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**Storying female academics' career development
in Indonesian Islamic higher education:
A postcolonial feminist analysis**

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Abstract

Indonesian female academics have achieved positions of repute and prestige in certain departments, however many more have remained in the background or on the periphery, marginalized by discriminatory practices that are penetrative and unacknowledged. The position of women as professional and academic staff in the faculty in which I am currently working are rarely positioned in the role of Associate Professor or above. Academic women are less productive in terms of research and publications, and they hold a lower academic rank. In leadership positions, the women experience a slow climb up the administrative career ladder. This study focuses on the experiences of female academics in the context of Islamic Indonesian higher education, and explores their experiences of career development.

Postcolonial feminism, a theoretical lens which acknowledges the diversity of women's experiences in contexts outside the West, is used in this study to critique the stories female academics have to share in relation to their opportunities for career development. As this study draws upon feminist and postcolonial perspectives, narrative inquiry is explored as a useful methodology for storying the diversity of lived experiences as valid sources of knowledge amongst female academics in this context. Nine female academics have been asked to tell their story regarding promotion at an Islamic Indonesian university. Once their stories are told, a new story is constructed. When re-storying, time, space and people are added to build sequences or events.

Studies which investigate female academics' experiences in their career development mostly portray White female academics, there are fewer studies which focus on experiences of Muslim female academics from non-Western backgrounds, especially from Indonesia. My study provides an understanding of feminist discourses as related to the context of Indonesian Muslim women in academia. This study also provides a language to enable female academics to speak; this is important because female academics have been exploited by history and seen as "other" in higher education. This study focuses on "others," and rejects women's universalism.

Findings from their stories, female academics reveal the challenges they experience when they are in the early stages of their careers. They have to adapt to the new position which might be different from what they expect. However, in the end, they find a way to define themselves as an Indonesian successful female academic. Female academics also shared that they experience hard times under new managerialism, with negative impacts on their academics and personal lives, as well as overall academic productivity. Further, this study sheds light on the ways in which Indonesian Muslim female academics experience otherness in academia with colleagues of the opposite sex and the ways in which the "male gaze" intrudes onto their academic career.

Through storytelling, this study then contributes to an understanding of women's experiences of success and challenge within Islamic Indonesian academia. This study of female academics from Indonesia and Muslim, also contributes to add a layer of theory to our understanding of women and management from non-Western backgrounds.

This thesis is very significant to change the status quo for female academics in Indonesian Islamic higher education. This thesis might then be a starting point to help create change, and eliminate inequality in female academics' career development. From feminism's bigger picture, this mission is to free women from oppression.

<u>Declaration by author</u>

This thesis is composed of my original work, and contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference has been made in the text. I have clearly stated the contribution by others to jointly-authored works that I have included in my thesis.

I have clearly stated the contribution of others to my thesis as a whole, including statistical assistance, survey design, data analysis, significant technical procedures, professional editorial advice, financial support and any other original research work used or reported in my thesis. The content of my thesis is the result of work I have carried out since the commencement of my higher degree by research candidature and does not include a substantial part of work that has been submitted to qualify for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution. I have clearly stated which parts of my thesis, if any, have been submitted to qualify for another award.

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Publications during candidature

Book chapter

Muflichah, S., Andriani, D., & Mackinlay, E. (2018). Taking a trip through and with the sisterhood of the Global South: storying our experiences as female academics in Indonesia and Australia. In A. Black & S. Garvis (Eds.), *Lived experiences of women in academia: Metaphors, manifestos and memoir* (pp. 94-104). New York, NY: Routledge.

Conference abstracts

Muflichah, S. (2016, June). *If you are a male you get it more? Storying professional learning and leadership opportunities for female academics in Indonesia.* Paper presented at the Biennial International Conference, Australian Women and Gender Studies Association/AWGSA, Brisbane.

Muflichah, S. (2016, August). *Narratives of Indonesian successful women faculty in the academy.* Paper presented at School of Education, the University of Queensland Postgraduate Research Community Conference/PRCC, Brisbane.

Muflichah, S. (2016, November). *Successful women faculty? Narratives of Indonesian women in the academy.* Paper presented at the Australian Association for Research in Education/AARE conference, Melbourne.

Muflichah, S. (2018, September). *Our experiences within Neoliberal management policy. Stories of academic women in Indonesian academia*. Paper presented in Indonesia Institute Postgraduate Workshop, Australian National University, Canberra.

Muflichah, S. (2018, September). *I am a Muslimah academic, listen to my story. Restorying lndonesian female academics' career experiences.* Paper presented in International Conference on Social and Political Science/ICSPS, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta.

Muflichah, S. (2019, April). *Writing a global and Southern sisterhood between Indonesia and Australia: The possibilities of "difference" and collaborative autoethnography*. Paper presented in The 5th World Conference on Women's Studies 2019, Windsor Suites and Convention, Bangkok.

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Research Involving Human or Animal Subjects

Please provide details of any ethics approvals obtained including the ethics approval number and name of approving committees.

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A copy of the ethics approval letter must be included in the thesis appendix.

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Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations used in the thesis

MoRA	Ministry of Religious Affairs
ISIHE	Indonesian State Islamic Higher Education
DGHE	Directorate General of Higher Education
MoNE	Ministry of National Education
PTU	*Perguruan Tinggi Umum*
PTAI	*Perguruan Tinggi Agama Islam*
IIHE	Indonesian Islamic Higher Education
HEI	Higher Education Institution
UIN	*Universitas Islam Negeri*
IAIN	*Institut Agama Islam Negeri*
STAIN	*Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Negeri*
DoIHE	Directorate of Islamic Higher Education
PSW	*Pusat Studi Wanita*
PSG	*Pusat Studi Gender*
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
LBH APIK	Lembaga Bantuan Hukum APIK

Glossary

Storying: The action of telling a story or stories. It is a method under narrative inquiry method to collect data through storytelling (Riessman, 1993).

Female academics: Women who work in higher education and have primary tasks such as teaching, conducting research, and community service. As an additional task, they hold a managerial position to lead a department/unit.

Career development: a *career* can be defined as "the sequence of individually perceived work-related experiences and attitudes that occur over the span of a person's work life" (Hall, 1987, p. 1).

Indonesian Islamic public higher education: Higher education under Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs' regulation.

Postcolonial feminist: It originated as a critique of feminist theorists in Western and developed countries, which points out the universalizing tendencies of mainstream feminist ideas and argues that women living in non-Western countries are misrepresented (Mohanty, 1988).

Chapter 1

Introduction: Trailing along the ground of stories

Beginning in women's experiences told in women's word was and is a vital political movement in the women's movement (Smith, 2004, p. 265)

Introduction

Dorothy Smith, a prominent Canadian sociologist whose work is focussed on women's studies, education and sociology, reminds us that telling women's experiences is a milestone of women's movement. In this study, the stories told by Indonesian Islamic female academics are shared so that we might begin to understand their lived experiences in Indonesian higher education. Their stories might be a vital women's movement too, as their stories contribute to available stories. Also, Indonesian female academics stories may create feminist consciousness, as the stories told by women and with their own perspectives will accounted and included. Later, it may create transformation or even solve women's problem.

This chapter begins with my story and my positioning as a female academic in the context of Islamic higher education in Indonesia. Positionality is crucial in this study, as feminist scholarship emphasises the ways in which using one's position influences the production of knowledge, and Donna Haraway's politics and epistemology of locations is extremely useful in this regard (1988). After positioning myself, I portray the problem of Indonesian female academics and career development, then place this study in the broader context of Islamic higher education. I further include the purposes of my study as well as the research questions which guide my discussion. I then explain postcolonial feminism as my theoretical framework and feminist research as my methodology, and share why this study is of significance to Islamic Indonesian higher education.

Background

My name is Siti Muflichah. When I began writing this thesis I was employed as a female academic in the context of Indonesian state Islamic higher education. My positioning in this institution influenced my desire to engage with ideas of positioning, power, privilege and postcolonialism—and, specifically the problem experienced by women in this context as academics.

Before outlining the scope of this study, I would first like to reflect on how this study has come about, my motivations for conducting it and how my own experience of inequity in my career in IHE in Indonesia motivated me to do this research. My study is a story of how female academics pursue their career advancement under new managerialism in Indonesian Islamic higher education and uses postcolonial feminism as a theoretical framework. As claimed by Hemmings (2011) stories matter in feminist methodology. In the collecting and sharing the stories, actually women gather knowledge from the past. In this study, my role is as researcher who constructs stories from female academics.

In feminist study itself, the issue of the role of the researcher, who studies in a culture other than her own, has been problematic for many years. Critiques of Western and non-Western researcher identities, and associated powers and privileges by feminist, postcolonial and Black feminist writers have caused a major re-thinking about both the legitimacy of research and the effect of researcher positionality on the outcome of research. Positionality refers to the practice of a researcher portraying her own position in relation to the study, with the implication that this position could affect the study, including data which are collected, or the way data are interpreted (Haraway, 1988, p. 581).

Moreover, all feminist research methodologies have focussed on the lack and inadequacy of a research perspective rooted in female experience and identity. The lack of female experience and knowledge in research has added to the remarkable critiques of Western ethnocentrism (Mohanty, 2003a). When these two critiques come together, in the perspective of Global Southern (Connell, 2011) colonized or otherwise marginalized women, the critique of the unconscious ethnocentrism of many global Northern scholars is corrosive (Mohanty, 1988; Spivak, 1999).

