license.

Widiani shared her office with her secretary. A bookshelf functioned as a divider between the secretary's and Widiani's work space. Her secretary's desk was nearer to the door and a lot smaller. On the wall were two big boards. One was a white board for Widiani's programs throughout the week. The other board was a huge board containing the names of all the faculty members, and several categories of important employment data such as ranks, employment start date and retirement dates, and their individual departments. Later on Widiani explained that she used the board to track the faculty member's progress, to know how many people would retire and how many new faculty members they would need to hire.

I waited for about fifteen minutes before Widiani appeared and apologized for being late. She was wearing a beige suit and did not wear a hijab. She said she was in the

middle of the driving test and it was impossible to leave early. Widiani appeared younger and more informal than I had expected.

Widiani said that some of her relatives were well-known physicians in Wonoagung. She had two grown children. Her oldest son was a gynecologist and a professor in Amarta University. Her youngest son had just graduated from the Engineering Department. Both of them resided in Wonoagung but they no longer lived with Widiani.

Widiani began Amarta University Medical School in 1977. She married while she was a sophomore. Her first son was born in 1979 and her second son was born in 1981. Child rearing prevented her from graduating on time. Soon after Widiani graduated from Amarta University in 1984, the dean offered her a faculty position in the medical school. In 1992, she pursued a specialization in Medical Rehabilitation, which added an additional four years of supervised training beyond the medical degree. She initially wanted to specialize in Obstetrics and Gynecology, but her husband did not allow her to do this. She did not elaborate further on why he objected to her specializing in Obstetrics and Gynecology. She finished her specialization in 1996.

Prior to her current position as an associate dean for finances and personnel, Widiani had been a department chair. When the dean offered her a position as an associate dean of administrative affairs, she was worried that she could not do her job well. However, her dean, who was the previous associate dean of administrative affairs, convinced her that he would do his best to guide her. Widiani then consulted her husband. She said it was very important to receive her husband's approval because family was always a priority for her. Her husband supported her decision. Widiani's husband was also the president of the university so he understood her responsibilities. In navigating her new position as the associate dean of Administrative Affairs, Widiani consulted her husband. Her husband served as an associate dean of Administrative Affairs in the medical school in 1999 – 2000 before he was elected as the president of the

university. He was the one who gave her suggestions for job-related matters. He understood the details of her responsibilities because he had been in her position. During the interview, Widiani always referred to her husband as *bapak* (father). This showed that she highly respected him as both a husband and a father. Widiani said that she could manage her busy schedule because she did not have to take care of children anymore. She lived only with her husband and her live-in maids. Widiani and her husband often spent the evening at home

In addition to being an associate dean, Widiani was involved in many of the university's activities because of her role as the wife of a public university president. As the wife of the president, she automatically became the head of *Dharma Wanita* (a program created by Hartini Soeharto, the wife of Soeharto, the longest-serving president in Indonesia, to empower female civil servants and wives of civil servants). The members of the organization met every month and they organized social events, charities, and fund-raising. As the head of the organization, Widiani had to attend the organization's meetings and events. Being able to serve the university was an honor, she said. The university had outstanding professors and scholars, but only a few people were willing to dedicate themselves to managing their institutions.

In 2010, I read in a local newspaper that Widiani was elected dean of the Amarta University Medical School and would be working as the dean until 2014.

My participants shared some common characteristics. First, all of them were outstanding students in their departments, which provided future career opportunities, and all had worked as assistants to their professors. Second, six women indicated that having parents who worked as professors or teachers initiated and supported their interest in higher learning and an academic professional life. Third, observations during the interviews suggested that these women came from middle class families.

Table 3. *Summary of Participants*

| Name | Position | Distinctive characteristics |
|--------------|-------------------------|---|
| Imawati | Associate president, NU | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Her father was a biology teacher. • She studied for both her Master's degree and also completed research as a part of her doctoral degree, in the United States. • Her husband was also a professor in Nusantara University |
| Kinanthi | Associate Dean, NU | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • She lived in Germany for six years to pursue her doctoral degree. • She lived away from her husband and her child when she was in Germany. • Her husband worked in the Indonesian Army. |
| Sundari | Associate Dean, NU | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • She went to Wales for one year to pursue her Master's degree. • She completed a doctoral degree in an Australian university. • Her parents were teachers. |
| Tanti | Associate Dean, NU | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • She studied in Japan for her doctoral degree while her husband pursued his doctoral degree in Austria. • Her brother took care of their children while they studied abroad. • Her parents were teachers. |
| Mariani | Dean, NU | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mariani worked as a tutor in a test preparation company and taught biology in a vocational school to pay for her living expenses when she was a student. • Mariani's husband lived in Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia. |
| Ranita | Dean, NU | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Her father was a biology teacher. • Ranita worked several part-time jobs during her undergraduate education because she liked to stay busy. • Ranita's husband worked in Jakarta as a private consultant. • Her aunt, a professor in a College of Medicine, was a model for her as a woman leader. |
| Mulyaningsih | Dean, AU | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Her husband was a <i>bupati</i> and a mayor. • When her husband served as a bupati and a mayor, Mulyaningsih had to commute to Wonoagung to teach. • It took five years for Mulyaningsih to finish her master's degree because of her other responsibilities as the wife of a <i>bupati</i>. |
| Widiani | Associate Dean, AU | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some of her family members were physicians. • Her husband was a president of Amarta University. • She was elected as the Dean in the College of Medicine in Amarta University in 2010. She was the first female Dean in the College of Medicine in Amarta University. • Her son was a professor in the same college. |

With the exception of one woman, almost all participants had hired one or more domestic workers to help them with their household chores and childcare. Another important common characteristic was that these women administrators were Muslim. Only three women administrators wore hijab, but during the interviews, all of them indicated at some point that Islam influenced how they perceived their family and work roles.

Overarching Themes

In this section, I present the themes that emerged from the interviews with the eight participants.

Family is Key in These Women's Efforts to Manage Tensions Between Professional and Domestic Roles

All the participants in this study explained that one of the most challenging aspects of their lives was trying to balance their personal and professional roles. At home, these women were primarily mothers and wives. They were in charge of all domestic duties. At work, these women were both teachers and administrators and handled abundant and varied responsibilities. All of them made extra efforts to balance those multiple roles, but they agreed that family well-being would always be the priority. These women had assistance to ensure that their family was taken care of so that they could focus on their work responsibilities.

Kinanthi, who spent six years away from her family while pursuing a doctoral degree in Germany, admitted that one of the challenges of being an associate dean was the sacrifice of quality time with her children. However, she also pointed out that she currently was at a point where she could focus on her work because one of her children was already independent and very understanding of her responsibilities at work. She said the following about one of her sons when she came home early from work:

Until just recently, my son would say, you're home already, mom? It's still four o'clock... With the children, the problem was the quality time [she used the English term]. From the beginning, time did not allow me to spend a lot of quality

time with my children but I feel that they still miss me and respect me...they are very understanding and I think their achievement is outstanding. I mean, ever since I came back [from Germany], my son has been a top student in his school even though I cannot guide him all the time. (Kinanthi, personal interview, August 8, 2009)

Kinanthi said she was proud of her son because he was an independent learner and did not require much supervision from her in order to excel. However, Kinanthi also pointed out that she relied more on her husband to supervise her son with his school work.

Sundari explained that before she held the position as associate dean of Academic Affairs, she tried hard to finish her responsibilities while still at work so she did not have to bring any work home with her:

I always come home at about 7 or 8 pm. I have always done this even when I was in the department. I didn't do it because I was forced to but because I feel that I have to finish everything in my office before I go home. And sometimes I still have to bring my work home. (Sundari, personal interview, August 10, 2009)

As an associate dean of Academic Affairs, Sundari had a lot of paperwork to finish, events to attend, guests to entertain, and classes to teach. She said:

I wish there were 36 hours in a day. Now I break my own rules. I bring home my work. So I come home at 7 pm and I bring home my office work. I make notes-tomorrow I have to make drafts of this, I need to do that. (Sundari, personal interview, August 10, 2009)

Both Kinanthi and Sundari had toddlers when they began their professional roles. On the one hand, they wished they had been able to spend more time with the children. On the other hand, administrative responsibilities required them to spend more time in their offices. Ultimately both women had to sacrifice the domestic sphere to promote the careers they had worked so hard to achieve.

Tanti's experience was different in that she had two teenage sons. One of them attended college and the other was in high school. She said they rarely complained about their mother's long working hours. Tanti did not have live-in domestic help, and her children helped her with household chores. For Tanti having teenagers was good for her in many ways because they became good friends. For instance, her children reminded her if they thought she worked too hard or forgot to have her meals. They did not mind

having to stay at home without her. Whenever she had to go out of town for official events or conferences, her sons and husband could take care of themselves. They were in charge of the domestic sphere. “The key is understanding,” according to Tanti.

Nevertheless, Tanti tried her best to not go out of town at the same time as her husband. She felt one of them had to stay at home. While Tanti did not find women’s assigned roles a problem, she thought that her professional obligations prevented her from socializing with neighbors. Every month women in her neighborhood had a gathering on a certain date, but because of her job, Tanti could not attend these gatherings regularly. Tanti could only attend if the meeting was held on weekends. Even though rare attendance at these gatherings did not have serious personal or professional consequences, Tanti considered them important for her social relationships.

Similarly, Mulyaningsih, a dean and mother of three, described family responsibilities as one of her most difficult challenges. Her husband worked at the governor’s office and had recently suffered a stroke. Therefore, she could not always go to workshops or events, especially if they lasted for several days because she had to take care of her husband. When she had to make official visits, she arranged her schedule with her children in advance so one of them could take care of their father. Her husband’s welfare remained her priority.

When Mulyaningsih became dean, her children had already graduated from college and had jobs. She admitted that having adult children made it easier for her to focus on her job. Another advantage is that she could talk about her problems at work with her children and ask them for advice or input. One of Mulyaningsih’s children was a professor in a private university so he knew how higher education institutions worked. Mulyaningsih sometimes sought advice from her son about work-related issues. She said:

My son is a professor so he knows well what it’s like to work in institutions of higher learning. We can talk about issues pertaining to education. I often get my ideas from him. I think, for me, having children who are adults is an advantage. (Mulyaningsih, personal interview, July 22, 2009)

Mulyaningsih said that the main responsibility of a Javanese woman is to be a good wife and mother. For Mulyaningsih, family obligations were mainly associated with her role as a wife. The condition of husband's health was her main concern.

These women firmly maintained that a good job and career was preferable, but the most important roles for women were to serve her husband and take care of her children.

Imawati, an associate president, put it this way:

No matter how high my position is, I do not want to forget my role as a mother or a wife; and there is a reason for that. If I want to become a leader, the terms of my appointment come from my superior or the Minister- from other human beings. However, the terms of appointment to take care of our spouses and children come from God. So we need to make a distinction. (Imawati, personal interview, August 2, 2009)

As a person of religious faith, Imawati emphasized that family should come first because it is a woman's primary responsibility from God. Having said that, Imawati also believed that most women who chose to both develop a career and have a family were able to fulfill their multiple roles. "It is very natural for women to do multiple roles at once. We have been doing this forever," she said. She believed that women are born stronger than men in order to accomplish their varied duties.

Imawati decided to enroll in a sandwich program at the university to accommodate her duties as wife and mother. The sandwich program allowed her to spend a few months doing research in a public university in the Midwestern United States and still finish her Ph.D. degree in an Indonesian university. By enrolling in a sandwich program, she was able to balance her domestic roles and her desire to complete a doctoral degree. Initially Imawati had received scholarships to study in the United States, but her husband would not let her go abroad to complete her doctoral degree. He said he could not stand being away from her for a long period of time. At first, Imawati was devastated. It was difficult for her to accept her husband's wish, but she understood her commitment as a wife and mother.

In addition, she had a sick child who needed extra attention. Enrolling in a sandwich program was actually the best option available to her. She was away for a couple of months researching in the United States, but she spent most of her time working on her graduate studies in Indonesia. In this manner she was able to get her Ph.D. and also take care of her husband and sons.

Like Imawati, Widiani believed that women were born to be wives and mothers. As a career woman, however, she wanted to be able to serve her institution by becoming a dean. "I think it is very normal to have ideals or goals that we all want to achieve. However, as women, we need to consider our destiny." She wanted to hold the highest position possible if her colleagues believed her capable, but she needed to consider what her spouse would think as well. "I have to know what my husband thinks about it. I won't put my family aside. If my husband disagrees, so be it." Widiani also explained that it is a woman's role to fully support her husband's career. "Whatever my husband's career plans is, I will support him fully. I would do anything for his career advancement," she added.

Widiani shared her aspirations to be dean in 2010, but she was not sure her husband would agree. She had not yet found the courage to discuss her plan with him. Her husband was also an administrator in the university. She explained that her children fully supported whatever decision she made regarding her career, but Widiani wanted to make sure that he agreed before she ran for dean in 2010.