Global South marks the shift in the focus of cultural and development of non-Western countries, into stressing the geopolitical power relation (Connell, 2011). Global South refers to the history of colonialism, neo-imperialism, and differential economic and social change. It is more than metaphor to describe large inequalities in living standards, life expectancy, and access of people living in non-Western countries. Later, Collins (1991) introduces the Black perspective (Collins, 2003, 1991) which heavily focusses on the advantages of Black feminist marginality. Those writers acknowledge legitimate White Western studies, however the overall conclusion is that all studies by outsiders are politically and intellectually regarded as not right. Therefore we need to engage the possibility of a research process with any category of people that reduces the domination. This problem may be overcome if Western feminists are ready to accept the variety of non-Western women. For instance, through storying the lived experience of Indonesian women, Western feminism would know how the life of women academia is in non-Western countries. Here, I would like to show how the importance of "position" is.

My motivation in this research also comes from the complexities of the ways that I understand and experience "feminism" as a woman from Indonesia and the Global South (Tong, 1998). Mohanty (2003b) observes that whoever is from the South often sees all Northern feminisms as simply versions of Northern domination and colonization and refuse to acknowledge the nuanced differences or the efforts made to break down the barriers between coloniser and colonised. She points out that there is still a "first" and "third" world with Northern feminism seen as part of a colonizing agenda. This, according to Porter and Hasan (2003), leads both to the reluctance of Indonesian and other women in post-colonial countries to identify with the term feminism and a tendency to oversimplify and homogenize the forms of feminism that come from the North.

In Indonesia, like other parts of the world, there is difficulty in accepting feminism (Suryakusuma, 2004). Derived from a Western perspective, Indonesians tend to understand feminism as something with a negative connotation (Sadli, 2002). However, Wieringa (2006) notes that there have been increasing attempts to accept "feminism" and Nurmila (2011) further argues that Western feminism has influenced Indonesian Muslim feminist discourse in particular kinds of ways. However, from my perspective, there is still a need for adequate theories to shape the Indonesian women's movement, especially as related to our experiences in academic institutions.

Two institutions that "belong" to academic feminists in Indonesia are *Pusat Studi Wanita* (PSW) and *Pusat Studi Gender* (PSG). Both PSW and PSG are two units in university which established in the 1980s. According to Qibtiyah (2012), they are strategies to support the government policy for women's empowerment and gender equity. PSW and PSG have contributed effectively to policy making about women in academia. As PSW and PSG are university based, the role of female academics is very influential to both PSW and PSG development. The establishment of PSW and PSG have a significant impact to advance the women's movement as the female academics could promote consciousness about those making decisions about women's issues. According to Sadli (2010), most decision makers in universities are men. Sadli (2010) argues that PSW/PSG focuses on women's issues, and as female academics pay adequate attention in program development, women should be part of the decision making process in developing these programs. PSW and PSG also have functions to develop methodologies and theoretical foundations for research with women. Sadli adds the prominent aims of PSW and PSG are providing research data on women's issues such as women's rights and women's needs relevant to specific provinces.

The role of PSW and PSG is significant to female academics in Indonesia. Especially, when female academics experience lag. That is what I have experienced too. Acker (1997) suggests that the most obvious feature of the management of universities is not only the dominance of men but also the

dominance of masculine styles. Women "fail" to gain inclusion because they are judged in systems set up by men reflecting male standards and criteria. How will this problem be solved? I thought that by presenting their lived experienced in story, people would read it, perhaps then they would understand, and maybe we would erase the dichotomy of Western feminism and non-Western feminism. Therefore, my research project will contribute to a better understanding of the nature of inequality for Indonesian female academics' career development and promotion in Islamic higher institution.

My own story as a female academic in Indonesian state Islamic higher education

I am a female academic denied equal opportunity by my rector in terms of pursuing my (overseas) master's degree and in promotion to a higher academic level. I have been a female academic in Islamic State Institution Indonesia since 1999. I was appointed to the job with my Bachelor qualification, but nowadays the institution requires a postgraduate qualification. In my first years lecturing, I faced difficulty with my rector in terms of getting permission to pursue my master's study. I had one chance to study for a master's degree in Yogyakarta, Indonesia under a MoRA (Ministry of Religious Affairs) scholarship, and three chances to study overseas under scholarship (ICCR, Indian Council for Cultural Relations from India, Ateneo de Manila University, AusAid Australia). My rector was reluctant to grant me permission to take these chances, providing no clear reasons, even though I had a strong argument, while simultaneously approving my male colleague to pursue his PhD in Malaysia. This led to a poor personal and professional relationship. Shortly, with all efforts I eventually studied for my Master's in Yogyakarta under a MoRA scholarship, and five years later I studied for a second Master's degree in Flinders University of South Australia under an AusAid scholarship.

Since my first appointment as an academic, my personal and academic relationship with my rector were poor. The relationship affected the way I advanced through academic promotion. I should have been promoted to a higher academic level after conducting *Tri Dharma Perguruan Tinggi*. It is three pillars of higher education include teaching, research and community service. I have to gain some certain points and when I reached two years of service. However, I experienced delays to academic promotion. I am sure that promotion at that time was based on the way the Rector trusts and likes me, not based on how good my performance is. My academic position was only Lecturer, when I already had six years' service.

This my own story, is a starting point to listen other female academics' stories. Our story which is being presented here is rooted in the scholarly narrative methodology. Narrative methodology is particularly well suited for documenting Indonesian academic women's stories because the

methodology itself is a model of education and as a practice of freedom. This story is as our life experience to solve problems of gender in academia. Our stories are thriving in predominately White women experiences.

Statement of problem

In Indonesian State Islamic higher education, I have found that my career experiences are not so different to those of other women in academia. Female academics are rarely appointed as Associate Professor and above. Kholis (2012) confirms that women are still underrepresented in Indonesian academia. It is estimated that women represent only about 3% of full professors in the 133 Indonesian State Islamic Higher Education Institutions/ISIHEIs (MoRA, 2003). The representation of women across academic levels such as Associate Professor, Senior Lecturer and Lecturer is lower than that of men. They are also a minority in occupying managerial positions in universities. Murniati (2012) finds that in Indonesia, women deans and professors are a minority group, women vice-Rectors are still uncommon.

This condition unfortunately does not happen in Indonesia only but is a global phenomenon. The position of women faculty globally is regarded as important here to understand the position of women faculty in Indonesian Islamic higher education institutions. In reviewing the position of female academics in the Global North, the National Centre for Education Statistics (2012) reveals that women in European universities with Bachelor and Master's degree qualifications have increased in the three decades, even though they are underrepresented in engineering and science. In European higher education, the number of women represents half the number of faculty members. This suggests signs of future success, but generally, far fewer women occupy the rank of Associate Professor level; the number of women Professors is only 42 percent, and by the time they become a full professor, they are only 29 percent. In United Kingdom universities, there are considerably more men in senior academic positions than women. Women have lower rates of teaching and research activity (Fotaki, 2013). Turning to Scandinavia, Peterson (2015) finds Sweden has the highest percentage of female vice-chancellors in Europe. In 2010, 43% of Swedish vice-chancellors were women, compared to an average of 10% in the 27 EU countries (European Commission, 2012). The percentage of women in other senior management positions such as pro vice-chancellor, dean and vice dean is also high; it is about 60%, 31% and 45% respectively. Peterson (2011) adds that this is a considerable increase compared to 1990, when only 14% of vice-chancellors, 19% of pro vice-chancellors and 3 per cent of deans were women. These statistics are available because equal representation policies are applied in Sweden higher educational institutions (HEIs). Such policies require that equality between women and men be taken into account and promoted in the operations of HEIs (Swedish Higher Education

Act, 2005). For example, a management position should be occupied by women and men equally – if a dean in a faculty is a man, the vice dean should be a woman, and vice versa. Both female and male candidates must be considered when recruiting vice-chancellors, and the government can require the university committee to restart the recruitment process if this prerequisite is not satisfactorily addressed (Swedish Higher Education Ordinance, 2002/2010). This has contributed to Swedish higher education becoming "exceptional in having higher percentages of women at all levels in senior management" (Özkanli, Lourdes Machado, White, O'Connor, Riordan & Neale, 2009, p. 245).

Eddy and Ward (2015) claim that women in American educational institutions achieve higher positions, however, the achievement is limited only in certain departments and it is achieved in highly regarded institutions. They add that the number of women who are in leadership positions has increased in the last five decades, but they are low in number compared with male colleagues. These studies show significant development, but that more development is needed. However, Peterson (2015) asserts that the equality policy may in fact become an obstacle to gender equality. When it goes to individual appointments, especially if women are not ready to have that position, women may be protected from justified criticism in the name of gender equality. Also, gaining the rank of full professor may create opportunities for leadership in faculty, who may have national influence, and enable people to progress on an inappropriate basis (American Council on Education, 2012). Unfortunately, Sandberg (2013) argues that some women are not confident enough unless they are fully prepared for new opportunities; this is in opposition to some men who are very confident about pursuing positions, even when they do not meet all the requirements.

Similarly, White (2003) finds that in Australia, higher education management effectively excluded some women. She adds that women are promoted at lower levels than men, and more women are non-active researchers compared to men. While it is true that the numbers of women in Australian academia has increased in the last decade, most women do not have full-time employment. White (2003) declares that this partly explains why Australian female academics are seen as less active in research, and further, heavy loads of teaching and administrative tasks contribute to this. As a consequence, they have less chance to undertake research. Moreover, only 11% from 16.1% of female professors in Australia are in full-professor positions. Mostly, they are between 50-60 years old, and some have experienced frustration in relation to the patriarchal nature of university culture. Eddy and Ward (2015) add it is mostly men who are making decisions in higher education and women are excluded from management positions. In terms of promotion, some women are discriminated against. There is a sense in which if women want to be promoted, they need to respect greatly the men who are already in higher positions, and then imitate their attitudes. Based on the history of higher

education which is masculine, women faculty often advance their careers by copying male attitudes (Eddy & Ward, 2015).

In Asia, Yukongdi and Benson (2005) found that the level of higher education and the management of fertility have significantly contributed to women's participation in management. It is believed that the higher the educational level women pursue, the more likely women are to occupy leadership roles. However, there is slow and unequal progress to management roles. Luke (2002) maintains that Asian women in higher education experience a glass ceiling to advancement and adds that Asian culture is the reason why there is gender unequal achievement in academy and career aspirations to the senior management level. Luke emphasises that Asian culture consistently reveals the perseverance of patriarchal systems of authority and relations of ruling. Regardless of considerable training and expertise, Asian culture and ideologies require implementation of a construct of Asian femininity that hinder equality and academic career aspirations to upper management levels. Looking at all those numbers, the global figures of the data shed light on the gender imbalance within academia. It can be concluded that women's underrepresentation in faculty is a form of global phenomena.

In Taiwan, RuChen (2008) explained how managerialism has negatively affected women academics. As the restructuring process and new management practices within HEIs have substantively disadvantaged women, junior female academics are discouraged from moving away from highly competitive work as a result of the lack of support and not being able to identify with the values required at work. RuChen (2008) finds, Taiwanese female academics face performance indicators in their career. They have an excessive amount of teaching commitments and administrative work. When the practices of new managerialism are implemented in Taiwan, it certainly influences the way female academics work. The obligation to publish articles in SCI and SSCI journals can illustrate the situation, as an attempt to gain world top ranking university reputation. Taiwan female academics are unable to merely focus on their research and publications.

Malaysia experiences a similar situation. Luke (2002) finds that women in higher education experienced barriers as they embrace the "Asian value." The value is implemented in the culture of the academy which is shaped around masculinist values and ways of doing academic business. In the Malaysian context, for example, academic women's professional opportunities are restricted by feminine cultural politeness. Hence women will not advance their career easily (Luke, 2000). Murniati (2012) finds that in Indonesia, women deans and professors are a minority group and women vice-Rectors are still uncommon. Looking at my own perspectives which are reflected by global issues, my thesis theme of the story of female academics is an important topic in higher education today. My interest in the story of female academics is driven by a need to listen to their own

experiences and recognise them. I hope the story of female academics solve the issue of gender and academia.

Purpose of my study

The aims of my study, therefore, are to:

1. Explore female academics' career advancement in Islamic state higher education in Indonesia.
2. Investigate female academics' experience on challenges of organisational policy in relation to advancement opportunities.
3. Examine theories of postcolonial feminism of the underrepresentation of female academics' career development in Indonesia.

Research questions

The research questions guiding this study are:

1. How is career advancement experienced by female academics in Islamic higher education in Indonesia?
2. How do the challenges of organisational policy effect female academics in relation to advancement opportunities?
3. How do theories of postcolonial feminism inform our understanding of the underrepresentation of female academics' career development in Indonesia?

Postcolonial feminism: Acknowledging Indonesian Islamic female academics' stories

.
I have to start this part with my encounter with women's standpoint of Dorothy Smith. She is most well known as one of the pioneers of standpoint theory (besides Sandra Harding). Smith (2004) uses the word standpoint to emphasize that what someone knows is influenced by position, where someone stands in society. In other word, knowledge is always rooted in a specific position.

For feminists, it is important to claim a special privilege for women's knowledge, where women are classified being members of an oppressed group (Harding, 2008). Therefore, Smith is consistent on research which based on people's everyday experiences. Smith really focuses on listening to the actualities of people's lived experiences. What led her to the formulation of her notion of standpoint is based on her own standpoint as a woman in a male-dominated world. Her position is as

simultaneously a wife, a mother, and a graduate student in Sociology in the 1960s as well (Smith, 2004).

Smith (2004) criticizes the dominance of sociological theory and she brings the issue of women's standpoint that was not acknowledged in Sociology. Smith (2005) uses the notion of "a sociology for women". Why this notion? This notion means, the terminology of a sociology for women might be understood as reflection of a certain time where attention to the fact that the women's standpoint was not available in the academy. Hence, Smith's feminist sociology has aim to reform sociological theory explicitly by fully acknowledging the standpoint of women and its effects on experience of reality. The absent of the acknowledgement happened because first practitioners of Sociology were almost exclusively men, so according to Smith (2005), it can be easily assumed that Sociology at that moment was reflection of the needs, interests, and perspectives of dominant males, who are white and middle class.

After Smith's notion of standpoint, it is important that I have to encounter with Haraway's situated knowledge, too. Haraway (1988) in her essay 'Situated Knowledges', reacts to the challenge of feminist politics of location. Situated knowledges refers to knowledge that generate from a person's experience, their world view, emotions and motives. Situated knowledge might be information that reflect a context and a view point. Situated Knowledges is a form of objectivity, which projects the particular conditions in which they are produced, and at some level reflect the social identities. According to Haraway (1988) feminist politics of location provides a space for women to speak of their experiences on their own terms, providing the ground for objectivity. Haraway, is very clear when defining objectivity. According to her, women, who usually are seen as below group, have opportunity to view from below. By this she means, the perspective of those ordinarily subjugated, are more capable of seeing farther and much clearer. As Haraway states, 'the standpoints of the subjugated are not "innocent" positions', but rather knowledgeable and politically proficient: 'they are preferred because in principle they are least likely to allow denial of the critical and interpretive core of all knowledge', thus promising 'more adequate, sustained, objective, transforming accounts of the world' (1988, p. 584). She adds more, by putting the person who has the experience to pay attention to situated knowledge production, it may avoid unaccountability.

Derived from Standpoint and Situated Knowledges theory, in this thesis, I use postcolonial feminism which draws from experiences of cultural differences in postcolonial countries which exists with the unique gendered realities of non-White and non-Western women. Postcolonial feminism sees the colonized nations and the state of women within patriarchy are a socially marginalized subgroup in their relationship to the dominant culture. Some Western feminism movements do not take into

account the unique experiences of women from third-world countries or the existence of native feminisms in third-world countries (Mohanty, 2003b).

Spivak's work is useful here because, as she (1988, p. 25) argues, the position of postcolonial women is constituted as inferior by Western women and they are not given status or space in public life. Women as "subaltern" bodies should be appropriately given the opportunity to "speak back" and the voice to do so. Mohanty (2003a) claims postcolonial feminism advocates the acknowledgement of all gendered voices of women. She pays attention and works for freedom in terms of the social, cultural, economic and religious identities of women. Both Spivak and Mohanty focus on Indian women. Both Mohanty and Spivak are reluctant about the way the West refers women in the Southern hemisphere in the developing world as third world women. For Mohanty and Spivak, third world women cannot be regarded as one category for their different existence.

From an African context, Collins (1998) proposes intersectionality and power which is useful to understand women's position in postcolonial countries. More importantly, Collins (2009a) uses the Black women's experience and standpoint for listening to the voices of all marginalized subjects. She maintains that, to understand colonialism and postcolonialism, a person must recognize in advance that race, gender and class are not disparate and secluded world of every day experience. Intersectionality is as a response to the characteristics of mainstream feminism. The main focus of intersectionality are multiple experiences, realities and identities. Intersectionality is more aware of how power functions. Intersectionality arises as a more complex methodology because every source of oppression is viewed simultaneously. The source of oppression is understood as influencing one another in very complicated ways.

Spivak, Mohanty and Collins share the similar notion that they fight White supremacy. They develop a response to the fact that feminism seemed to focus only on the experiences of women in Western culture. They argue that Western women only cannot represent the rest of women's experiences. Moreover, Collins (2009b) claims that the division will create superiority and inferiority among women. However, I notice that both Spivak and Mohanty have a background of British colonialism in India. Collins herself focuses deeply on problems of African American women from the slavery era. It does not matter, if it is in the form of gender research, womanism or feminism.

From these thoughts, what is relevant to my study is that Spivak, Mohanty and Collins believe that in the system of capitalist global economy, environmental racism creates a lots of problems to the development of the women. I acknowledge their contribution as women of colour and I am interested to use their ideas in my study.

This research contributes to studies of Muslim women as the experiences of female academics in Indonesia under colonialism and patriarchy are rarely found in the relevant literature. Using postcolonial feminism then, my study purposes to open and state the voice of Indonesian female academics, and how they act as agentic women to overcome their low representation in leadership positions and academic levels.

Narrative: An approach to feminist research method

Feminist narrative inquiry as research method

As a female academic who works in ISIHEI, I am eager to listen to my female colleagues' stories. Why do their stories matter? Female academics' individual experiences are shaped by the larger social, cultural and institutional narratives within which they live and have lived (Hemmings, 2011). Moreover, Hemmings (2011) maintains that the social spaces and professional workplaces, in which moments of their condition are captured, shape the stories lived and told by female academics. Back to the above quote of Dorothy Smith (2004) that stories told by women mean acknowledging women's existence and it is a foundation for women's movement, I think stories are important in this study. Therefore, I explore feminist research methodology and narrative inquiry. Feminist research focuses on women as the central issue; it is research conducted by women, for and about women and generates theory from an explicitly feminist standpoint to create social change (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2007). Narrative inquiry, grounded in feminist research methodology therefore allows space and context for female academics to tell their story and thereby create a comprehensive and complex understanding of women's experience of higher education (Bloom, 1998).

As a method, narrative inquiry is the right one to fit with female academics' experience. I agree with Polkinghorne (2010) that researchers should be able to think narratively in order to express human thinking other than pragmatic thinking, or thinking correctly. Therefore, researchers need to move away from objective truth as the basis in theoretical knowledge. Thinking narratively refers to the three-dimensional narrative inquiry space. Within this space, the experiences of women faculty and myself bring to life of "temporality, sociality, and place" (Clandinin & Huber, 2002, p. 3). I enter into relationships with the female academics, as well as attend to their own experience of the research in attending to the forward, backward, inward, outward directions of being in the experience (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000).