Widiani was grateful to have adult children. Both of them had jobs and no longer lived with or depended on Widiani. Widiani lived with her husband and her live-in housekeeping staff. Because both Widiani and her husband were very busy, they generally met only in the evening. Although Widiani said she was used to their busy schedules, she sometimes wished they could spend more time together.

Mariani, who lived apart from her husband, admitted she was an outlier. She did not fit into the traditional view of women in Java. She explained:

...it is common that in a household men are in charge of everything. Usually. But I am an outlier. Why? I have never lived in the same city with my husband. My husband is in Jakarta and I am here...so, I am not a typical woman. I have gotten used to being able to decide what I want. (Mariani, personal interview, August 6, 2009)

According to Mariani, she was not a traditional Javanese woman in charge of the domestic spheres where “everything in the household, organizing, is women’s duty.” Mariani further described herself as different from other Javanese women because she did not follow her husband wherever he was assigned. Mariani made a decision to enhance her career and take the full-time teaching position in Karang Wulan, and her husband supported her decision. As a consequence, she and her husband lived apart; but Mariani’s husband was a man who viewed women as equal partners. He was raised in a modern family who believed women should have equal opportunities and men should also help with household chores. Even after Mariani married, her husband never interfered with her freedom to make her own decisions.

*Support From Closest Individuals is Vital
in Balancing Women’s Multiple Roles*

One of the most common themes emerging from the interviews was the importance of support from individuals closest to these women. They reported that such encouragement was necessary for women administrators to navigate their roles at home and at work.

Spousal Encouragement is Vital

Having a supportive husband was vital to the career advancement of the women in this study. All of the women agreed it was very important that they obtained their husbands’ approval before they accepted an administrative position. In the interviews, the women in this study claimed their husbands provided mental support and shared the responsibilities of child education and child rearing.

Sundari described her husband as very supportive of her job. She met her husband when they were both in college. Even before she accepted her job as a professor, her

husband gave her freedom to choose the job she wanted. She recalled her conversation with him when she was about to graduate and he was still trying to finish his bachelor's degree:

Once I graduated, I had an offer as a professor here. I asked him what he thought about that. It would mean I would be a professor and what if I had to be in Mrican? What if you have to work somewhere else I asked. What do you think? He said he was fine with it: "Your career, whoever gets a job first, will be the priority. I will adjust to that later." (Sundari, personal interview, August, 2009)

She went on to describe how her colleagues in the college could not pursue their graduate studies because their husbands did not allow them to go. The fact that not all women enjoyed the same level of support from their husbands made Sundari realize how fortunate she was to have a husband who always encouraged her to do whatever she wanted with her career:

I think having a husband who understands and is not selfish is very important. He supported me from the beginning of my career...and without sacrificing his dignity as a husband, he gives me freedom to do whatever I want, to do as much as I can accomplish. So, I really appreciate our commitment, because not many people can do that. (Sundari, personal interview, August, 2009)

Kinanthi had a similar experience. From the beginning of her career, her husband was very supportive of her. Unlike Sundari, who was able to bring her family as she completed her Ph.D. degree, Kinanthi had to live apart from her family. She pursued her doctoral degree in Germany for six years. Kinanthi's husband worked in the Indonesian Air Force so it was impossible for him to go with her abroad. She said her husband had a more regular schedule so he was able to help with childcare after school.

My husband has a relatively regular schedule. He goes home at four because he works as an army officer at the Indonesian Air Force base here. Therefore he can be with the kids more often. That means he often goes home to check on the kids, because he works closer to home. (Kinanthi, personal interview, August 8, 2009)

Ranita shared Kinanthi's experience. She said it was her husband who encouraged her to pursue her doctoral degree. Her husband worked as a consultant in Jakarta and was a very busy man. Ranita said her husband's busy schedule was good for her career

advancement because she could concentrate on her job. Ranita recalled her conversation with her husband about her intention to pursue her doctoral degree:

But then, my husband said, “You are a professor. It is obligatory. It is not a right.” It is my husband who supported me. If he didn’t agree, I would not take it. Impossible, it is impossible for me to pursue my master’s and doctoral degrees, without my husband’s support...but maybe that is because my husband is an activist and he has a very hectic schedule. So, when I have a lot of things to do, he is not very demanding. (Ranita, personal interview, August 10, 2009)

Imawati’s and Widiani’s husbands also had a good understanding of their wives’ career goals because they both worked as professors in public research universities. Imawati’s husband was once an administrator and Widiani’s husband was president of a public research university. Both of them said their husbands were familiar with the professional demands of academic administrators. Based on their stories, Imawati and Widiani perceived their husbands as very supportive of their careers. Imawati’s husband agreed to let her go to the United States for a couple of months, and Widiani’s husband supported her decision to serve the college by becoming the associate dean.

Encouragement from Extended Families

Modern Indonesian families are becoming more mobile. More frequently, the younger generation of couples get married and live away from their parents and siblings. The women administrators in my study ranged in age from 35 to 60. They lived apart from their parents and siblings. Nevertheless, my interviewees explained that in times of need, extended family provided comfort and vital support. While they were away for their graduate studies or administrative duties, parents, siblings, parents-in-law, or sisters-in-law became sources of comfort. Extended family members were always eager to lend a hand by taking care of the children whenever necessary.

Tanti’s sons were six and three years old when she went to Japan for her graduate study. Her husband was already in Austria, and it was impossible for Tanti to take her sons with her to Japan. She had no other choice but to leave them with her brother in

Wonoagung. Her brother was a physician and had three children. Nevertheless, he was willing to help take care of Tanti's sons:

I feel that my family sacrifices greatly for me. I always pray for my brother because we come from a big family. I have six siblings. I am the fifth child, and my brother is the third child in the family. My brother is an internist in Riyandi General Hospital in Wonoagung. He has three children of his own, but I was able to leave my children in his care anyway. (Tanti, personal interview, August 6, 2009)

Tanti said that her decision to leave her children was a tough one, which made her focus on her studies in order to graduate on time. When she told her advisors in Japan about her decision, they were surprised. Tanti said that leaving children with relatives is very uncommon in Japan. Her advisors said extended families in Japan would not be willing to take care of someone else's child especially for a long period of time, even though they are family.

In Indonesia, it is not difficult to find modern families living with their relatives. Sundari, for example, admitted she relied on her extended family for support. She currently lives with her mother-in-law and her cousin. They were the ones she entrusted with the care of her children. She reflected:

I don't think childcare is a problem for me because we are pretty much living in an extended family. My mother-in-law lives with me. My sister lives with me. I have live-in help with housekeeping. I ask my sister to work here in Karang Wulan so we can help each other out when in need. And this, personally, helps me greatly. (Sundari, personal interview, August 10, 2009)

Another participant, Mulyaningsih, who spent many years supporting her husband in his job as a *bupati* and as a mayor in addition to maintaining her own professional career, doubted if she could fulfill all of her responsibilities without the help of her relatives. During her time as the wife of a *bupati* and a mayor, she was also a professor, but Mulyaningsih was always surrounded by relatives and personal assistants, such as drivers, gardeners, live-in housekeeping staff. Mulyaningsih admitted her dependence on their support by saying:

I cannot do anything without them. I have to commute to Wonoagung. I need to speak at events on behalf of my husband, the mayor of Mejayan. I still have to

grade and correct papers and supervise students' theses. At the same time I am also raising three children. These duties would have been impossible for me to complete if I had not had my closest relatives and my personal assistants. (Mulyaningsih, personal interview, July 22, 2009)

During her time as the wife of a *bupati* and a mayor, Mulyaningsih did what she could do to support her husband and raise her children: "The welfare of my family is my priority." Mulyaningsih said career is important, but family is the most important; and her extended family understood her situation. Mulyaningsih added that only her housekeepers lived with her but her relatives would come if she asked for their assistance.

Kinanthi's family was very supportive of her as well, even when she decided to live in Germany for six years for her doctoral degree. She was thankful for their never-ending support:

I have total support from my family. My mother, when my son was still a baby and I had to go abroad, took care of everything here. Now my mother is old, but when one of my housekeepers is sick, one of my relatives will come, either my cousin or my niece- someone will come to help. That is why I feel relieved. (Kinanthi, personal interview, August 8, 2009)

Kinanthi had help from her personal assistants, but when one of them could not work, she could always count on help from her extended family.

Indispensable Personal Assistants

When reflecting on their multiple roles, almost all the women agreed that family was the priority. When they accepted positions as administrators, they were aware of the consequences. Administrative duties meant increased obligations at work. With the exception of Tanti, all women at some point mentioned that they had personal assistants who helped manage household chores and took care of their children.

For example, when I came for the interview with Imawati at her house, the orchids and the mango and rambutan trees drew my attention. Orchids, for one thing, require strict maintenance. Before I began the interview, Imawati and I talked for a while about her house and her plants. She admitted that she had someone to take care of the plants for her. In addition to her own professional responsibilities, Imawati often traveled to the capital of Indonesia and supported her husband who worked as a top official in the

Indonesian government. Consequently, she did not have time for gardening. In her house, there were at least five personal assistants. At the time of the interview, I saw at least five—one driver, three security guards, and one housekeeper who brought me a cup of tea.

During the informal conversation before the interview, Imawati said she relied on her housekeeper to help her manage the house while she was away; and she demonstrated she had a closer relationship to her housekeeper than her security guards because she used the housekeeper's first name when addressing her. In contrast, Imawati and her security guards interacted in a very formal manner. She addressed them using "*Pak*," which means "Mister."

Mulyaningsih shared a similar story. Her husband used to be a *bupati* and a mayor. In Indonesia, government officials, such as regents and mayors, reside in a manor and have several personal assistants, such as drivers, gardeners, and cooks. The Indonesian government pays for the maintenance of the manor and the personal assistants. Mulyaningsih said she used to employ several personal assistants when she lived in either the *bupati's* or the mayor's manor. When her husband was no longer a mayor, they moved to their own house in Wonoagung.

Mulyaningsih's three children were already away attending college, but she still needed a housekeeper to help her with household chores. When her husband suffered a stroke, she depended on her housekeeper even more. When her administrative duties called for official trips to other cities, she rarely made them. Even though she had a housekeeper, she wanted to care for her husband. She reflected:

My husband recently suffered a stroke. That's why I rarely go out of town as much as I want to. I have a housekeeper helping me with everything, but my husband needs me the most. She helps me a lot with household chores, but, you know, I have to be there for him. (Mulyaningsih, personal interview, July 22, 2009)

Kinanthi was the one who actually used the word “assistant” to refer to housekeepers or nannies. She mentioned them when she talked about how she made sure the children were fine at home:

You know, I will feel much better leaving the children at home once I am sure my assistants are doing the job they are supposed to be doing. If they are, then I am fine...I have my husband, but for the baby, I have someone who is taking care of the baby only. In addition, I have a housekeeper who is responsible for doing the household chores. They have their individual responsibilities. If one of them is sick, I can't concentrate on my work. (Kinanthi, personal interview, August 8, 2009)

All participants except Tanti reported that helpers contributed to their success because they took care of some of the domestic responsibilities. Therefore, these women administrators could concentrate on their work.

Encouragement from Colleagues and Staff

All of the women stated in one way or another that encouragement from colleagues and staff was a vital determinant in their ability to cope with their day-to-day administrative responsibilities. As administrators, the women in this study often worked longer hours than other faculty members. Additionally, they sometimes worked on weekends for certain events and celebrations such as accreditation meetings, alumni gatherings, and conferences. Most of these women, especially those who were associate deans, expressed their appreciation for the support from their colleagues and staff. Kinanthi and Sundari were both grateful because their colleagues and staff were very supportive and understanding of their situation.

At the time of the interview, Kinanthi's college was in constant communication with the area Search and Rescue Team because one of Kinanthi's students was reportedly lost on Mount Semeru in East Java (he was found dead three days after the interview). Kinanthi was enjoying her weekend with her family when she received a telephone call for an emergency meeting. She initially agreed to come but her colleagues said she could stay home and take care of her children. They promised to update her with any important

information and updates about the whereabouts of her student. Kinanthi recalled their kindness this way:

My dean is one of the people who would say it is OK for me not to come. But if I can go, I will go...my colleagues somehow understand that even though I am in charge of student affairs, there are other people who will be willing to go to Mount Semeru for me and I can stay here; but generally I am supposed to go to these meetings because of my position. (Kinanthi, personal interview, August, 8, 2009)

Kinanthi did not go to East Java but her colleagues kept her updated with information about her student. She felt that even though she was unhappy about the timing of the telephone call, she had to go to the meeting because she was responsible for any activities related to student organizations. She did not want her colleagues to think that being a woman is an excuse for not getting involved in the many activities that take place on weekends or on public holidays. On the one hand, Kinanthi felt that her colleagues were very understanding of her situation; but on the other hand, she did not want the fact that she was a woman to prevent her from performing her professional duties. Kinanthi admitted, however, that it was hard to negotiate the conflict between family matters and professional demands, but her colleagues and her dean were very accommodating of her personal needs.

For Tanti, communication was the key to gaining her colleagues' support. She talked to them openly about her plans and her initiatives and let them know that she would try her best to accommodate their needs in fulfilling their duties. She was aware that she needed to make available any resources her colleagues needed if she wanted them to perform their best. For instance, when she wanted to promote their research activities to international audiences, she explained to her staff that she needed their help to achieve that. She, in turn, promised them she would provide any resources they needed to fulfill their responsibilities. According to Tanti, the ability to communicate and interact with colleagues is one of the main characteristics of good administrators. Even with her more senior colleagues, she was confident that she could gain their support if she shared

and communicated her expectations and ideas to improve her college. Tanti knew most of her colleagues well because she was an alumna. She said the fact that she worked intensively with most of the senior professors when she was a student helped her in communicating her ideas and expectations.

For Ranita, the support from colleagues initiated her upward mobility. A dean is selected through an election, and Ranita ran for the college's dean twice. The first time she ran, she lost. Afterwards, she focused on managing the college's academic journals. Under her supervision, the journals were accredited and she received credit for her hard work. The university recognized her achievement. Because of her success in managing the journals, she was able to broaden her network. She established collegial relationships with people outside her college and worked on various collaborative projects. Four years later, her closest friend persuaded her to run for the position of dean again. At first, Ranita rejected the idea. "Losing one time is enough," she said. "I don't want to be victim of my failure again." Losing face was not the only concern for her. She was not ready to devote her time and energy to campaigning again because the election process was consuming and tedious. However, her closest friends motivated her to try again a second time. They were willing to provide any kind of assistance during the election process. Her friends reassured her that she was the best candidate for the dean's position and she would win this time around. During her second run for the position of dean, she received more support from colleagues compared to her first run. Her success in managing the college's journal helped more people view her as a viable candidate.

Sundari told me that she was grateful to have a very dependable and reliable secretary. In the dean's office, Aminah was the only secretary serving the needs of the dean and the three associate deans. Aminah had been working for a long time in the department, so she was very familiar with her work environment. Sundari could not imagine how she could finish her day-to-day administrative tasks if Aminah were not there. Aminah seemed to understand what she needed even if she gave very minimal

instructions. She described the importance of institutional memory and competent support staff as follows:

I am fortunate that we have a secretary who is very capable of completing any administrative tasks for us. She has been working here for a long time now; therefore she knows everything about our jobs. When I ask about something, she knows it very well. When I ask, “Aminah, could you compose a draft for me?”, she knows how to do it very well. (Sundari, personal interview, August 10, 2009)

For Sundari, having a very capable secretary who knew how the department functioned helped her tremendously, especially because she could not depend on her other administrative staff. She said most of the others were incapable of completing administrative tasks efficiently. It took them days just to draft a letter for her; therefore, she relied mostly on Aminah. Sundari claimed that having a capable secretary made a great difference in navigating her responsibilities as a professor and as an administrator. Without Aminah, it would take much longer for her to manage the paperwork and filing.

Women's Personal Attributes Help in Accomplishing

Their Duties

These women’s reflections on their personal experience as female administrators indicated that they shared some common personal attributes that helped them achieve their goals. The most commonly shared characteristic is that all of the women said they were able to cope with the demands of their domestic and professional spheres, and complete multiple tasks at the same time. The women went on to explain that in general, women in Indonesia, especially career women, have to accomplish many personal, family, and work-related duties simultaneously. Consequently, the ability to manage multiple tasks has become one of the most refined attributes of Indonesian female administrators. Imawati believed that one of the strengths of female administrators is being able to complete different tasks in a given period of time, and this ability makes these women more controlled and thorough. She said:

Because women have to embrace their responsibilities and also *fitroh* [nature], women have not only one task but multifunction [spoken in English]. She pursues her career, takes care of her husband and children, and manages her household.

Thus, she can accomplish complex duties....People who can fulfill different responsibilities are more careful, organized, and restrained. (Imawati, personal interview, August 2, 2009)

According to Imawati, she was an organized person; and therefore, she could handle deadlines and other pressures very well. For Mariani, the ability to manage different tasks in a certain period of time had sharpened her time management skills. “Women are basically capable managers because they have to manage their household every day. They cook, clean the house, and do other chores. Therefore, they have better time management skills,” said Mariani. She told me that her personal experiences, often in the face of unpredictable and unforeseen circumstances, had honed her ability to manage her time better.

Many of my interviewees attributed their accomplishments in the workplace to patience. Based on the interviews, being patient referred to these women’s ability to avoid making hasty judgments, show self-restraint, and remain even-tempered. Widiani told me she was often overwhelmed with various personnel matters she had to resolve. When one of her staff became emotional, she tried to balance the situation by being even-tempered. When dealing with sensitive issues, such as divorce or promotion, Widiani could not be harsh yet she did not want to seem too lenient. She said it was difficult to maintain self-restraint when she was under a lot of pressure, but over time she found it easier to preserve the necessary balance.

Likewise, Tanti said that being calm was an advantage, especially during a conflict. When other people were quick-tempered, she tried to calm them down by being a good listener and not showing anger. In addition, being soft-spoken was a good strategy to deal with older faculty members. “I can be stern, but I have to be gentle. Honestly, we are in Karang Wulan, where people tend to be very sensitive and easily offended,” said Tanti. She believed that being gentle and soft-spoken were vital strategies for communicating her ideas.

My interviewees said they were aware that negative gender stereotypes were still prevalent in their institutions. They sometimes brought this up indirectly and directly during our interactions. According to the participants, women were still perceived as being fussy and meticulous. These women did not deny that they possessed some of the above-mentioned characteristics, but they said they did not feel dispirited. Sundari admitted that she was meticulous and very particular, but reported that because of these qualities, her dean and the other associate deans trusted her to deal with official matters that required high attention to details, such as accreditation. She said that when the dean was away, he appointed her as the one who acted on his behalf because of her ability to be thorough and fastidious.

Many times during the interviews, the women in this study mentioned another common personal trait they said most women share, which in turn contributes to their success. They believed that women are born with the willingness to serve other people. Ranita said, “Women’s task is to serve. I am a servant; I serve my constituents. I am used to serving other people. I do not feel that being a servant is demeaning.” Ranita further stated that being an administrator is essentially serving other people. She explained that female administrators who understand that their primary task is to serve their constituencies are more willing to listen to her constituents’ needs, suggestions, and feedback, and more willing to try fulfilling those wishes. Tanti said that being able to serve her colleagues as an associate dean was a privilege. Embracing the idea that her major task was to serve her colleagues, students, and staff made it easier for her to fulfill her responsibilities.

Mulyaningsih also believed this willingness to serve was ingrained in women from birth:

Women are born and raised to nurture other people. We are mothers, and the role of mothers is to take care of their children and husband, to nurture other people. Being an administrator is the same thing as being a mother. We have people to take care of, to support, to encourage, and to protect. Of course we deal with

different issues, but the idea is the same. (Mulyaningsih, personal interview, July 22, 2009)

Mulyaningsih believed she had improved her communication skills and was doing better in dealing with many different personalities because she constantly reminded herself she was in charge of taking care of her constituents' well-being. The women all agreed that these commonly shared attributes benefited female administrators in accomplishing their tasks and helped them achieve their goals.

Heavy Workloads as Both Professor and Administrator

Discourage Aspirations to Pursue Higher Academic

Leadership Positions

In response to questions about the challenges of being an academic administrator and a professor, a shared complaint among the women was how the heavy workload of being both an administrator and a teacher discouraged them from pursuing higher academic positions such as deans, associate presidents, or presidents. All the associate deans in my study agreed that it was a challenge for them to fulfill the demands of the Three Pillars of Service of Higher Education in Indonesia—namely teaching, research, and community service. Two deans even mentioned that once they became the dean, they hardly had time to focus on their professorship. It was not impossible to fulfill the requirements, but it took more time because they had so many other pressing administrative duties.

Mulyaningsih, a dean in Amarta University, asserted that one of the downsides of being an administrator was not being able to concentrate on her academic promotion (to become a full professor or *guru besar*). Administrative duties consumed much of her time. However, she realized that she made a big commitment to lead her college and she would accept any consequences resulting from her commitment. When asked when she was interested in becoming a president, Mulyaningsih answered that she was not sure she could make a bigger commitment than what she had made.

Talking about her workload, Mariani admitted that she did not do well in fulfilling the requirements of the Three Pillars of Service of Higher Education. She said she had been a good model because she was always *lelet* (slow) in completing her paperwork for academic promotion. Now that she became the dean, she did not attempt to pursue her academic promotion. She was still holding a *lektor* position (middle rank position), the position she had before she became a dean. Mariani said that “leading a college in a big research university is tiresome” because of the challenging demands and expectations from the university-level administrators and from the Directorate General of Higher Education. Mariani then gave a lengthy explanation of how large public research universities had to perform many kinds of audits to guarantee the quality of educational services they provided. College-level administrators felt constantly overwhelmed with the paperwork during the audits but they “had to show the auditors that they could perform their job well.” The college-level administrators were aware of this and knew something like this came with the commitment, according to Mariani. She further said that such challenging demands made women abandon their pursuit of administrative careers. She knew that some of her colleagues were torn between focusing on academics only and pursuing an administrative position, which could delay their dreams of being a *guru besar* (full professor).

Kinanthi, an associate dean, admitted that trying to meet the demands of this policy—fulfilling the Three Pillars of Service of Higher Education—exhausted her. She reflected:

In addition to supervising undergraduate and graduate students, *Tri Dharma Perguruan Tinggi* [Three Pillars of Service of Higher Education] is what makes me really tired. What percent... 12.5 points of teaching in a semester. That means in a semester we have at least 2 courses to teach, and we have to prioritize teaching graduate students because it reflects our core. (Kinanthi, personal interview, August 8, 2009)

She later expressed her wish that as an administrator she did not have to teach at all so she could concentrate on her managerial duties. She barely had time to do research or

write for publication. She said that during her office hours, she spent a lot of her time working on paperwork. A few months before the interview, she worked hard during the accreditation process for her college. She felt overwhelmed with how much paperwork and forms she had to fill out. When she committed to working as an administrator, she realized she would have never-ending managerial duties. For instance, after she finished with accreditation, she needed to focus on the International Organization for Standardization (ISO), another type of quality assurance. In Indonesia, many higher education institutions have made great efforts to obtain ISO approval in order to gain international recognition for their educational services.

Kinanthi said that one of the most important and most time-consuming obligations for an administrator is to continuously review and set up policies. She said that the dean and the associate deans had to review their policies frequently because of the recurring changes in policies from the Directorate General of Higher Education in Indonesia. Kinanthi stated that she planned to focus more on teaching and research once she finished with her term. She said she would feel happier if she could dedicate her expertise to her students. She thought she had dedicated so little time for her students and research because she spent most of her time doing managerial tasks such as meetings and paperwork. She reported:

Right now, I have very little time for teaching preparations. I have not done a very good job managing my time for teaching preparations because I am very busy with meetings. I run from one meeting to another...I think I would focus more on teaching and research, and on getting full professorship. I think I would be more satisfied with just teaching and doing research. (Kinanthi, personal interview, August 8, 2009)

Kinanthi maintained that being an administrator was challenging because of the amount of extra time that an administrator has to dedicate. She said an administrator has to serve students, staff, and institution well, and that took a lot of time and dedication.

Widiani echoed Kinanthi's concern about the enormous managerial tasks of an associate dean. Widiani was in charge of the financial affairs and personnel at Amarta

University. She did not have a background in accounting; therefore, it took time for her to learn to manage the finances of the medical school. She said that Amarta University just recently changed its policies regarding financial reporting for internal and external purposes. She described her learning process as slow because she had to start from the beginning.

I am a graduate of a medical school but I have to be in charge of administration and finances. This is something new to me. I never learned much about accounting before...I have to start from the beginning, learn about accounting and financial systems, although only superficially. Otherwise, how can I be accountable for the reports I make if I don't know the basics of finance and accounting? (Widiani, personal interview, July 23, 2009)

She further described financial reporting for internal and external purposes as complex: "The financial system has to conform to Indonesia's Department of Finance rules. When one policy at the top office changes, everything we do changes as well." In addition to handling financial matters, Widiani was also in charge of personnel. This responsibility includes being in charge of staff promotion, training, and employee welfare.

She said she was surprised when she had to resolve the personal problems of her administrative staff, such as divorce. She recalled when she had to talk to a couple that wanted to divorce. She was surprised by the policy requiring any faculty members or staff who wanted to get a divorce to obtain her permission. Handling personnel matters is very time consuming and challenging because she has to understand the personalities of her staff. In addition to managing the administrative and financial affairs, Widiani taught three classes in a semester. She hardly had enough time to do research or focus on her publications.