I see this interpretation as an activity of sense-making that has a performative dimension: it is not just about representing the world but it is an active process of constructing, shaping, and transforming intersubjective reality (Riessman, 1993). I agree with Hemming (2011, p. 2) who is as a feminist

narrative theorist, that 'feminist theorists need to pay attention to the amenability of our own stories, narrative constructs, and grammatical forms to discursive uses of gender and feminism we might otherwise wish to disentangle ourselves from if history is not simply to repeat itself'.

Finally, female academics may comment on my interpretations of their individual stories, overall findings and trends. This stage is validating the accuracy of my written account, and involves, as noted by Riessman (1993), the reader's analysis of the reconstruction, or narrative of narrative of narrative. However, the validation in narrative (feminist) method is slightly different from other methods. It involves dialogic and collaborative processes (Paulus, Woodside, & Ziegler, 2008). Dialogue and collaboration as components of narrative research means that something "happens" between myself and the female academics to enable us to collaborate: mutual relationship (Bloom, 1998). Through our collaborative process we will pursue a better understanding of the meaning of each story, an important stage to classify resemblance and differences across their stories (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000).

Agreeing with Stanley and Wise (2002, p. 2), my research should remove positivist characteristics. It might be 'unusual' such as avoiding to inform merely how to do research 'correctly'. My feminist social science research needs empirically grounded investigations of how research knowledge is produced. My research reflects styles of sociology focuses on 'experience', with women's everyday life. Moreover, I understand that 'women's oppressions' are varying and complicated, therefore women's oppressions need equally complex tools of analysing and understanding them.

Significance of my study

It is important to do what I can to change the status quo for female academics in Indonesian Islamic higher education; for me, this means being a feminist is the answer, as feminism's bigger picture mission is to free women from oppression. My sad experiences in the workplace and of pursuing new knowledge from gender conferences, seminars and networking, have formed me not only as a "new woman" (Cixous, Cohen, & Cohen, 1976, p. 878), but also as someone who is able to find solutions to such oppression. By undertaking this study then, I would like others to hear female academics' stories, especially the stories from non-White women, Indonesian women, and particularly Islamic women, as stories enable people to more fully understand female academics' lived experience in higher education. Such stories of experience could contribute to creating a better and more equitable workplace in Indonesian Islamic higher educational institutions by combating patriarchy and actively involving female academics.

Previous studies on women's career advancement have focused primarily on female leaders or senior academics such as Professors in Western universities. Story as Indonesian academics, in an Islamic context, which sounds a feminist voice from "behind the veil" – is a voice that is relatively rarely heard, acknowledged and validated internationally. My study is significant as it contributes to this growing body of scholarly knowledge by adding voices of women faculty who are non-White and Muslims, from a postcolonial and "southern" country (Connell, 2011, p. 107). Drawing upon Connell (2014, p. 527), there should be effort to "take southern theorist seriously." I understand that taking Southern theory seriously means reading specific texts from the North, and my project will provide certain North text, perhaps namely gender theory from the South. Connell is also right that analysis of the colonial and neo-colonial structuring of gender will mainly come from the global South. Hopefully, my work will be the one that is yearned for by Connell (2014, p. 534), saying that the future of feminist theory depends heavily on a good deal on the conditions of knowledge production in the South and on finding ways to support the workforce involved. She emphasises that there are many different places of knowledge production, so we need to have a cognizant strategy to establish theoretical capacity.

Also, Spivak (1998) and Mohanty (2003a, 2003b) have helped introducing a feminism to me, which centred on ideas and experiences of eastern women and transnational feminism. This feminism explores gender construction over nation's borders in a globalization context. Their writings, which take the side on the eastern women, showed that eastern women have as high aspiration and power as Western women. Also Collins (2003) who enlightens me on Black women and feminist epistemology. She says if we need an alternative epistemological stance that reflects Black women's standpoints, then we should reflect the experiences of Black women. My research project will contribute to a better understanding of the nature of inequality in female academics' career development and promotion in Indonesian Islamic higher education. My study employs narrative/story methodology as a distinctly feminist approach to explore issues of social and gender justice, female academics and career development. The exploration of the life experiences of female academics in higher education seeks to broaden and deepen academic knowledge creation, and reveal the nature of women's under representation and their subordinate position in academia. Through this paper, I want people hear female academics' story, especially the story which is from non-White women, but Islamic women, as story enables people to more fully understand female academics' lived experience in higher education. Narrative analysis is often invoked in connection with oral history and women's accounts of their experiences. Their story could contribute to create better and equal workplaces in Indonesian higher educational institutions by combating patriarchy and actively

involving the story of female academics. So, that is why this study which is under postcolonial feminism, using narrative as a method, is very crucial.

Outline of this thesis

The following abstracts provide an outline of the structure of this thesis and also indicate the content of each chapter. This outline provides a synopsis of my research story. My thesis contains nine chapters. Chapter 2, 3 and 4 present the theoretical and methodological underpinnings of my work. Chapter 5 is about the context of ISIHE. Chapters 6, 7 and 8 present and analyse the stories shared with me by Indonesian Islamic female academics. Chapter 9 is the conclusion of this study.

Chapter 2 examines postcolonial feminism theory as relevant to this study and here I explore the work of Spivak, Mohanty and Collins specifically. Postcolonial feminist thinking is applied to a discussion of gender, management and neo-liberalism.

In Chapter 3, I discuss feminist research methodology in broad terms, including its challenges and tension, before focusing in on feminist narrative inquiry.

Chapter 4, here I reflect upon the what, how and why of feminist narrative inquiry enabled me to collect and analyse stories of experience from and with female academics, and pay particular attention to the significance of feminist ethics of care, trust, empathy and dialogue in this study.

In Chapter 5 I present the Indonesian higher education context, covering the types of institution, and how Islamic higher education experiences transformation under new managerialism. Then I follow this context with some literature about academic transition, success definition and problems in career development (organizational policy, male gaze and otherness in academia) experienced by female academics. Since this research is undertaken in Indonesia, the description of Indonesian Islamic feminism is included, then Indonesian Islamic academic feminists also covered to give broader understanding of the context. Center for Gender Study is an organization to express academic feminists' support to women academics' success.

Chapter 6 focuses on the career advancement experience of women in academia, particularly: moments of success celebrated by female academics. I use some literature review on management and feminist theory to synthesize female academics' story with my own experiences on the ways in which female academics enter university as tenured civil servant academics, the difficulties they encounter and strategies they use to experience and define success.

Chapter 7 then turns to explore the experiences of women in higher education "living the policy" of new managerialism within the context of neo-liberal management and the impact on their career development.

Chapter 8 shares experiences of being "othered" as female academics and here stories of sadness and secrecy are revealed as women attempt to survive and achieve success in academia.

Chapter 9 concludes this study and reflects upon the theoretical, practical, and personal contributions I hope to make in relation to higher education policy development and the experiences of female academics in Indonesian Islamic universities.

Chapter 2

Postcolonial feminism: Celebrating every woman's experiences

Abu-Lughoad: "Feminism always occurs in particular contexts, historical and social" (Arimbi, 2009, p. 53).

"Do Muslim women (still) need saving?" (Abu-Lughod, 2013, p. 27).

Introduction

Abu-Lughad, an anthropologist and Islamic studies scholar brings to our mind that Muslim women exist. She does not believe that Muslim women need saving. Muslim women are mostly misunderstood to be living in oppressed conditions and she is disturbed by the notion that Muslim women need saving from Western (women). She asserts that images of Muslim women in the West are that Muslim women cannot voice their own problems. She claims women in some Islamic countries have raised their voice through the women's movement and feminism which is slightly "different" from the West.

Her work is important to cite here to an initial picture that feminism may happen in every context that challenges the mainstream feminism.

Because my research examines the female academics in Indonesian Islamic higher education, it is appropriate to explore the theories that dealing with women's experience in postcolonial regions. Theoretical frame work of this study is provided by postcolonial feminism theory. These pages will start with Orientalism by Said (1978), then followed by the development of postcolonial feminism. I describe postcolonial feminism literature. I specifically choose Spivak, Mohanty and Collins as their thoughts are relevant to my study. I also explore Indonesian Islamic feminism and their role in university to give the context of postcolonialism.

Postcolonial feminism

Said (1978) argued that orientalism is a Western style to conquer the East. Western experts in the fields of history, anthropology, sociology, writers and scientists with the power of discourse, regard the East as inferior. This regard crates the mental of knowledge that the 'the Eastern is inferiority'. This, according to Said, is colonialism. Colonialism formed orientalism as a tool of ideology from the colonial state to undermine the native people in the colonies. Colonialism produces knowledge, habits, 'decent behavior', and in the long-term, constructs the logic of the native people of colonies.

This is what to be revealed by Said. He wanted to erase the hegemony of Western theory of knowledge that was never been 'neutral'.

Similarly, postcolonial theory focuses on the norms, values and institutions in postcolonial countries, which are non-European countries. Postcolonial theory asserts that there is a deep gap between white-non-white, Europe-non-Europe, strong-weak, powerful-powerless, the North-the South, self-other in the knowledge of in the global relations. Universal theorists use Western standard when judging the religious, family, legal and economic structures of the cultures of the South (Tyagi, 2014).

As postcolonial does, feminism also critique the forms of domination that are employed over those they consider subordinate. Thus there is a conjunction between postcolonialism and feminism (Tyagi, 2014). If postcolonialism interrogates the power imbalance between the coloniser and the colonised, feminism challenges men's domination over women. Both postcolonialism and feminism critique the control of knowledges and power by colonial and patriarchal domination. According to postcolonial experts, one of the effects of colonialism is a power imbalance between the West, and the rest of the world. Using universal assumptions, the West is criticised for defining the people of the non-Western world as "the other. Similarly to postcolonialism, feminism can be defined as an intellectual and activist movement that aims to improve the position of women.