When reflecting on her own career aspirations, Sundari also expressed lack of enthusiasm for pursuing higher academic leadership positions because of the heavy workloads:

Being a dean is burdensome considering the workloads set up by the university and the Directorate General of Higher Education; as well as the demands from the subordinates. I think the disadvantages of being the dean outweigh the advantages... I am talking about advantages in quotation marks, not financial

advantages, but the ones related to academic promotion. (Sundari, personal interview, August 10, 2009)

She said she was too “young” to be the dean and thought she lacked sufficient experience to manage the policies in higher education. Sundari compared the dean’s responsibility in Australia to that in Indonesia:

You know that the Indonesian university is not like other universities [abroad]. For instance, I know how things are done in Melbourne. The president of the university is elected by the public. His main job is to manage- management. He doesn’t teach. But here the administrators are professors. In addition to fulfilling our obligations as an academic administrator, we still have to satisfy the requirements of our *Tri Dharma Perguruan Tinggi* [Three Pillars of Service of Higher Education] ... One of the limitations of this system is that not all professors are capable of managing college; and that ruins the whole system. (Sundari, personal interview, August 10, 2009)

According to Sundari, too heavy a workload accounted for the hesitancy to move up to a higher academic position. She knew other female colleagues in different departments who also expressed their reluctance to run for deans even though they were qualified for the job.

Tanti was the only one among the associate deans who insisted that academic administrators should satisfy the Three Pillars of Service of Higher Education. She said she did not deny the fact that teaching, researching, and doing community service in addition to managing the college was hard, but she maintained that these duties are the main obligations of being a professor. Tanti said:

Well, currently, I am conducting a study, although I am an associate dean of Research and Student Affairs; because, in my opinion, we have to uphold the principles of those Three Pillars of Service of Higher Education, teaching, researching, and community service. I would like to think of my current job as a form of service to my alma mater. (Tanti, personal interview, August 6, 2009)

Tanti told me she hired students to assist her in conducting research. Otherwise, she would not have time or energy to complete the research.

Institutional Policies Regarding Promotion

Systematically Favor Men

My interviewees, especially those who worked in a male-dominated college, agreed that the low number of female administrators in their institution was, in part, due

to institutional policies regarding promotion that are systematically more favorable for men. One commonly reported policy was that male tenured professors in advantaged positions subsequently determine who is eligible for promotion. In order to become a dean, a faculty member has to at least hold a master's degree. Some institutions require a doctoral degree, but this varies with the human resources requirements of each school. In addition, candidates must have achieved a certain rank and must have served in one or more managerial positions.

My interviewees expressed their concern that more male faculty members consistently serve in the college senate compared to female faculty members. In Indonesia, senate members have the power to determine promotion, so it is the men who have the dominant voice when the college senate decides who deserves promotion. Sundari affirmed that written policies on promotion merely determine the educational level and administrative experience of an administrator. In practice, however, more male faculty members are eligible for administrative jobs because they consistently hold advantaged positions. Sundari said that universities have historically been male-dominated institutions, and only recently has the number of female students surpassed that of male students. However, the number of male tenured professors is still higher than that of their female counterparts:

I think the written policies are actually conducive to equality between men and women. However, the fact that fewer women are in top positions is due to the proportion of men to women. It just happens that there are more men in top positions (and they decide who receives a promotion), so when they determine who is eligible for a certain position, they are more likely to choose men. (Sundari, personal interview, August 10, 2009)

Imawati expressed similar concerns. She also explained that fewer women are eligible for top positions. Most colleges require candidates for administrative positions to obtain doctoral degrees and tenure, but not many women can obtain doctoral degrees or tenure as easily as men. She said it is easier for men to pursue doctoral degrees and obtain tenure because they do not have to juggle family and work responsibilities. They are able

to focus on their teaching, research, and publications—the most important requirements to obtain tenure and promotion. Consequently, male faculty members fulfill the criteria for eligibility for promotion earlier than female faculty members. Imawati argued that women are more likely to be distracted by family matters in their pursuit of a doctoral degree. This conflict of spheres reduces their chances for eligibility when pursuing an administrative position. She illustrated this issue by talking about her personal experience.

Imawati said that in 2000 she was eligible to achieve a *guru besar* position (the highest academic title, equivalent to full professor in the United States), a position that can open up more opportunities for upward career mobility. However, she had to wait to turn in her paperwork until 2002 because she wanted to give her husband the opportunity to achieve the title first. Imawati was consequently awarded the title *guru besar* in 2003. Imawati also explained that the more progressive departments, such as the College of Economy or the Medical School, are more egalitarian and less hierarchical. The problem she experienced in her department is less evident in more progressive colleges because administrators who are in charge of promotion focus more on the candidate's ability, vision, and mission to lead their school, not on the candidate's gender and seniority.

Despite the participants' concern over the low representation of women administrators in their colleges, some of them were not in favor of a policy whose sole purpose is to increase the number of women in a position. Sundari, for example, said she did not like the fact that some policies are designed to increase women's participation in leadership positions, but they do not take women's leadership qualities into consideration. She said

I sometimes see that some administrative appointment policies are designed to include a woman. In DIKTI for instance, one of its directors is a woman. Such policies are enforced so that women are included. However, I see that they are not genuine. They seem forced. When I saw how she [the female director in DIKTI] talked, I thought she was different from the other directors [she lacked the quality of a leader].

She thought that policies should not only be designed to increase women's participation, but also to ensure that those who are in leadership positions have the qualities of a leader. She also cited the policy to increase women's participation in the Indonesian House of Representatives (all political parties must have at least 30 percent of women as parliamentary candidates) as another example of unnecessary policies. She said that "in general, having 30 percent of women as parliamentary candidates is very difficult because not many women are interested in politics." She argued that having a qualified leader is more important than increasing the number of women in leadership positions.

In a similar vein, Kinanthi thought that improving women's status should start with the change of society's mindset. She stated that "the most important thing to have is the change society's perception about the roles of men and women....I think it is more important than just including a certain number of women for a certain position. It should be more about the change of society's perception [about women and men's roles]." Both Sundari and Kinanthi suggested that having qualified leaders is more important than increasing the number of women as leaders.

Women Have to Work Harder to Become Leaders

Contemplating their own personal struggle to be leaders, these women agreed that women need to work harder to be heard. All the women in this study knew of their female colleagues who had sufficient intellectual and academic qualities to hold top administrative positions but were not courageous and confident enough to speak up. Their colleagues neither voiced their opinions nor put forward their ideas. My participants said that many women who are capable of becoming leaders do not want to stand up and fight for what they believe for a number of reasons. These women thought that women should act like men who were more rational and did not take criticism personally.

Mariani reported that sometimes women's lack of morale came from the way they were raised. Mariani explained that Javanese families did not "encourage women to

speak out. Families raised women to be soft and yielding.” Reflecting on her family, Mariani said she appreciated her parents because they raised her to become independent and hardworking. Her father’s death put the family into a difficult financial situation, but that situation somehow forced her to have high morale. Tanti, Mariani’s associate dean, concurred with Mariani’s description of her character. Tanti said Mariani was a good leader:

She was a hard worker. I admire her so much. She has a very high motivation to get something accomplished. She took her doctoral degree here in this university and you know it is very challenging and difficult (to get a doctoral degree from Nusantara University). However, she managed to overcome her challenges. She pursued her doctoral degree and at the same time she had to fulfill her duties as a full-time faculty member. She was still teaching, doing research, and doing community service. On the contrary, when I took my doctoral degree in Japan, I focused only on my study. She was really a hard worker. (Tanti, personal interview, August 6, 2009)

She went on to explain that she had known Mariani for a long time. She knew that Mariani had been a hard worker as a student and that she had a knack for leadership. According to Tanti, being a hard worker was one of the characteristics of a good leader. Tanti also observed that some of her female colleagues were eligible for top administrative positions but admitted they had low self-esteem or were merely too lazy to work hard.

Sundari also strongly expressed that women had to work harder than men to attain the same position and title. She mentioned Imawati to illustrate:

Take Imawati, for instance. She is a hard-worker. We often worked together overtime, sometimes until as late as eleven at night. She is amazing. I have no idea how she found the energy. Do you know that she has only one kidney, because she donated one to her sick son? However, she has a high spirit and is in good health. Once we met to write a major proposal and we worked from 9 a.m. to 11 p.m. We were extremely exhausted, but Imawati looked just fine. (Sundari, personal interview, August 10, 2009)

Sundari did not know how Imawati, as an associate president, coped with all the pressures; and many of her female colleagues did not want to be “professional” and work hard. Sundari understood that family responsibilities dampen a woman’s aspiration to

pursue a doctoral degree or an administrative position, but she felt it a pity that her female colleagues did not develop their abilities to their full potential.

Imawati echoed Sundari's sentiment. She told me there are two types of workers: those who work hard and are willing to contribute ideas to their workplace, and those who work just to earn money. Imawati said that women who belong to the second category do not become leaders because they do not work as hard as those who want to make a significant contribution to their workplace. She remembered how one of her most talented and outstanding students (who later became her colleague) refused to become a leader once she got married. Imawati had high expectations for her former student, but her student chose to dedicate her life to her family and focused on teaching

Imawati then emphasized that there is nothing wrong with the decision to prioritize family responsibilities. She was just disappointed because she knew her former student had the ability and potential to have a great impact on improving their institution. Imawati always tried to guide her female colleagues:

I constantly remind them that they need to improve their skills and not be afraid to speak up. One of our [a woman's] weaknesses is that we tend to build our own walls. "I cannot handle this", "I am afraid". They are not brave enough to speak up and be assertive. They do not want to take risks. Indeed, women need to work harder than men if they want to succeed. Women have more challenges. Life is never fair for women. What happens then is that being treated unfairly makes women less courageous. So, indeed, it is really up to us whether or not we want to face the challenges. (Imawati, personal interview, August 2, 2009)

Imawati regretted that many women did not want to get ahead and face the necessary challenges. When working on projects, Imawati always did her best to include some women who she thought had the capability to accomplish these projects. From the very beginning, Imawati said the following to those women:

If you want to get involved in this project with me, don't be upset when I criticize you. I am very particular and I often say "This is wrong. Why does it take you so long to do this?" Sometimes, the deadline is tight and we have to work quickly. When that happens, I don't want these women to become disheartened and upset. Sometimes women are too sensitive. And that kind of personality makes it difficult for these women to develop their leadership skill. (Imawati, personal interview, August 2, 2009)

Imawati expressed her hope that women would not let their emotions overpower their determination to accomplish their goals. She illustrated her point by reflecting on her own experience when she was in charge of preparing a major grant proposal for her department. She explained that initially her dean did not include her in the project. However, when the department failed to win the grant twice, the dean decided to apply a third time and the associate deans asked Imawati to help. Even though she was aware that many people underestimated her and openly expressed their dislike for her proposal, she was determined to prove that she was capable of managing the grant proposal preparation. She said it was a difficult task. She often worked overtime and stayed up late to write the proposal, but she did not want to give in. In this third attempt, the College of Pharmacy won the grant. Her proposed curriculum change for the College of Pharmacy was key in winning the grant. She recounted that she did not allow her colleagues' aversion of her ideas to defeat her. Imawati said that the project was a major career change for her. Because of her success in securing major grants, the top administrators in the university became more interested in recruiting her for major fundraising projects, and eventually the president offered her the position of the associate president. Imawati asserted that "many women are capable (of being a leader), but they have to be determined and work harder."

Summary

This chapter presented the results of the findings regarding the impediments and the support the women administrators in this study encountered in attaining their positions. The participants described the exceptional and complex paths they took to become leaders. I presented the results of the interviews in the context of six major themes.

First, the results from the interviews showed evidence that, for my participants, family was pivotal in these women's life as administrators. My participants asserted that they needed to ensure their families were taken care of before accepting any

administrative positions. All the women in my study stated that they were fortunate to have very supportive husbands who encouraged them to advance their careers and were willing to share the responsibility of childcare. According to my participants, it is women's nature to prioritize the well-being of their family before making the commitment to accept any professional roles.

They also professed that encouragement from the individuals closest to them was important for them in helping balance their multiple roles as wives, mothers, and administrators. The support from parents, relatives, and personal assistants was indispensable for these women because these individuals provided much needed help during difficult times. These women averred that their parents, relatives, or personal assistants offered assistance with childcare and house chores that allowed them to focus on their work.

My interviewees viewed being a woman as advantageous because their acquired attributes and inherent personal traits sometimes came in handy. They said that women shared common attributes that were beneficial to accomplish their duties. The most commonly cited personal traits were, among others, the ability to multitask, the willingness to listen to and serve other people, and meticulousness. These women acknowledged that some negative stereotypes of women were common in their workplace. However, they also realized they could use them to their advantage.

The interviews revealed that only few women had aspirations to hold an administrative position due to the heavy workloads of being an administrator and a professor. As professors in a research university, these women had to fulfill the requirements of all Indonesian faculty members in any university as determined by Directorate General of Higher Education. In addition to completing their administrative duties, the women in this study had to teach classes, conduct research, and get involved in community outreach which is known as the Three Pillars of Service of Higher Education. These women asserted that one of the downsides of being an administrator is not being

able to obtain academic promotion because they were too busy with their managerial roles.

The interviews revealed the exceptional career paths of these women administrators. They recognized that balancing domestic responsibilities, administrative duties, and the Three Pillars of Service of Higher Education was not easy for women administrators in general. Comparing themselves to their male colleagues, these women discussed how institutional policies were more favorable for men. Men were in more advantageous positions to determine the eligibility and the qualifications of academic and administrative promotions. Both types of promotions were intertwined in the sense that those who are full professors and have doctoral degrees are considered eligible to hold top administrative positions and serve in the university senate. These women stated that this policy favored men because it was easier for men to obtain a doctoral degree because they did not have to be in charge of domestic responsibilities. An easier path for men to obtain the degree thus meant a quicker route to being granted full professorship.

Participants in this study asserted that women needed to work hard if they want to become leaders. They knew that some of their colleagues were capable and eligible of being leaders, but they were not determined enough to face the challenges. They felt it was unfortunate that some of their colleagues chose to relinquish their aspirations to hold top administrative positions such as deans or presidents because they were not courageous enough to deal with criticism. The participants thought that women should act like men, in the sense that they should not be too emotional and should not take criticism personally.

Chapter 5 will present the discussion of the findings and situate them in the context of relevant literature. I will also discuss the implications of the study.

CHAPTER V DISCUSSION

Introduction

The objective of this study was to explore women administrators' perspectives on their career paths and gender equality in higher education in Indonesia. Specifically, I was interested in examining how these women administrators navigated the challenges they encountered in attaining their positions and how they utilized the resources and support systems available to them in coping with the demands of domestic and work responsibilities.

This chapter will discuss the findings in the context of the literature review on the career advancement of women academic administrators. I divide the chapter into four sections. The first section will present a brief summary of the findings presented in Chapter 4. The second section will analyze the findings and situate them in the current literature on career advancement for women administrators. Then, I will offer implications for practice and policies as well as for future research in the third section. The chapter will end with concluding remarks.

Summary of Findings

The interviews with women administrators produced six themes that highlighted their perspectives on their journey to become academic administrators. These women described the importance of family for women administrators and the role of the individuals closest to them in helping them navigate their complex roles. The findings also included compelling stories about how these women recognized and utilized their own strengths in accomplishing their goals and administrative duties. These women articulated that heavy workloads as both professors and administrators were so overwhelming that it sometimes resulted in the lack of aspiration to pursue higher administrative positions. In addition, they reported that institutional policies concerning promotion systematically favored men over women. These policies to some extent helped

explain the lack of women in top administrative positions. Considering their rigorous and convoluted paths to top positions, these women stated they had to work harder and be more determined than their male counterparts to overcome challenges of pursuing administrative positions.

Analysis

Scholarly literature on women's career advancement in the West and the East has described numerous impediments and challenges that women have had to overcome to achieve success, such as balancing family-work responsibilities, discriminatory institutional policies related to promotion, and negative stereotypes of women (Eagly, 2007; Lee, 2001; Luke, 1997, 1998b; Madsen, 2008; Setiadarma, 1993; Turner, 2007). Many of the challenges that women administrators in this study experienced resonate with previous literature worldwide; these challenges include the difficulty of balancing women's prescribed roles and their professional demands, policies that favor men, and heavy workloads as administrators and professors. Yet, the findings of this study are important to the discussion of women's career advancement in general because they reveal interesting and unique strategies distinctive to the local context that these women employed to circumnavigate their challenges in their pursuit of professional achievement. My findings reveal the subtle influence of socio-cultural values and religious beliefs on women administrators' perception of gender equity and their places in society.

The reflections of my participants indicated the evidence of (a) a strong support system among the Javanese that helps women administrators balance their two spheres, domestic and public; (b) the role of religious beliefs for modern Muslim Indonesian women as they embrace both their traditionally prescribed roles and their participation in the public sphere (the sphere outside the home); and (c) their strong reliance on personal initiative and perseverance in pursuing professional goals. I will describe each phenomenon in more detail in the following sections.

*The Strong Support System Among the Javanese
Helps Women Administrators Balance Their Domestic
and Public Spheres*

Scholarly literature on women administrators in the West (Madsen, 2008; Turner, 2007) found that maintaining work-family balance was the major barrier in women's career advancement. The literature suggested that obligation to family continues to be one of the major obstacles for women who want to advance their careers. Even though more men are increasingly involved in childcare and housework, women still bear the largest share of domestic duties. In her book *Through the Labyrinth: The Truth About how Women Become Leaders*, Eagly (2007) stated that while men share more domestic work now than ever before, women have more irregular employment patterns such as taking more days off or working part-time because of pregnancies or childcare. Therefore, women need more time to advance their careers. Likewise, Madsen (2008) studied 10 women presidents in North American universities and found that many of them at some point in their career worked part time to bear and raise their children. In her biographical sketches of African American, Hispanic, and Asian American women presidents in North American universities, Turner (2007) found that the women presidents she interviewed identified family responsibility as a major challenge, especially during the early stages of their administrative careers.

Prior studies on the challenges of women professors' career advancement in South Asian and Southeast Asian universities presented similar findings. They showed that obligation to family continues to be one of the major obstacles for women who want to advance their careers (Lee, 2001; Luke, 1997, 1998a, 1998b; Setiadarma, 1993). The studies suggest that even though society is more accommodating of women's need for personal achievement and men are increasingly involved in domestic tasks, women are still the primary caretakers (Lee, 2001; Luke, 1997, 1998a, 1998b, 2000). Women bear most of the responsibilities associated with childcare and household chores. Thus, most

women recognize that balancing their roles at home with those at work remains their most challenging endeavor. In Luke's study of women professors in Singaporean higher education (1998a), some of her participants reported that they had support from nannies and helpers and that this support helped them focus on their work responsibilities.

My findings align with what previous literature has suggested. These women administrators received tremendous and vital support from spouses, family (including extended family), colleagues, and personal assistants. The support from their spouses was indeed key to advancing their careers. From the beginning of their careers, these women perceived that spousal support was necessary when making major professional decisions such as going abroad for their graduate study or accepting leadership positions. All of them explained that they had been able to achieve their current positions because their husbands were very supportive. The support from the spouses took different forms. Some husbands were willing to share the domestic responsibilities, such as helping with childcare and house chores. From the interviews, however, it was evident that most of the support from the husbands was in the form of encouragement.

Half of my participants had spouses who worked as professors in the same institution or in another private institution. These men were familiar with the demands in the work place because they had to fulfill the same responsibilities. Tanti's husband, for example, had to go abroad for his graduate study in Vienna just a year before Tanti went to Japan for her doctoral degree. Tanti said he supported her decision to pursue her doctorate in Japan. Both Sundari and her husband graduated from Nusantara University. He worked in another private institution. He encouraged her to pursue graduate studies and later joined Sundari when she went to Australia for her doctorate. Widiani's husband was the president of the institution where she worked and he was the one she turned to for advice. Even women whose spouses worked in the private sector or in government offices mentioned that their spouses understood their career aspirations. Ranita's husband was a consultant in a company in Jakarta, which is 10-hour drive from where she lived.

He encouraged any decisions she made regarding her career advancement. All women also stated that their husbands encouraged them to pursue their master's or doctoral degrees and accept higher leadership positions.

The interviewees indicated that their husbands were supportive of women's pursuit of success and in fact encouraged them to be professionals. The men accommodated their wives' need for personal achievement. However, the interviewees also expressed that their spouse's encouragement did not necessarily translate into sharing domestic duties because most of these women had domestic workers or helpers who took care of most of their domestic duties. Due to the rigorous demands of the domestic sphere, many women in Western universities needed more time than men to achieve tenure. They perceived that only part-time jobs would allow them to care for their children (Eagly, 2007; Madsen, 2008; Turner, 2007), thus delaying their career advancement. Female administrators in my study, however, did not have to take part-time jobs because they could depend on their family, relatives, and personal helpers to help them balance their work-family responsibilities.

Another compelling finding from this study is the important role of men in these women's lives. Many of the women mentioned having husbands who were very supportive of their undertakings and fathers who were instrumental in their character building and played an important role in instilling educational aspirations and leadership qualities. Imawati recalled fondly what her father did to develop her scientific curiosity. Tanti reported that she relied on her brother to take care of her children while she and her husband were pursuing their doctoral degree abroad. Mariani had a father who encouraged her interest in biology. I purport that these women's reflections were evidence of the key role of men in family's decision making. In traditional Javanese families, men determine important issues such as schooling and career choices. My participants could pursue college education because their fathers encouraged them. They accepted responsibilities as administrators because their husbands were supportive of

their decisions. In other words, participation of women in the public sphere in Indonesia still depends on men to some extent. It will be interesting to see how much the role the women in this study will play in shaping their children's lives because these women are raising or have raised their children in situations where women have a greater role in decision making.

The findings of this study suggest that absence of school-age children was a determinant in a woman's decision to pursue leadership positions. The associate president and all of the deans in this study had children who were independent or in college. For them, childcare was no longer an issue. Being a mother meant making sure that the family members were taken care of. Imawati, for instance, had children who were grown but one of them suffered kidney failure. Imawati was very concerned about her adult son's health. When she was away attending events for her work or her husband's work, she had to make sure that all her personal assistants managed everything in her house to keep her son comfortable.

Mulyaningsih also did not have school-age children but her husband was sick. She no longer had to baby sit or help with her children's homework, but she had a sick husband who needed her care and attention. Whenever she was away, she arranged her plans in advance with her children. They were the ones who took care of their father when Mulyaningsih was away. Women administrators with independent children had more freedom to decide how much involvement they would like to have in public and professional spheres, but they were not necessarily free from their main role in the household. In contrast, women administrators with small children had to delegate the childcare or household duties to their personal assistants. As Kinanthi said, she felt secure when her personal assistants managed the house chores well. She was also comfortable leaving her children with her mother-in-law and her cousin.

Unlike many women in Western universities who have to depend on baby-sitters and childcare providers (Eagly, 2007), many women in Eastern universities can afford to

hire nannies or helpers (Luke, 1997). In her study, Luke (1997) found that women administrators in Singapore utilized similar resources to help ease the burden of domestic duties. They sought assistance from their husbands, parents, relatives, and live-in maids. Johnsrud (1995) also found that women in Korean higher education were able to accomplish the dual responsibilities because of help from relatives and maids. Some women professors in Luke's and Johnsrud's studies, however, expressed their frustration because they could not afford to hire nannies or did not have relatives to support them (Johnsrud, 1995; Luke, 1997).

Many women in the Luke and Johnsrud studies stated that they could not afford to hire domestic workers or nannies, but only one participant in my study, Tanti, expressed that she never hired nannies or had relatives to help her with childcare. She said she chose to take her children to a daycare center. The other women mentioned they had someone or other people helping them with the housework or childcare. Middle class families commonly rely on domestic workers in Indonesia. While in many societies childcare providers are expensive, this is not usually the case in Indonesia. Indonesian society, especially in the middle and upper classes, are highly dependent on domestic workers (ILO, 2004).

According to the 2004 ILO report, more women in Indonesia are entering the workforce and this partly accounts for the high number of hired domestic workers (ILO, 2004). The report also points out that most of these domestic workers work in families in Java. The interviews with my participants showed that they were from middle class families who could afford to hire nannies or helpers. The support from helpers, gardeners, or nannies allowed them to spend more time at their offices, work overtime, and focus on their administrative responsibilities. Thus such support contributed indirectly to the success of the women administrators in Indonesia.

The reliance of middle class families on domestic workers raises the important issue of the effect of socioeconomic status on career advancement. The women in my

study came from middle class families who had the resources they needed to participate in social activities and the work sphere. In other words, their socioeconomic status afforded them the ability to step out of the domestic sphere and hire someone else to manage household chores and childcare. Kinanthi, for instance, expressed that she had to ensure her “personal assistants” did their job well. This helped her focus on her tasks at work. Sundari did not worry if she had to come home late from work because she had a helper and a relative taking care of her children. Knowing that somebody else was at home managing the household tasks provided psychological and mental support to these women. This kind of support might be difficult to find in other cultures where middle class working women rely on expensive childcare providers when they work but still have to manage the chores when they come home from work.

Javanese society is communal where neighbors and extended family form a strong bond. They share ownership and view family well-being as paramount. It is common for people in a communal society to depend on the support of their extended families, or sometimes neighbors, in times of need. This type of ethics is known as *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation). My participants described how extended family members often agreed to take some of the domestic duties because of this notion of shared ownership (Koentjaraningrat, 1984). Two of my participants mentioned having their mother-in-laws and close relatives stay at their house to help with the childcare, but most of them said they had helpers outside the family network. They hired household staff such as nannies, drivers, and even gardeners as a way to guarantee that their loved ones and their houses were well-taken care of. The support from relatives and close extended family was very valuable for them because they could concentrate on their work. Having nannies or helpers allowed them to accomplish their responsibilities at work. Even the women who did not have school-age children benefited from outside help. Most of the women I interviewed often worked overtime and these helpers took over almost all of their household chores.