Gandhi (1998) states that one of the topics that unity between postcolonialism and feminism is the debate of representation of the 'third world women'. According to Gandhi, some Western feminist theorists considered these women as victims, forgotten casualties of both imperial ideology and native and foreign patriarchies. Those Western feminists viewed non-Western women as different from the ones in the West in terms of luck. The average third-world woman was illustrated as ignorant, poor, passive, uneducated, tradition-bound, domesticated, family-oriented and victimised, as opposed to the Western woman who is represented as educated, modern and with the freedom to make her own decisions (Gandhi, 1998). She uses a critical lens in viewing the inequalities that women experience in this world. Women have been seen as "Other" to the Western, (male) white norms.

As this thesis uses postcolonial feminism, I have to link Indonesian Muslim women academics as part of global South and marginal in Western feminist studies of gender inequality and women academics.

Postcolonial Feminist theory allows me address those issues, especially through concepts of decolonising Western feminist knowledge, subaltern voices, and intersectionality. This part frames a discussion of how postcolonial feminism relates to Indonesia and feminism.

Postcolonial studies across the social sciences explore the lingering effects of Western colonial encounters with non-Western countries (Bhabha, 1994; Said, 1978; Spivak, 1988). Postcolonial studies are made up of the work of various experts in criticising Eurocentric and Western representations of non-Western countries. It points out to official knowledge of non-Western people (Özkazanç-Pan, 2008).

Postcolonial frameworks oblige to questions of subjectivity and knowledge production with respect to representations of the non-west and non-Westerner in Western texts (Loomba, 1998).

Gandhi (1998) argues that postcolonial study also tries to reclaim back the original knowledge which has been taken during colonization. Specifically, according to Özkazanç-Pan (2008, p. 964) people from the colonised country try to speak back from a position claimed as "silent or oppressed." Within these studies, a person may come to represent all silent people and thus be put "back" in their place where they belong (Özkazanç-Pan, 2014). Explicitly, postcolonial studies are informed by the epistemological and material consequences of Orientalism (Gandhi, 1998; Harding, 1996).

Derived from postmodern and poststructuralist traditions, postcolonial feminism proponents have critiqued for colonial rule and problematized humanism-based approaches to knowledge based on reason and rational *man*, and eliminate other epistemologies (Loomba, 1998). Therefore, postcolonial studies focus on deconstructing Western claims of "universal" knowledge.

Many scholars, such as Mohanty (2003a), Trinh (1989) and Narayan and Harding (2008) have mentioned that postcolonialism studies do not discuss the issues of gender, and there is a need to generate literature of postcolonial feminism. As found by Anderson and McCann (2002), the postcolonial discourse can be explored in migration, gender and health issues. She also examines how the assemble of postcolonial and black feminist discourses (Collins, 2003; hooks, 1984) creates a postcolonial feminism theoretical perspective which exposes gender relations. In understanding postcolonial feminism, Black feminism demands an intersectional analysis as a must to see how race, gender and class are interconnected.

Considering the relationship between feminism and postcoloniality, we should refer of those classic essays, such as Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's "Can the subaltern speak" (1988) and Chandra Talpade Mohanty's "Under Western eyes: Feminist scholarship and colonial discourses" (1984), which both criticize Western feminist scholarship, which is universal and colonizing.

Both of these essays are crucial to see feminism as is no longer understood in stable mainstream terms. Spivak mentions that "the emergent perspective of feminist criticism reproduces the axioms

of imperialism" (Spivak, 1985, p. 243). Mohanty (1984) adds that the portrayal of the "third world woman" as always and everywhere oppressed is what sustains the illusion of "first world" women's autonomy: the assumption that they are "secular, liberated, and have control over their own lives" (p. 353).

Collins' intersectionality and power (1998, 1999a, 2009b) is also useful to understand women's position in postcolonial countries. To understand colonialism and postcolonialism, a person must recognize in advance that race, gender and class are not a disparate and secluded world of every day experience. Below are the perspectives and critique from Postcolonial feminists, namely Spivak, Mohanty and Collins, who have incorporated reflexivity in order to resist the Western representation.

Spivak

Spivak brings up the question of voice in her well-known essay "Can the subaltern speak?" (1988). Spivak's theory of subalternity does not accommodate a definition that a subaltern cannot talk. She focuses possibilities to regain the long silenced voices of the subaltern women. According to Spivak, postcolonial feminists are born to represent the women. This is explained that actually, Western (women) have spoken for the subaltern women, they substitute and replace their voices with their own. For instance, in *sati* case, done by Indian women, Spivak (1988, p. 293) claims that the message from the colonial rulers was that of "White men saving brown women from brown men". Their greatest frustration is that the British colonisers never knew that some of the women in India really wanted to join with their dead husbands in the funeral pyre of combustible material, as a noble act of self-sacrifice, as a sacred ritual for the dead husband, not a suicide action. Spivak claims that only an insider native may understand the scene. Thus, in support of learning about Third World women and to develop a different scholarship, the huge variety of differences of the field must be appreciated, and consequently, women in the West must learn to stop feeling privileged *as a woman.*

In her engagement with subaltern women, Spivak (1988, p. 25) suggests that the position of postcolonial women is constituted as inferior and they are not given status or space in public life. Women as "subaltern" bodies should be appropriately given the opportunity to "speak back" and the voice to do so. The *sati* was in fact a form of protest against the society, as society failed to acknowledge those women's role in the society. Spivak's demand is to give voice to women subalterns in history. Further Spivak (1988) maintains that if in colonial oppression contexts, the subaltern has no voice and story, the female subaltern condition is a more serious unpleasant.

Spivak's statement "the subaltern cannot speak" suggests meaning that the subalterns have the power to show the ability to speak fluently and coherently, and they can go to any standard to make their

stand clear in front of the authorities. Spivak clearly articulates that the real problem located in the receivers is they are not interested in and do not want to listen to the message sent by subaltern. Spivak maintains that this does not mean that women cannot communicate literally, but there is just no place for the subject in the colonial discourse that allows women to articulate themselves as a person; they are likely to have an unfortunate and inescapable outcome to remain silent. In a similar style, Gandhi (1998) claims that as subaltern groups, women in colonial contexts have no conceptual language to speak, since there are no colonial men's ears and indigenous people to listen their voice, so their voice has been articulated by others. Spivak (1988) says:

> Their muteness is created by the fact that even when women uttered words, they were still interpreted through conceptual and methodological procedures which were unable to understand their interventions with accuracy. It is not so much that subaltern women did not speak, but rather that others did not know how to listen, how to enter into a transaction between speaker and listener. The subaltern cannot speak because their words cannot be properly interpreted. Hence, the silence of the female as subaltern is the result of a failure of interpretation and not a failure of articulation (p. 195).

Spivak and Grosz (1990) brings Mohanty's argument on "third world woman" a step further by claiming that Western feminists need to acknowledge non-Western women's cultural specificity and Western women need to discard their privileges. After the colonial rule, the subalterns should not be subordinated again by the superior upper class. The subaltern women should stop suffering and there should be a space for further development.

Spivak (1999) proposes strategic essentialism as a potential way forward, that is, a strategy used by minority and racial groups to present themselves in achieving certain goals. It implies that an exploited group formulates their own identity based on the premise "I know because I am one," to create a powerful subject position so as to advance themselves in a concrete struggle to fight against domination.

From Spivak's definition of strategic essentialism, it bears a meaning that the marginalized women could formulate their own identity to the next advance in their own communities. Spivak calls it as an internal and conscious decision. Spivak's subaltern theory is still relevant today since people still suffer in the name of gender, class and race. However, her work is relevant to my thesis as it will prove that the marginalised women can speak, in this case Indonesian female academics.

Mohanty

Mohanty (1988) produces a very great influential analysis of the inadequate of Western epistemological frameworks to understand the cultural and historical meanings of non-Western women's experiences. Her criticism of the hidden non-Western women in histories of feminism

accelerates prolific postcolonial feminism publications. Mohanty (1984) notices that the Western feminist discourse and its political practice is not universal in its "goals, interests or analyses" (p. 334).

Mohanty (1988) addresses Western feminism as the ethnocentric universality which sees "women" as an assumption of category as oppressed and regard Western women as normal norm. This is what Mohanty calls as "colonialist move" arises from the bringing together of a binary model of gender.

She adds that the move has effect to create a stereotype – Third World woman – that ignores the diversity of women who live in the non-Western world, and creates "Third World difference." She refers this is as a form of "othering," a re-privileging of Western values, knowledge and power (hooks, 1984; Spivak & Grosz, 1990; Trinh, 1989). Mohanty concludes that mainstream feminism is presumptuous to describe non-Western women as "victims," and believes that all women are oppressed and the subjects of power.

Postcolonial feminists argue that cultures embedded and grounded in colonialism are totally different from their own and are critical of forms of Western feminism, particularly radical and liberal feminism, which typically emphasise the universality of female experience (Mohanty, 1988). Mohanty (2003a) criticises Western feminism on the grounds that it is ethnocentric and does not take into account the unique experiences of women from third-world countries or the existence of feminisms indigenous to third-world countries. Today, postcolonial feminists struggle to fight gender oppression within their own cultural models of society, and deny interpretations of their experiences imposed from Western cultural standpoints.

If postcolonial theory denies notions of cosmopolitanism, humanism and rationalism derived from Eurocentrism, postcolonial feminism also rejects the universalism of women (Mohanty, 2003b). Postcolonial feminists argue that cultures embedded and grounded in colonialism are totally different from their own and are critical of forms of Western feminism, particularly radical and liberal feminism, which typically emphasise the universality of female experience (Mohanty, 1988).