These women's reflections on how support from various individuals closest to them helped them balance their work and family responsibilities reinforces the idea that women who have the means to accomplish their professional demands are more likely to succeed. Not many families can afford to hire domestic workers and support additional extended family members. Women from a privileged background who marry educated, successful men or who come from affluent, professional families are also more likely to achieve their professional goals. These reflections provided good examples of the effect of social class on women's career advancement which previous scholars have discussed (Eagly, 2007; Luke, 1997).

The support that my participants received did not come solely from spouses, relatives, and helpers, however. They all expressed the importance of collegial support for their career advancement. In this study, the encouragement from colleagues and staff helped these women accomplish their professional goals. Most of these women worked in a department in which men dominated the leadership positions. Often these women were the only female academic administrator in their department. In general, they acknowledged that they were treated as equals. They said that being a woman did not affect teamwork or the decision-making process. In addition, the women in this study did not perceive that they were singled out just because they were women.

Nonetheless, in other parts of the interviews, some women made contradicting claims. Some women said at times they had experienced unusual situations or events in which they received special treatment because they were women. For instance, Tanti's colleagues sometimes excused her from field trips when she thought she was not strong enough to hike or walk in difficult terrains or locations. Tanti also reported that her colleagues were very understanding of her situations and were willing to cover for some of her responsibilities when her physical limitations (such as not being strong enough to lift heavy loads and walk long distances) barred her from completing them. She said that she would have not been able to join a field trip to Komodo Island during the time she

had her period (Komodo Island is the home of Komodo Dragons that prey on humans and animals and are attracted to the smell of blood).

Kinanthi described similar experiences. Her colleagues were very considerate of her role as a mother, so whenever the department had events or emergencies that took place outside her regular working hours, they allowed her to monitor the situations from home. These women said they appreciated such generous gestures because they were very meaningful for them. Being a mother and a wife was a responsibility they held dear as women, but at the same time, my participants fully recognized the duties that came with their positions. Therefore, they stated that they were thankful when their colleagues were considerate of their extenuating circumstances. When describing their experiences, these women, however, did not seem to be aware of some of the implications of their colleagues' gestures.

In this regard, these women's appreciation of their colleagues' gestures of goodwill implies a quandary. On the one hand, they wanted to show that they were as strong, independent, and capable as any man in fulfilling the necessary duties in their public sphere. On the other hand, the acceptance of special treatment also implies they accepted that women are weak and delicate, and consequently do not have the necessary qualities or character to fulfill some of their administrative duties. The generous and courteous gestures from their colleagues might in fact be sincere acts of kindness, but they also underscore the notion that women are weak and incapable of fulfilling their professional duties. Consequently, instead of helping them negate the notion of women as weaker creatures, their willingness to accept these compensating gestures can limit their effort to defy the socially constructed roles that contribute to gender inequality, which might ultimately interfere with their professional development and advancement in the public sphere. Setiadarma (1993) called these women's acceptance of their own limitations "the most paralyzing challenge" (p. 114) because such an attitude would

prevent women from breaking the stereotypes and proving that they are able to overcome obstacles and limitations to achieve success.

In accomplishing their tasks at work, these women often depended on the staff members who had proven to be the most reliable. When I waited for the interviews, I observed that all of the women administrators had secretaries, some of them male, who helped them accomplish their day-to-day activities. Before the interviews I witnessed how the secretaries welcomed guests, wrote letter drafts, and arranged schedules. Some of the secretaries prepared a cup of hot tea for me during the interviews and some gave me their cell phone numbers so I could arrange and confirm the schedule of the interviews. Not all women administrators communicated directly with me. They had their secretaries organize the meetings and appointments for them, through emails, phone calls, or text messages. These secretarial duties were not gender specific, given that men also fulfilled these roles.

During the interviews, some of my participants stated that they could accomplish a lot of tasks when they had reliable staff. Sundari and Mulyaningsih criticized the work ethic of some staff, stating that they could have completed more work tasks if they could replace their current lethargic male and female staff with more energetic ones. It is common practice in Indonesian higher education that these women administrators did not have the authority to terminate employee contracts because the employees were civil servants. Only the President of the Republic of Indonesia had authority to terminate contracts for civil servants (DIKTI, 1999). Nevertheless, it is the reliable and capable secretaries that helped women administrators tremendously because they were in charge of maintaining work schedules and appointments, as well as keeping tabs on all important events. With this type of support in their professional spheres, these women said they could organize and manage their time more efficiently and work more effectively. In contrast, Sundari and Mulyaningsih commented that they were not able to work or accomplish as much as they were able or expected to.

A closer examination of the interaction between the support system and the women administrators' success implies that in order to successfully navigate their convoluted paths to top positions, women administrators need to have a strong support system from their families and the individuals closest to them. Maintaining balance between two spheres is by no means an easy endeavor for these women academic administrators; however, such commitment was possible because these women had their husbands' blessings, help from their families, and the necessary assistance from many other individuals closest to them.

The Javanese's strong support system is pivotal for these women to be able to participate in the public arena. The interviews clearly showed that these women were hardworking and persistent individuals who could circumnavigate the challenges they encountered, but they also highlighted the reliance these women had on individuals closest to them in their pursuit of professional achievement. A thorough examination of how female administrators in this study benefited from such support is critical to the understanding of women's path to success in regions such as Central Java and Yogyakarta Special Territory where policies to address gender equity neither exist nor are deemed necessary.

*The Role of Religious Belief for Modern Muslim Indonesian
Women in Embracing Their Traditionally Prescribed Role
and Participation in Public Sphere*

Studies on women faculty members in Korean and Chinese higher education institutions found that cultural values and religious beliefs greatly influence how women perceive their roles in society. These studies revealed that Buddhism and Confucianism control how the social structures such as institutional cultures, work ethos, and gender relations function in society (Johnsrud, 1995; Lee, 2001; Luke, 1998a, 1998b, 2000). In Korea, Confucian values inevitably pervade and are evident in the organizational culture through the adoption of hierarchically formal authoritarianism, a preference for strong

moral norms, and discrimination against women. Confucianism is based on “personal order and sociopolitical order” (Lee, 2001, p. 7). In Confucianism, women are subordinate, which “provides the disparity of sex roles” (Johnsrud, 1995, p. 33). It is a woman’s duty to obey her parents before she is married and to obey her husband and her children after marriage (Johnsrud, 1995). In Chinese higher education, the traditional Asian culture still limits the career advancement of women administrators. Even though Western capitalism and the free market have penetrated the Asian system of higher education in general, traditional values of Asian culture still circumscribe the roles of women in society (Luke, 2000).

In traditional Javanese culture, women have a subservient role (Arimbi, 2010; Endraswara, 2003). The traditionalists view women as companions to men, and women do not have much authority in decision making. Women in traditional Javanese culture are merely followers of their husbands and serve at the pleasure of men. In modern Javanese culture, these beliefs have slowly faded as more men are willing to share some of the domestic responsibilities and many women are adopting men’s roles as breadwinners. Women in this study clearly modeled the modern Javanese woman who is eager to embrace her role in the public sphere. These women received the blessings of their husbands to make professional commitments and the support necessary to delegate some of their domestic responsibilities to domestic workers and other helpers. From their reflections, it is evident that these women’s husbands did not expect these women to be submissive. They wanted their wives to be successful. Women who had spousal support succeeded in breaking free from traditional cultural barriers, but they still had to balance two spheres, something men have not contended with in Javanese culture.

The position of women in Islam in Indonesia is also relevant to female career mobility because the Indonesian population is 88.2 Muslim (Pew Research Center, 2009). Historically, the local cultural wisdom mixed with Islamic values when Persian merchants spread Islam to Indonesia in the seventeenth century. Although Javanese

scholars share a consensus of opinion about the position of women according to traditional Javanese culture, the position of women according to Islam is commonly open to interpretation (Engineer, 2008; Hassan, 1995). The position of women largely depends on the politics of power in a country. In a more conservative country, religious norms limit women's participation in the public sphere. For instance, women are not allowed to go to public places and need men, either their spouses or relatives, to accompany them (Shah, 2009).

Javanese women, however, enjoy more freedom than women in more conservative countries to socialize, interact, and engage in the public domain. In her ethnographic study in Java, Rinaldo (2008) pointed out that modern Muslim women in Java do not hesitate to get involved in public spheres or have careers as long as they prioritize family life. Her participants—Muslim women activists in Java—stated that women and men were born to fulfill different tasks in life. Women were born to raise children and take care of their husbands, but these tasks did not prevent them from engaging in public or professional lives.

In light of gender equality, Islamic scholars separated the notions of gender roles and gender equity. They argued that men and women have different roles in life. Women's main role is to be the primary caretaker in the family, and the husband's role is to be the provider head of the household. Women may participate in public life as long as they do not neglect their most important role as wives and mothers. Men should also share the burden of domestic tasks as long as they do not abandon their main responsibility as the providers. This implies that men can take part in the domestic sphere and women can work and participate in the public sphere (Mahmudah, 2008; Mas'ud, 2006; Rinaldo, 2008). The problem remains that in practice men do not readily accept the roles or duties of the domestic sphere, and women continue to juggle two distinct lives—one in the domestic sphere and one in the public sphere, a challenge men do not have to consider.

My findings, therefore, amplify what the prior literature on women's career advancement in the West and in the East has suggested: the ability to balance work-family responsibilities is a key to women's career success. However, contrary to the images of women as subordinates in other Islamic states (Engineer, 2008; Shah, 2009) and in traditional Javanese culture (Arimbi, 2010; Endraswara, 2003), modern Muslim career women in this study stated that they embraced their traditional roles as wives and mothers and also had a strong desire to succeed in their professional lives. In doing their daily tasks, these women were not subject to overt gender separation. For instance, when they were in public, they did not need to have a male relative accompany them. Society did not impose limitations on how late these women could be away from their homes. The interviews reflected women's aspirations to take a more active role in the public sphere. A woman's decision to pursue her career is clearly inconsistent with the traditional view that places Javanese women in the domestic sphere only.

Instead, these women had similar experiences to Muslim women in Rinaldo's study. Even though Rinaldo's participants were Muslim women in an Islamic party, my findings suggest that these women administrators held the same view as the women in Rinaldo's (2008) study. All of my participants were Muslims, and three wore headscarves: Sundari, Tanti, and Mariani. During the interviews, they emphasized the notion that being a woman is their 'fate' and therefore, a woman's role in the family is *fitroh* that they have to accept. The concept of *fitroh* or *fitrah* is common in Islam. *Fitroh* refers to the nature of human beings as determined by God. Even though Imawati was the only woman to use the word *fitroh* in the interview, most of my participants stated that a woman's role as mother and wife is natural, a role determined by God. These women realized they have capabilities and talents to contribute to their society, but they also perceived women's main tasks in the world as that of caretaker for the family, and good wives and mothers, as determined by God. These two roles are equally important in these

women's lives, but gender inequality and acceptance of gendered roles remains a barrier to career advancement.

Scott (1979) in her article, "The Ever Widening Circle: The Diffusion of Feminist Values from the Troy Female Seminary," proposed a classification of women during the development and spread of feminist ideas in the nineteenth century in the United States. She said that these women held values simultaneously at both ends of a continuum between pure feminist and traditional values. Scott argued that this classification is more helpful than the rigid division of women into feminist versus traditionalist because "this continuum has a place for the very large number of women who were not at either end, but somewhere in between, often holding some part of each set of values simultaneously. It also accommodates those who were in motion, moving toward the feminist end of the spectrum" (Scott, 1979, p. 4). Scott's continuum is indeed helpful in examining women's participation in the public sphere even in this modern time. The women in my study held values at different points on the continuum. They were progressive women who were comfortable with feminist values but at the same time not willing to let go of the traditional values completely. In this context, Scott's classification of women on the continuum accommodates the differences between gender roles and gender equity from the Islamic perspective. According to Islamic scholars, the traditional values (women being the primary caretakers), though innate or natural, do not prohibit a woman from pursuing a public life. In this regard, the continuum explains these women's tendency to uphold their religious piety, which they reflect through the incontestable acceptance of their *fitroh*, while at the same time making an effort to assert influence on the public discourse. These women seem to insinuate that no matter how successful they are, they should not forsake their *fitroh*. In other words, *fitroh* is a part of their identity of women and an integral part of their existence as human beings. These women administrators' reflections clearly showed that they embraced both traditional and feminist values. For these women, their domestic roles constituted a strong foundation even as they explored

the social and political dynamics of leadership in Indonesian higher education institutions.

*Their Strong Reliance on Personal Initiative and
Perseverance in Pursuing Their Professional Goals*

Existent literature on women's career advancement in the West explains that Western universities have implemented policies to address gender inequality. Title IX in the United States (Glazer-Raymo, 1999), passed in 1972, is an example of a policy used to increase women's participation in higher education and to ensure equal treatment between men and women. Previous studies on the role of promotion policies on women's career advancement in the East, however, indicated that higher education institutions in the East lacked policies or strategies to ensure women's preparation and equal access to top administrative positions (Setiadharna, 1993; Thaman & Pillay, 1993). In their article about women administrators in the University of the South Pacific, Thaman and Pillay (1993) noted that few women held top positions because of the lack of policies to prepare women for the leadership tasks and to increase women's participation in the leadership pool. They furthermore stated that the university's charter did not allow discriminatory practices on the basis of sex, religion, and ethnicity. However, women continued to be underrepresented in leadership positions because there were not many eligible candidates to begin with.

In relation to policies pertaining to promotion, the situation in Indonesian higher education echoes what Thaman and Pillay (1993) described in their article. Indonesia does not have a special policy directed to improve gender equity either. Government regulations concerning promotion, hiring, and salary are the same for men and women (Badan Kepegawaian Negara, n.d). For instance, the salary schedule and the requirements for academic and leadership promotions are the same for male and female professors. Despite this equal treatment, only few women manage to achieve top leadership positions

(Setiadharna, 1993). This suggests that even though policies specify equal treatment, they do not guarantee equity.

My interviewees agreed that women were still underrepresented in administrative positions. They expressed the opinion that the low number of women administrators was partly the result of institutional policies regarding promotion that systematically favor men. They explained that even though institutional policies were not written to prevent women from advancing their careers, the policies related to promotion resulted in the lack of leadership aspirations among women. They argued that this lack of aspiration stemmed from the challenges women face in balancing their roles. The written policy applies similarly to men and women. However, because women have to perform their domestic and professional roles simultaneously, it takes them longer to be eligible for full professorship, and thus for top leadership positions. These women explained that because women bear the children and remain the primary caretakers for their family, even with help, family and domestic responsibilities can distract them or postpone their promotion. Women consequently need more time to publish their research and to prepare their teaching materials, and they may not be able to provide community service as often as their male counterparts. Because of such circumstances, women do not achieve tenured positions as quickly as their male colleagues, if at all. Women who are fully tenured and hold leadership positions are generally women who have grown children, women of high socio-economic status, women with husbands in positions of power, and women who managed to completely defy gender discrimination.

When asked whether they would like to change such policies to increase the number of women in the applicant pool, the participants stated that they would rather rely on their personal initiative and perseverance. Instead of changing and improving the current policies of promotion to increase the number of women eligible to become leaders, these women administrators wanted women to achieve their positions through personal initiative and hard work, and agreed it was very important to feel positive and

empowered as a result. They would rather prove they were capable of becoming a full professor and an effective leader in the traditional system. Though they recognized that their gendered roles were a limitation in the public sphere, they were nevertheless of the opinion that in order to become a leader, a woman had to work harder and should be prepared to take on the challenges of balancing both professional and domestic duties.

The women administrators in my study also strongly expressed their appreciation of women who were willing to work hard and were resourceful. Some associate deans, for instance, admired Imawati who often led big projects and worked overtime. These women administrators perceived Imawati as a woman who had a strong will and showed great enthusiasm for her work. According to them, these personal attributes were the sources of strength for women who aspired to become leaders. They explained that they appreciated women who made a great commitment to succeed because of their personal strengths and initiative. In addition, they also voiced their concerns about other women who had leadership qualities, but chose not to walk the leadership path. While most women administrators in this study did not vilify others and tended to express understanding of their female colleagues' circumstances, Imawati, the only associate president in this study, was less forgiving. She wished more of her female colleagues were up to meeting the challenges of the public sphere, and would not so easily give in to their husbands' objections. A woman's situation is complex, but the socio-cultural barriers are not insurmountable, she argued. Therefore, women should be more determined and enthusiastic about their dual sphere obligations. She also argued that women would not gain any job satisfaction if they performed mediocre tasks and were not willing to contribute much to the workplace. From her narrative, it seemed that she took on the role of a mentor for other women faculty members. When she worked on strategic and important projects, she tried her best to include women who were capable of managing the tasks and eager to make strong commitments.

What Imawati had done was very common in other higher educational institutions. Numerous studies have indicated that women leaders often become role models for other women (Madsen; 2008; Staines et al., 1974; Tierney & Bensimon, 1996). Some studies have shown that having a mentor can be advantageous for women who aspire to become leaders. However, other studies on mentoring worldwide also described the phenomenon of “queen bee” (Lam, 2006; Staines et al., 1974), in which female leaders do not help other women because they want to be the only leaders. My findings, however, did not support the queen bee phenomenon. All the associate deans in this study expressed their respect and appreciation for women who aspired to advance their careers. Similarly, the only associate president in this study also said that she appreciated women who were eager to face the challenges and contribute their ideas to benefit their institutions. She understood why some women chose to focus on attaining their academic careers only. However, she wished more women wanted to become leaders and contribute their ideas to make the university a better place.

Some of my interviewees implied that we should not conclude that when the number of women representation increases, this means that gender equity is achieved. Sundari stated that statistics were usually superficial. She used the policy to increase women’s participation in the Indonesian House of Representatives as an illustration. According to the United Nation Development Programme Report in 2010, to increase women’s participation in politics, the Indonesian government introduced Law No. 12/2003 on General Election. The law stipulates that all political parties must have at least 30 percent of women as parliamentary candidates in each electoral district (United Nation Development Programme, 2010). Sundari suggested that the policies to increase women’s access to political discourse were superficial in nature because these policies focused on disclosing numbers and percentages as indicators of change, and these women refused to be considered as mere numbers that enhanced a national statistic. Likewise, Kinanthi thought it was important that gender equity should start with the change of

society's mindset regarding women's place in the public sphere. My participants also explained that they wanted to be recognized as administrative leaders who were capable of managing their enormous responsibilities. They were less concerned with the numbers of women as statistics per se, and more interested in making significant and tangible changes in their institutions through superior leadership.

The experiences of these women suggest that they had contradictory opinions about gender equality in their institutions. First, they stated that policies regarding promotion systematically favor men. Many women were not eligible for top positions because the requirements were more challenging for women than men to fulfill. Not many women were able to achieve full professor status, because they had to juggle their home and work responsibilities. As a result, not many women were eligible for high administrative positions. However, when asked whether they would like to change the policies, they stated that they did not wish to challenge what was already in place. They furthermore indicated that women indeed had to work harder to become leaders. The associate president in this study, Imawati, for instance, asserted that women do not need to have a policy to help women move upward. Rather, they have to depend on their own strengths and prove that they are capable of managing immense tasks. Imawati explained that "life is never fair for women. What happens then is that being treated unfairly makes women less courageous. So, indeed, it is really up to us whether or not we want to face the challenges." Imawati was fully aware that women faced greater challenges than men, but she suggested that women had better chances of success if they followed the rules in the male-dominated culture, that is to work harder and persevere.

These reflections seem contradictory at first, but they underlined the strategies these women used to break the elusiveness of gender discrimination. Eagly (2007) contended that women had to surmount numerous barriers to succeed. Some of these barriers are not rigid and are thus difficult to detect, but some are obvious, such as women's responsibilities in the domestic sphere. She furthermore argued that many

women had the skills and ability to discover the subtle impediments along the way and learned to find the ways to success. Women are likely to succeed if they adapt to their existing environment. In other words, women have to play by men's rules. Eagly further stated that women "should not wait to seek leadership until organizational and cultural changes have created a level playing field" (p. 181). Eagly's advice in her book perfectly captures the strategies my participants used in navigating their career paths. My interviewees agreed that the policies related to promotion were not written to discriminate against women, but in reality, they nevertheless put women in disadvantaged positions. I purport that these women saw the formality of the policies as impenetrable or unbreakable in their current situations; thus, they had to resort to their own personal initiative and perseverance. Changing the existing policies might not be an easy endeavor because the majority of the decision makers were male and it might take a long time to accomplish. Relying on their strengths seems to reflect their conscious choice to opt for indirect strategies of dealing with policies in a male-dominated environment. In these participants' views, women should seek ways in which to attain their professional goals by relying on the available resources, their own strengths, and not waiting for other people, mostly men, to create more accommodating institutional policies.

However, my participants' resistance in helping create a policy to ensure women have a fair chance for promotion reinforces internalized gender inequality and discrimination. When they said that women have to work harder than men to succeed and achieve the same positions, they subconsciously accepted the notion that the playing field was not yet level. Based on my participants' reflections about how they perceived their gender roles, a woman's journey to leadership position is still long and winding, and women in Indonesia accept this as their reality outside the domestic sphere. In addition, unless women have the means to assign some of their domestic responsibilities to other people—including their spouses—so they can focus more on fulfilling the demands of

their professional lives in the public sphere, it will continue to be difficult, and for some women impossible, to achieve the same progress and success that men currently enjoy.

Implications for Policy and Practice

The findings of my study suggest several practical and policy-related implications. Women in this study were cognizant of their difficulties in juggling their domestic and professional responsibilities. They had high motivation to pursue their careers, but often felt it was a tremendous challenge to fulfill their dual roles and responsibilities. The heavy workloads of being an administrator and faculty member, coupled with the responsibilities of caring for spouses and children, discouraged many women from stepping up and striving for higher leadership positions.

Many women in my study had assistance from their extended family and an array of personal assistants to fulfill many of their duties at home. However, I cannot generalize these women's situations to reflect the situations of other Indonesian women who either choose not to, or cannot afford to, hire personal assistants or domestic helpers to help them bridge the domestic and public sphere. For example, both universities offered childcare services for women administrators who had children, but many of them did not use the service. This might be due to inadequate information dissemination or perhaps the low quality of service and care. The participants who mentioned the availability of childcare services in their universities said they did not have adequate knowledge about the quality of care, or whether all female faculty members knew the service existed. Resources such as affordable childcare or before and after school programs would be tremendously helpful for potential women administrators who for some reason could not find the support necessary to bear the burden of domestic tasks. Given the fact that dissemination of or access to information pertaining to childcare services could be an issue, it would behoove the universities to utilize numerous ways to share the information about available services for women and families. Universities can

use their existing health clinics or Women's Studies centers to begin the dissemination of information because of their vast outreach to all university constituents.

Out of eight participants, only one woman in this study mentioned the role of mentoring, but it bears discussing. Other studies on mentoring among women administrators worldwide indicate that formal mentoring can help increase women's self-efficacy, trust, and satisfaction (Ismail, 2008). In addition to providing psychological support, formal mentoring gives women more access to networking. In the two institutions in this study, formal mentoring did not exist. Top women administrators served as informal mentors or role models for other junior faculty members, and women who were in top positions took potential women under their wings as their protégés. Designing formal mentoring programs, therefore, will be of paramount importance for any woman in higher education institutions. For instance, those institutions can identify potential women administrators and pair them with current women administrators in numerous interdisciplinary projects that already exist in these two institutions. Mentoring programs will not only provide greater access to resources and information, but also build a strong sense of community among women faculty members and women administrators. Formal mentoring programs, however, will succeed only if female administrators in universities acknowledge the need to have more women's voices in top positions.

One of the factors that facilitated professional mobility that these women mentioned in the interviews was the support from their staff or lack thereof. Some participants felt they could not do their jobs effectively because of inefficient staff with a poor work ethic. To increase work productivity, institutions have to create programs or policies that aim at improving the work ethic, efficiency, and overall performance of the support staff. Institutional programs for staff such as time management workshops, technology-related trainings (for staff who have low computer skills), and trainings on how to perform clerical tasks under the most current institutional policies and procedures are some of the possible measures that universities could adopt.

Implications for Future Research

My findings raise some important questions for further research. My investigation was a qualitative descriptive study focusing on two public research universities in Central Java and Yogyakarta Special Territory. They are prestigious universities where only a few women managed to attain leadership positions. This situation might be different in other universities. Future research can explore women's experiences in other university settings, such as less-competitive public universities or prestigious and less-competitive private universities. The results would be useful in ascertaining whether women's impediments and the strategies they use to succeed in their careers are similar or different in other university settings.

Another emergent issue that my participants addressed is the lack of aspiration among female faculty members to step up and pursue leadership positions. Although scholars in Western universities have studied numerous factors in women's leadership aspirations, such studies are lacking in Eastern universities. To better understand the overall picture of what factors determine women's decisions to pursue leadership positions, new studies exploring this issue in Eastern universities are crucial. Such studies can focus on junior faculty members or mid-level administrators. The studies that use mixed methods in data collecting are preferable. The qualitative method will be useful to capture women's narratives whereas the quantitative method will enable researchers to investigate the factors that impede or help women's career mobility.

The usual assumption is that challenges of career mobility affect only women. This assumption might not be completely accurate. Therefore, another avenue to pursue is to compare men's and women's career advancement and to investigate the ways in which their experiences are similar or different. Capturing men's voices might be helpful in understanding women's challenges, especially if the researchers are examining men's experiences dealing with promotion and policy making. In addition, these studies will be useful to understand the overarching issue of gender inequality. Some studies have

pointed out that men have begun to share some of the domestic responsibilities (Eagly, 2007; Madsen, 2008). Thus, studies that investigate men's perspective of their journey to success will bring a greater understanding of the issues.