Although women from the third world have been engaged in the feminist movement, postcolonial feminism, which has become a movement since the 1990s, seeks peaceful solutions for all marginalised women in the world, especially women in the third world countries. According to Mohanty (1988), women in the third-world feel that Western feminism bases its understanding of "other" women on internal racism, classism and homophobia. Postcolonial feminism has been much influenced by the deconstruction of "blackness" and the development of black feminism and womanism by African American scholars (Crenshaw, 1989; hooks, 1981; Walker, 2012), Chicana

and lesbian identity "border" work (Anzaldua, 1987); and together these movements are central to celebrating and envisaging that this world could value, insist upon and enjoy differences among women.

Anderson and McCann (2002) examine how the conjuncture of postcolonial and black feminist discourse produces a theoretical perspective of PF which challenges binary oppositions and gives the conceptual tools to explain the complexity of social relations such as gender relations within and beyond colonialism. The tandem of postcolonial theory and black feminism creates a postcolonial feminism which understands the urgency to listen to all marginalised groups of women whose voices have been ignored, silenced and/erased. Women in colonised regions have been marginalised by exploitation regarding colonial experiences, ethnicity, class, and racial oppression. As Loomba (1998) points out, postcolonial women have to face both White feminism and patriarchy concomitantly and she refers to this as double colonization. In order to draw attention to their own complex positioning, black and postcolonial feminists and women's activists have had to challenge both the colour prejudices within White feminism and the gender-blindness of anti-racist or anti-colonial movements. Women of colour and third world women have also had to challenge the colour-blindness of Euro-American feminist theory and movements (p. 164).

Tyagi (2014) adds that postcolonial women are critical of Western feminists who misrepresent the lives of women in non-Western countries in terms of race and racial hierarchies. Thus, if Spivak's aspiration is to give voice to women subalterns in history, for Mohanty (2003a) it is that subaltern women have the ability to struggle and perform resistance against the hegemony of colonial patriarchy. A central teaching of postcolonial theory and PF then, is to produce alternative discourses that challenge established dominant narratives by giving voice to those/women who have been exploited by history and seen as "other." If Spivak (1999) proposes strategic essentialism as a potential way forward, Alexander and Mohanty (1997), on the other hand, propose transcultural feminism based on feminist solidarity which is not colonialist, imperialist, or racist as a potential way forward. The recognition of cultures becomes a source of transformation, arising from the acknowledgement of difference. As Narayan and Harding (2000) assert, multicultural and transnational feminist perspectives have transformed mainstream feminism to allow for intersectional analyses across the boundaries of gender, race, class, sexuality, religion and able-bodiedness.

Collins

Collins (1998) informs us that black feminism provides an intersectional analysis to argue that to understand colonialism and postcolonialism, it is a must to recognize that race, gender and class are not distinct and isolated realms of experience. The mix of postcolonial scholarship and black

feminism creates a theoretical perspective that recognizes the need for listening to the voices of all marginalized subjects who have been historically silenced. Thus, it encourages the recognition of all voices as "gendered," and the need for all analyses to take this into account. Collins (2003) developed a tool enabling several analyses that highlights how race, class, identities based on gender, have determined people's social and material conditions. The tool is called intersectionality, a term coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989). Intersectionality focuses black female marginality in mainstream theory. Intersectionality has a voice in the scholarship of African American black feminists, one of them is voiced by Patricia Hill Collins. Collins and Chepp (2013) define intersectionality, as: "Intersectionality is a term that has been increasingly applied to knowledge projects whose purpose is to understand all dimensions of power relations, including race, class, gender, and sexuality" (p. 3).

Intersectionality provides insight into everyday lives of black women which will later build a complex ontology of very useful knowledge. Those black women are located in multilayered of dominant of class, race, and regarded as others. A black feminist epistemology examines the various race, class and gender and other social divisions such as sexuality, age, disability, culture, religion, and belief that structure women's lives in different historical times (Collins, 1999a).

Collins (2009b) approaches oppression as dialectic, meaning her inquiries into metaphysical contradictions and their solutions. She clarifies that power is not in the same direction and mostly operates in many contradictory ways. Thus Collin's power theory analyses the different sources of power and how they perform in co-ordination. Then she dismantles the dialectical perspective of power into four intersecting domains of power: structural, disciplinary, hegemonic, and interpersonal.

All four identify interrelated domains where power is organized. *Structural* domain is organisation where discrimination occurs. They may range from universities, schools, banks, to hospitals, both are private or governmental organisation. *Disciplinary* domain, is a set of rules applied in an organisation to regulate race relations, mostly in the form of surveillance. *Hegemonic* is ideologies, such as White supremacy, patriarchy, and hetero-sexism, are constructed and shared. *Interpersonal* domain that shapes social relations between individuals in everyday life. In the interpersonal domain people utilize power in a "systematic, recurrent, and so familiar [way] that they often go unnoticed" (Collins, 2009a, p. 307). An example is an institutionalized oppression's interaction with colour-blindness and gender-neutrality in which talk of discrimination can be cancelled as irrelevant.

To give a short example of how four domain work in university:

- *Structural power* – works through resegregation of female and male academics in a university.
- *Disciplinary power* – neutral policies that have unfair impacts in a university such as a meritocracy system, new managerialism.
- *Hegemonic domain* – the patriarchal and masculine ideologies.
- *Interpersonal domain* – everyday social interaction, for instance, the role as wife, as a mother or the role as society member (Collins, 2009a)

The importance of an intersecting analysis inclusive of gender, class, race and other social relations is well captured in the work Collins (2003). She has opened up a paradigm for thinking about intersectionalities and interlink systems of oppression, by exposing the problems of binary such as black vs White, man vs woman, where one of them occupies privilege.

The tool examines an inclusive system of thinking that would relate the *social relations of domination and oppression*, and how they operate along different measurements. As Collins (1991) says:

> Replacing additive models of oppression with interlocking ones creates possibilities for new paradigms. The significance of seeing race, class, and gender as interlocking systems of oppression is that such an approach fosters a paradigmatic shift of thinking inclusively about other oppressions, such as age, sexual orientation, religion and ethnicity.… Depending on the context, an individual may be an oppressor, a member of an oppressed group, or simultaneously oppressor and oppressed (p. 225).

In terms of knowledge production, Collins (1989) argues that because black women live in the interconnection of complicated lower positions on dimensions of race, gender and class, they may generate a distinctive standpoint for black women. This is also possible because black women have experienced the distinctive set of experiences that come up from their political and economic status. They are not White, not male, no privileged in terms of economy, and are in between.

The condition of black women according to Collins (1986) is called "outsider within" as they experience belonging and not belonging. The term was originally used to describe the position of individuals who see themselves in the margin of some positions, namely they have no exact affiliation in any one of the positions. It is not a static position, as these contain contradictions for the individuals who inhabit them. Those individuals appear to have the same position, however they do not possess and benefit from the positions. According to Collins, for instance, black women are treated as others, even though they have basic citizenship rights.

Collins (1999b) defines outsider within as "Thus, outsider-within identities are situational identities that are attached to specific histories of social injustice-they are not a decontextualized identity

category divorced from historical social inequalities that can be assumed by anyone at will." Hurtado (1996) best described the position as:

> …shifting consciousness … the ability of many women of colour to shift from one group's perception of social reality to another and at times, to be able simultaneously to perceive multiple social realities without losing their sense of self-coherence. (p. 384)

Their position not only simultaneously expresses and validates oppression, but also provides and encourages resistance to oppression (Collins, 2009b). This position enables the possibility to manage their marginalisation and come up with skills to speak in front of people with power.

As Collins (1986) argues that black women have an "epistemic" of functioning as a woman and as a credentialed insider in their own context, then they have used their marginality (outsider within status) to generate a unique feminist thought. In this case, black women owned particular commonalities, and they have their own specific standpoint. Their main intellectual role is to provide facts and theories of their genuine experiences that will make their position is clearer.

Also as Collins (1986) maintains,

> Outsider within status is bound to generate tension, for people who become outsiders within are forever changed by their new status. Outsiders within occupy a special place-, they become different people, and their difference sensitizes them to patterns that may be more difficult for established sociological insiders to see. Some outsiders within try to resolve the tension generated by their new status by leaving sociology and remaining "outsiders" (p. 529).

However, Black women who keep alive their own experiences as Black women are actually in a better position to come with a special perspective not only to the study of Black women, but to some of the important issues.

Returning to my study, Spivak, Mohanty and Collins have offered an alternatives analysis between the west and Indonesian women and the possibility to speak. Their analyses are necessary to show how Indonesian women have the specific historical, socio-economical and even geopolitical realities which are different from the West.

Conclusion

Postcolonial feminism, subaltern, intersectionality and power, record human relations among the countries colonised by Western countries. Postcolonial feminism acknowledges the complexity of women, and it challenges the Western feminism. The women subaltern who are exploited by Western rule, seek peaceful solutions. For all marginalised women in the third world nations, intersectionality and power have been useful to create awareness that oppression relating to the colonial experience, especially the oppression of race, class, and ethnic, has marginalized women in postcolonial societies.

Spivak, Mohanty and Collins' perspectives on women from different backgrounds have been very useful to support my argument that the experience of Indonesian Islamic female academics is valued.

As my research examines the female academics in Indonesian Islamic higher education, it is appropriate to explore the theories that dealing with women's experience in postcolonial regions through the concepts of postcolonial. The subaltern and intersectionality and power, relate to my research problem and study.