Last, this study used a small sample of women administrators in two public research institutions in Indonesia. To better understand women's challenges in achieving their personal and professional goals, rich interviews from a greater number of participants can provide more detailed descriptions of female administrators' experiences. Due to the limitation of time, this study could gather only two to three hours of interviews with eight women administrators. Increasing the number of participants and the length of the interviews would yield a richer data set that can better capture women's journeys to their administrative positions.

Concluding Remarks

Women's participation as students and faculty members in higher education worldwide has increased, but they are still underrepresented in top leadership positions. Existent literature on women's career advancement discusses the persistent problem of gender inequity in top leadership positions in higher education. Glass ceilings, sticky floors, and labyrinths are some of the metaphors that depict women's invisible barriers and circuitous path to success. The purpose of this study was to investigate women's perceptions of their career paths because of the dearth of studies on women's career advancement in Eastern universities. In particular, this study was interested in exploring women's challenges and the strategies they utilize to achieve their positions.

The study suggests that women administrators in the two public research universities experienced challenges similar to female administrators in Western universities. My participants stated that the balancing of work-family responsibility is the most challenging problem they encountered. In general, it took longer for women to fulfill the requirements necessary to be eligible for promotion because they had to juggle their domestic and work duties. Heavy workloads as professors, researchers, and

administrators in fact caused a lack of leadership aspiration among female faculty members.

This study, however, highlights important issues that are distinctive to Indonesian contexts. My findings from this study imply a subtle influence of cultural and religious beliefs on women's administrators' worldview. They included (a) a strong support system in the Javanese culture that helps women administrators juggle their two spheres, domestic and public; (b) the role of religious belief for modern Muslim Indonesian women in embracing both their traditionally prescribed roles and their participation in the public sphere; and (c) their strong reliance on personal initiative and perseverance in pursuing professional goals.

My findings suggest that socioeconomic class is one of the significant predictors of women's success. In this study, my participants' economic status afforded them the ability to delegate or share some of their domestic duties with personal assistants or helpers. These women's reflections also imply that women administrators in this study perceived their roles as mothers and wives as very important. It is a role that they had to uphold even as they pursued their careers and actively participated in the public sphere.

Findings from this study provide important directions for practice and policies for these two public universities. Given that balancing domestic and professional duties is the most challenging factor in these women's career advancement, programs that assist women in this area are crucial. Improving the existing childcare centers and disseminating information to women who need the service is preferable. In addition, universities can begin to set up a formal mentoring program to help women build networks and support. For women to work more productively and effectively, universities need to create sustainable trainings for administrative staff, decrease bureaucracy, and conduct performance-based review for staff.

Given that this study had only a small number of participants, future studies could use more subjects and longer interviews to better represent women's voices about their

journeys to their positions. In addition, research using mixed methods may be preferable because they can better capture women's narratives and examine the multifarious factors that influence women's career advancement.

APPENDIX A
CONSENT FORM – INDONESIAN

FOR IRB USE ONLY
\$STAMP_IRB
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\$STAMP_APPRV_DT
\$STAMP_EXP_DT

Tanggal:

Kepada:

Nama saya Cecilia Murniati, mahasiswi doktoral di University of Iowa. Saya bermaksud mengadakan penelitian mengenai “Kemajuan Karir Pejabat Akademik Senior Wanita di Perguruan Tinggi di Indonesia: Motivasi dan Tantangan.”

Bersama surat ini saya mengundang Ibu untuk berpartisipasi dalam penelitian saya. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk mengetahui faktor-faktor yang mempengaruhi kemajuan karir pejabat akademik senior wanita di beberapa perguruan tinggi di Indonesia.

Saya mengundang Ibu untuk menjadi responden dalam penelitian saya ini karena Ibu merupakan salah satu pejabat akademik senior di lingkungan perguruan tinggi tempat Ibu berkarya. Saya mendapatkan nama dan alamat Ibu dari situs universitas ini. Ada kurang lebih 10 sampai 15 pejabat akademik senior wanita yang akan berpartisipasi dalam penelitian yang dilakukan oleh peneliti dari University of Iowa ini.

Jika Ibu berkenan untuk berpartisipasi, saya akan melakukan wawancara mengenai faktor-faktor yang mendukung atau menghambat kemajuan karir Ibu sebagai pejabat akademik senior pada bulan Agustus 2009.

Jika Ibu berkenan, saya akan merekam wawancara kita. Apabila Ibu tidak berkenan untuk direkam, saya hanya akan menuliskan jawaban Ibu dalam buku catatan saya. Saya akan menanyakan apakah Ibu bersedia direkam pada saat wawancara akan dilaksanakan. Ibu masih bisa berpartisipasi dalam penelitian ini meskipun Ibu tidak bersedia direkam.

Wawancara akan berlangsung sekitar satu jam dan akan dilakukan paling sedikit dua kali. Wawancara akan dilaksanakan di tempat yang Ibu pilih. Setelah wawancara, ada kemungkinan saya menghubungi Ibu lewat telfon atau email untuk mengklarifikasi jawaban yang telah Ibu berikan.

Untuk menjaga kerahasiaan, saya akan menggunakan nama rekaan yang akan saya simpan di komputer yang dilindungi dengan *password*. Daftar yang menghubungkan nama asli Ibu dan nama rekaan untuk penelitian ini akan disimpan di tempat yang

berbeda dan hanya bisa diakses oleh peneliti. Saya akan menggunakan nama rekaan untuk laporan penelitian ini.

Partisipasi dalam penelitian ini bersifat sukarela. Jika Ibu memutuskan untuk tidak berpartisipasi atau berhenti berpartisipasi, Ibu tidak akan mendapatkan resiko apapun. Jika Ibu mempunyai pertanyaan mengenai penelitian ini, silahkan Ibu menghubungi Cecilia Murniati, 449 Hawkeye Court, Iowa City, IA 52246, (319) 353-4608. Jika Ibu mempunyai pertanyaan mengenai hak-hak subyek penelitian, silahkan Ibu menghubungi the Human Subjects Office, 300 College of Medicine Administration Building, The University of Iowa, Iowa City, IA 52242, (319) 335-6564, atau mengirim e-mail ke irb@uiowa.edu. Untuk memberi masukan mengenai pengalaman Ibu sebagai responden penelitian atau Ibu ingin berbicara dengan orang lain selain peneliti, silahkan Ibu menelpon the Human Subjects Office pada nomor di atas.

Jika ibu berkenan berpartisipasi, saya mohon Ibu berkenan mengirimkan email ke cecelia-murniati@uiowa.edu dan saya akan mengontak Ibu untuk mengatur jadwal dan tempat wawancara. Atas perhatian Ibu, saya mengucapkan banyak terima kasih.

Hormat saya,

Cecilia Murniati, MA
Peneliti Utama

APPENDIX B
INTERVIEW PROTOCOL - INDONESIAN

Kemajuan Karir Pejabat Akademik Wanita di Perguruan Tinggi di Indonesia:
Motivasi dan Tantangan
Protokol wawancara
Musim Panas 2009

Nama responden:

Alamat:

Telepon:

Jabatan:

Tanggal wawancara:

I. Pengantar dan pernyataan pembukaan

A. Perkenalan diri peneliti

B. Penjelasan tujuan penelitian

1. Tujuan umum penelitian: untuk mengetahui faktor-faktor yang mempengaruhi kemajuan karir pejabat akademik senior wanita.

2. Tujuan khusus penelitian:

- Untuk menganalisa persepsi tantangan yang dihadapi para pejabat akademik wanita dalam mencapai posisi mereka saat ini.
- Untuk mengeksplorasi faktor yang memotivasi para pejabat akademik wanita untuk mencapai posisi mereka.
- Untuk mengeksplorasi faktor-faktor yang menghambat wanita untuk mencapai posisi administrative yang lebih tinggi.
- Untuk mengetahui strategi yang digunakan para pejabat akademik senior wanita dalam mencapai posisi mereka sekarang.
- Untuk mengetahui berbagai sumber daya yang tersedia yang digunakan oleh para pejabat wanita itu untuk membantu mereka mencapai posisi mereka saat ini.

C. Penjelasan tentang bagaimana informasi dalam penelitian ini digunakan, prosedur penelitian, dan etika penelitian seperti misalnya kerahasiaan responden.

II. Informasi latar belakang responden

A. Jabatan di institusi

B. Pengalaman kerja di institusi

C. Pengalaman sebagai pejabat akademik senior di institusi

III. Pertanyaan

A. Bisakah Ibu menceritakan pengalaman Ibu dalam mencapai karir Ibu selama ini?

B. Apakah yang membuat perjalanan karir Ibu mudah/sulit?

C. Sepuluh tahun yang lalu, apakah Ibu berpikir Ibu akan mencapai posisi Ibu saat ini?

D. Kira-kira apa yang akan dilakukan Ibu sepuluh tahun lagi?

E. Bisakah Ibu menceritakan titik balik perjalanan karir Ibu, hal-hal yang sangat mempengaruhi karir Ibu?

F. Bagaimana pendapat Ibu mengenai kesetaraan jender di perguruan tinggi di Indonesia?

G. Jenis dukungan atau kebijakan apa yang bisa mempengaruhi kesenjangan jender di perguruan tinggi?

IV. Penutup

A. Permintaan untuk korespondensi setelah wawancara untuk klarifikasi dan pengecekan jawaban.

B. Ucapan terima kasih

V. Komentar dan catatan

APPENDIX C
CONSENT FORM - ENGLISH

FOR IRB USE ONLY
\$STAMP_IRB
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Date

Inside Address

Dear :

We are writing to invite you to participate in a research study. The purpose of the study is to examine factors that affect women senior academic administrators' career advancement in Indonesian higher education.

We are inviting you to be in this study because you are one of women senior academic administrators in your university. We obtained your name and address from your university's web site. Approximately 10 - 15 women administrators will take part in this study at the University of Iowa.

If you agree to participate, we would like you to answer interview questions about the factors that facilitate and impede your career advancement as a senior academic administrator. The interviews will take about an hour and will be conducted at least twice. The interviews will take place in any venue of your choice. After the interviews, I might contact you again if I need to clarify something from you by email.

We will keep the information you provide confidential; however, federal regulatory agencies and the University of Iowa Institutional Review Board (a committee that reviews and approves research studies) may inspect and copy records pertaining to this research. If we write a report about this study, we will do so in such a way that you cannot be identified.

There are no known risks from being in this study, and you will not benefit personally. However we hope that others may benefit in the future from what we learn as a result of this study.

You will not have any costs for being in this research study.

You will not be paid for being in this research study.

Taking part in this research study is completely voluntary. If you decide not to be in this study, or if you stop participating at any time, you won't be penalized or lose any benefits for which you otherwise qualify.

If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact Cecilia Murniati, 449 Hawkeye Court, Iowa City, IA 52246, (319) 353-4608. If you have questions about the rights of research subjects, please contact the Human Subjects Office, 300 College of Medicine Administration Building, The University of Iowa, Iowa City, IA 52242, (319) 335-6564, or e-mail irb@uiowa.edu. To offer input about your experiences as a research subject or to speak to someone other than the research staff, call the Human Subjects Office at the number above.

If you decide to participate in this study, please send an email to cecilia-murniati@uiowa.edu. Thank you very much for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Cecilia Murniati, MA
Principal Investigator

APPENDIX D
INTERVIEW PROTOCOL - ENGLISH

Career Advancement of Women Senior Academic Administrators in Indonesian Higher
Education: Motivations and Challenges

Interview protocol

Summer 2009

Name of Respondent:

Address:

Telephone:

Position:

Date of interview:

I. Introduction and opening statements

A. Introducing self (the interviewer)

B. Explaining the purposes of the study

1. General purpose of the study: to examine factors affecting the women senior academic administrators' career advancement.

2. Specific purposes of the study:

- analyze women senior academic administrators' perception of their challenges in attaining their positions;
- explore factors that motivate women senior academic administrators in their career advancement;
- explore factors that hinder those women in moving to higher administrative positions;
- examine strategies that those women employed in order to reach their current positions;
- examine resources that those women take advantage of to achieve their current positions.

C. Explaining the use of information in this study, the procedure, and the ethical issues such as the confidentiality of the interviewees.

II. Background information on the interviewees

A. Position in the institutions

B. Experiences working in the institutions

C. Experiences as academic senior administrators in the institutions

III. Probing questions

A. Tell the stories of how you got here.

B. What has made this an easy/difficult journey?

C. Ten years ago, where did you think you would be now?

D. Where do you think you will be in the next ten years?

E. Tell about the points of change in your career.

F. How do you perceive gender equity and equality in higher education in Indonesia?

G. What kind of support or policies might have an impact on the gender gap in higher education?

IV. Closing:

- A. Future correspondence for clarification and cross checking.
- B. Thanking interviewees

V. Comments and notes

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