Chapter 3

"Tell me how you feel":
Narrative as an approach to feminist research methodology

Qualitative methods are thought to be the methods that protest against the status quo, just as feminism does more generally. I defined feminist research as research conducted by feminists or research that the researchers claim is conducted by feminist research methods (Reinharz, 1993, pp. 68-69).

Introduction

Twenty-five years ago, Reinharz (1993) claimed we need to have a methodology, which resists mainstream methods that are largely based on men's problems, lives and their way of thinking. Feminist methodology is the answer that offers the promise of research that concerns women, for women, and by women. Feminist perspectives have no single method, and do not oppose the inclusion and use of certain methods and perspectives to create pure knowledge production. As feminist research has an orientation based on action and change, feminist research takes seriously women's experiences, perceptions and lives. The feminist perspective is relevant to my study as mine focuses on Indonesian Islamic female academics' experiences. To inform women's lived experiences, the intersection of epistemology and method with a particular methodology is needed and in this project I have worked with story and narrative. This chapter aims to deliver a brief theoretical overview of feminist methodology and the ways in which narrative enacts feminist principles, followed by a discussion in relation to my positioning as an insider or outsider researcher within this project. Issues of power, silence and secrecy are crucial here and this leads to an exploration of feminist ethics in narrative research and this project as a whole in the final section.

Feminist research methodology

At its most basic, feminist research is connected in principle to feminist struggles for equality and justice, and grounds itself in feminist theories (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2007). To reveal hidden aspects of women's lives and to reclaim subjugated knowledges, all feminist researchers continue to develop new epistemologies, methodologies, and methods of knowledge building altogether (Stanley & Wise, 1990). For feminist researchers, access to the truth about the social world is often guided by women's experience that is not available to men (Harding, 2008). It is the belief of feminist researchers that personal experiences cannot be invalidated or nullified. Personal experiences are deeply felt and these experiences and feelings are real for the women experiencing them (Stanley & Wise, 1983).

In addition, Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2007) maintain that feminist researchers do not always apply the same approaches. They share different perspectives, ask different questions, draw from several methods and methodologies, and are aware of sexist, racist, homophobic, and colonialist ideologies and practices. Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2006) and Lichtman (2013) also argue that there is no set of rules in method, methodology, or epistemology that informs feminist research. As argued by Ramazanoglu (1992) there is no single feminist research methodology. Although feminist researchers share methods with others, their research is guided by methodologies rooted in specific epistemologies that seek knowledge about women's experiences (Harding, 1987). Feminist research is a "complete" approach that includes all stages of the research process, from the theoretical to the practical, from the formulation of research questions to the write-up of research findings. Feminist researchers focus on the inextricable links among epistemology, methodology, and method about how to collect and analyse data (Charmaz, 2006; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006).

My research goal is to understand, interpret and seek meaning of female academics' life experiences and therefore this project employs a feminist research methodology. This methodology is important to my study as female academics in Indonesian Islamic higher education need to retrieve and define their subjectivities within such institutions on their own terms. Their life narratives provide an important space to speak out, resist marginalisation and lay out their different realities from men in this context. To this end, I agree with Ramazanoglu (1992, p. 10) that feminist methodologies are then "new ways of knowing and of seeking truths, but they are also forms of political commitment to the empowerment of women."

Feminist research methodology and story

> *Narrative is a textual engine that keeps the story going (Oikkonen, 2013, p. 298).*

Amoah (1997) argues that storytelling as an oral tradition to spread information now is regarded as a tool to challenge the dominant tradition. Delgado (1989), a strong advocate of storytelling, explains that stories reflect understanding of groups and stories are shared and circulated to resist oppressive circumstances. This means, through the function of narrative, marginalized and disempowered groups are allowed to retrieve their voices. Further, by using storytelling, disadvantaged are able to create their own space of theorized existence, and then take away from the disempowered position. This is because the story that contains lessons of life is absorbed faster by listeners. Amoh (1997) also explains that by sharing stories told by people who experience them, this will create a network derived from understanding human's experience, which according to her it is the basis of narrative. In turn, narrative gives us a basics for theory, as according to Hemmings, in (Western) feminist theory.

"Narratives should be understood at the level of epistemology as well as in terms of object of inquiry" (2011, p. 61).

This narrative demand is not only a rethinking of feminist theory, but also the ways in which histories are constructed. As Hemmings suggests,

> Feminist theorists need to pay attention to the amenability of our own stories, narrative constructs, and grammatical forms to discursive uses of gender and feminism we might otherwise wish to disentangle ourselves from if history is not simply to repeat itself (2011, p. 2).

Hemmings investigates thoroughly the narratives that compile recent feminist history, emphasizes the ethical and political dilemmas raised by these narratives, and offers innovative strategies for transforming them. According to her, stories are felt (individually and intersubjectively) as personal. She adds they may describe aspects of individual experience (Hemmings, 2011, p. 135). Story is then relevant to my study as it provides me with a real picture of female academics in their life situation, where they are struggling with the problems of masculinist academia. Moreover, Noddings (1984) reminds me that telling and listening stories is a powerful sign that female academics and I are caring to one another, indeed, "care" is one of feminist ethics that I will explain later in this chapter.

Hence, narrative inquiry is an approach within the qualitative tradition that holds that story is one of essential units of human experience (Clandinin, 2007). As a part of qualitative research design, story is used to explain human life. The word "narrative" means a discourse form where "events and happenings are configured into a temporal unity by means of a plot" (Polkinghorne, 1995, p. 5). Story means

> A special type of discourse production. In a story, events and actions are drawn together into an organized whole by means of a plot. A plot is a type of conceptual scheme by which a contextual meaning of individual events can be displayed (Polkinghorne, 1995, p. 7).

Polkinghorne (1988) argues that people tell stories, while researchers, through a detailed analysis, perceive narratives or ways of structuring stories. Riessman (2002, p. 498) similarly notes, "Narration is distinguished by ordering and sequence. Narratives are descriptions of events taking place over time. One action is viewed as consequential for the next." It can be concluded that narrative inquiry refers to a branch of qualitative research designs that use stories to describe human action.

However, the variety of stories used depends on the research approach, strategies and methods used by researchers. Narrative inquiry begins with a story that is told and lived, "it can be connected and placed under the label of qualitative research methodology" (Clandinin, 2007, p. 5). Essentially

Clandinin and Connelly (2000) point out that narrative inquiry relates someone's story in relation to a particular social environment.

I chose narrative inquiry as it enables me to understand more fully female academics' lived experience in career development in Indonesian Islamic higher education, especially the experiences of being subjugated and marginalised in terms of promotion. Promotion in higher education contributes to academics' career development. Narrative inquiry allows both participants and myself to make sense of their/our present situation, and to look forward to the future (Connelly & Clandinin, 1991).

Further, I use "narrative as story" (Polkinghorne, 1995, p. 6) as a methodological approach since it allows me to give voice to women who have been left out of mainstream research models, and to recognise women's life stories as knowledge (Hesse-Biber, 2012). In relation to feminist methodology, storytelling has been used to portray women's entrance into higher education to shape the roles of women as both the subjects and makers of meaning (Ropers-Huilman & Winters, 2011). As Ropers-Huilman and Winters (2011) argue, women in higher education may not even be heard when that knowledge relates directly to their own lived experiences. Therefore, feminist data collection through story and narrative provides a space and context for women to tell and hear their own and each other's stories. Lipton and Mackinlay (2015) claim stories of women faculty allow women to understand the status of women in academia. Stories also maintain a focus upon feminism in discussions of gender equality in higher education. In telling Muslim academic feminists stories, I agree with Olyaei (2013) that through storytelling, it is possible to convey Muslim academic feminists' message that values such as human dignity, gender equality and women's rights are not the exclusive possessions of Western secular civilisation and, in fact, these are the shared global values that we need to strive for. By looking through this story, Muslim feminists also will be facilitated to argue that due to the dynamic and ethical foundation of Islamic discourse, they can strongly support these human rights (Badran, 2013).

A feminist narrative

It was quiet in my PhD students' room. The temperature in the air-conditioned large room was low and the room was empty. It was 2 PM; my eyes struggled to resist sleepiness as at lunch time I had fed my tummy fully. I forced my eyes wide open, as I tried to focus on reading a book I had just found today. The green cover attracted my attention. It featured several cakes with a woman's feet trying to avoid stepping on them. This image raised the following questions for me, what does the book cover reveal about the book contents? Why cakes? Why a woman? I found the answer as I read the opening pages. According to Bloom (1998), the author, is the front cover image is a metaphor for "apparently mundane domestic images, which become subversive when depicting strong, sexual

women" (p. iv). I open the next page to the table of contents. There are only two parts. I read the first part of the book. I could write like this, I thought, as the language was easy to understand, to follow. The way Bloom writes is like writing a novel. It has settings when stories were told, where stories happened and who was involved behind the stories. Moreover, it is about Bloom's experiences with interviewing a feminist educator and administrator. She writes in a narrative style, begins with her hope of friendship, having a good conversation and resulting in sisterhood. However, in the process of feminist good conversation making, she understood the request of listening well, although when the stories told are weird, partial, even show disrespect for the listeners. It creates a dilemma for her:

> What then is it for feminist research to promise empathy, power sharing, sincerity, and representation when these values must pass through inequality, disappointment, and misunderstanding? What does it mean to begin to listen well when the stories offered are awkward, incomplete, and even filled with disregard for the listener? What if the stories unhinge the capacity to make an intersubjective space? (Bloom, 1998, p. x).

In the next part of the book, Bloom asserts that all those dilemmas are as the core of the research. How to overcome is by respecting the limits of research, as feminist research methodology always commences with awareness of women's vulnerability. I have realised that Bloom uses stories as her attempt to resolve the issues.

In explaining, one of dilemmas she encounters is when she had to have connection with one woman who has opposite views with her in perspectives of anti-Zionism, Judaism, Israel and Palestine. The different view in those cases makes Bloom uncomfortable to continue their relationship. She feels that their feminist relationship is vulnerable. However in the end, Bloom can fix this dilemma and continues work with the woman by describing herself locked in an "uneasy sisterhood" (Bloom, 1998, p. 52).

When reading this book, I enjoyed the stories and I achieved knowledge of feminist methodology and narrative in one time as Bloom has portrayed them very well in her book. Since feminist narrative works under feminist research methodology, Bloom's reflection on it is: feminist methodology is both complex and exciting. These characteristics are supporting my above quote at the beginning of this chapter (Reinharz, 1993) that this methodology is radical and transformational to create a possible methodology that challenges a status quo.

Bloom admits it is complex and exciting because the methodology involves my and female academics' multiple identities, which according to her, if the identity is different, it might be "a fluctuating power relationship" (Bloom, 1998, p. 54). In my case, some female academics have more senior positions than me in terms of their academic and educational levels, and in addition to this, they are well-respected public figures in Indonesian society. Bloom asserts by expressing our

identities, we could easily reflect our subjective positions, and we might use it as an understanding resource that identity and power give a new notion of research relationship.

Beside involving my and female academics' multiple identities, Bloom also mentions why feminist methodology is complex and exciting because in doing a feminist project, mutual trust and reciprocity in relationship with my collaborators is necessary She claims both are critical since openness and mutual trust can lead to a negotiation. Negotiation is a step to "the feminist goal of transformational politics" (p. 55) where feminist embraces multicultural understanding and activism. Here, Bloom quotes from Anzaldua, Caraway and hooks (1989) and closes the explanation by saying that reciprocal relationship for each other's well-being is a whole being.

The implementation of mutual trust and reciprocity in relationship with my collaborators is in a form of Sisterhood. Sisterhood is one topic discussed by Bloom in articulating why feminist methodology is complex and exciting. Agreeing with Reinharz and Davidman (1992), Bloom writes sisterhood is a product of some feminist projects rather than a requirement of the research relationship. She does not deny that there is a power relationship in a feminist relation, however, the power "is not naturally and uniformly located in the researcher" (p. 55). Sisterhood should be kept, as misogyny effects still linger, and sisterhood should apply to all women who have different personalities and ideologies. Women's differences are acknowledged as the foundation of feminist research.

After mutual trust and sisterhood, silences, prejudice, fears of conflict add to feminist methodology becoming more complex (Bloom, 1998, p. 56). According to Bloom, feminist methodology can help me as a researcher and female academics I work with to generate a unique context in which not only about women's lives, but also "problems" of research. In my own research process I experienced silences from female academics which lead me to have prejudice over them, and I was scared of creating conflict between us.

Reading Bloom's (1998) text, "Under the sign of hope: Feminist methodology and narrative interpretation", makes me realize that it is this kind of feminist methodology which inspired me to tell my own intellectual and personal journey, and to share my female subjectivity as an academic story and narrative through my own research.

Bloom provides scripts of women who describe their feelings, stories and dreams of being women in a patriarchal society. Because traditional narratives are patriarchal, according to Bloom, women tend to see themselves by means of patriarchal eyes—that is, "the male gaze" (p. 69) —therefore the themes in the beginning of women writing were exhilaration of domestic life rather than public life, education or sisterhood. When women are given more choices to write, the masculine texts are

revealed. Furthermore, if women read and write or create texts, women certainly empower their own female gaze. This is what I understand the core of feminist narratives to be: if women and feminists tell and write their stories, there will be no more misinterpretation of women's identities, rather it attracts building a vivid feminist narrative told through women's own eyes and experiences.

Bloom (1998) also enlightens me that feminist narrative is a complicated and a lived research process which requires me to ask, read, look for, identify, locate, re-present, and most importantly, interpret stories. These consecutive processes start with me as the researcher and I place myself in the position of listener as well as interpreter to engage in a feminist narrative methodology, agreeing with Riessman (1993), that stories are defined in terms of the interaction between the researcher and the narratives themselves. Each story is a viable representation and indeed promotes representation of a particular woman's experiences. How a story discloses is a function of the interaction between the narrators and the listeners about the past and present experiences, perspectives, interests, and perceptions. I am the one who co-creates stories, reproduces and re-presents in other moments and other forms through my analyses, synthesis, and interpretations. As it is subject to chance, feminist narrative interpretation is, "by definition, partial, incomplete, and historically contingent" (Riessman, 1993, p. 70).

Feminist research challenges

Echoing Bloom (1998) that feminist research methodology is challenging and exciting, I would like to discuss these issues here. DeVault and Gross (2007) claim that there are three challenges of feminist research which are arduous, namely: positionality, power differences between researcher and collaborators, and research ethics. In this section, I explore my position as "partial insider" (Foley, Levinson & Hurtig, 2000) and as an "outsider within" (Collins, 1999b) to problematize the benefits and disadvantages of being "in-between". I then turn to discuss the ways in which power are informed by feminists' insights. Feminist researchers claim that I need to begin the research process with a wish to build collaborative relationship to understand female academics' experience, not to victimise them. Therefore, to follow feminists' insights, I applied ethical issue in this feminist research to minimise and remove male standard practices to female's perspectives.

Partial insider, outsider within and those in between

Feminist research values the positioning of researchers in relation to the research undertaken and it is important that researchers show their personal motivations and positions as insider or outsider in the site researched (Breen, 2007). Such discussions around positioning as feminist researchers is important in that it allows for openness around the ways in which the subjectivities of both the

researcher and the researched contribute to and interact to construct knowledge (Kerstetter, 2012), and therefore moves feminism closer to what we hope embraces a more equal relationship between the researcher and the researched (Stanley & Wise, 1990).

Often discussions of researcher subjectivity are framed around concepts of "insider and outsider." I would like to start with Gair (2012) who uses these terms. Gair defines an "insider" as someone who conducts research and who is personally part of the group to which their participants also are included. Being an insider is based on certain criteria including ethnicity, sexual identity and gender. Gair (2012) defines an "outsider" as the opposite of the insider, that is, someone who is not included as a group member.

Recent discussion shows that the two positions are blurred (Asselin, 2003). Discussions in the fields of Anthropology, Sociology and Feminist theory (Asselin, 2003) suggest that the categories of insider and outsider are not as self-evident and fixed as formerly thought. Rather, there are positions that can be preserved on the spectrum between insider and outsider. Further, these positions often subjectively change and depend on where the researcher stands in relation to their positionality and the relationship between the researcher and the researched. As Foley, Levinson and Hurtig (2000) argue, the position of insider is not without problems. They explain that insider position does not always fully restore outsider. Furthermore Dwyer and Buckle (2009) assert that conducting feminist research from an outsider's perspective with a different perspective from those "inside," will not limit the connection between researchers and researched. Both add that as qualitative researchers, being an insider does not make them better or worse researchers; it just makes them a different "kind" of researcher. More recently, Patricia Hill Collins (1999b) has developed the concept of "the outsider within" with regard to Black women sociologists. It is the position of people who are in the margin of positions. They have no certain affiliation in those positions. Or those individuals look occupy positions, but they do not own and benefit from the positions. Women are usually have a treatment as outsiders, even though they have basic citizenship rights.

Some feminist researchers also have inquired about the positioning of the researcher and the researched (Acker, 2000; Naples, 1992, 1996; Oakley, 1981; Reinharz, 1983). From a feminist research perspective, Naples (1996) claims that an insider or outsider position is not impossible to interchange, and it is penetrable by the fluid nature of a researcher's subjectivities. As researchers, perhaps researchers are always "in between," since researchers' position and perspective have been influenced by reading research topic literature, so we cannot stay in one position, even we may be closer to insider or closer to outsider (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009).

Reinharz (1983) has recommended a model of participation in research aiming to create research that does not produce a hierarchy or manipulate research relations that may lead to separating researchers and the researched. It can be avoided by applying (feminist) research ethics. It is on researchers' responsibilities to ensure that participants in research sign an informed consent. Researchers protect research participants from potential harm, and make sure that participants' privacy is preserved by maintaining confidentiality.

Judith Oakley (1981), when interviewing women, brought her personal role into the research relationship to produce an interactive experience, by sharing and giving. When doing this, she argues, being insider or outsider is not relevant. Also Acker (2000) asks whose side are we on as researchers? Are we insider or are we outsider? Therefore, according to her, the position is not that easy. She suggests that in resolving the dilemma about insider/outsider on women academics, we need to gain a way, by making both positions part of a continuum, as she does believe that both positions cannot be resolved fully. She also prefers to make an analogy like Collins (1991) who never resolves the way Black feminists identify themselves as "Black" or "female," and Reinharz (1992, p. 262) who tries to avoid the trap to be "objective" or "subjective" in the research by making efforts to find both ways.

Certainly, in each position, either as insider or outsider, the researcher carries specific advantages and disadvantages. The difference between both positions has relationship with feminist epistemology and perspective. This feminist epistemology and insider-outsider perspective will influence the research process, the results as a product of researchers and researched relationship, and on how the research will give voice to the researched. This perspective will also enable research "with," not "on" the participants (Breen, 2007). Moreover, insider-outsider perspectives together with this feminist research seeks to "capture the lived experience," be "emotionally engaging," "make a difference" (Liamputtong 2006, p. 182), and be used "to empower people and improve their lives" (p. 174).

Being a partial insider

Adler (1990) claims that insiders may face problems in relation to the research story that is told; this includes that it may be easy for me as a partial insider researcher to make assumptions about female academic's experiences, while forgetting to share my own detailed experiences. Or as I shape the interview guideline, I might be trapped into focusing heavily on my own experiences (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009), not on their own. Is the result of research an interpretation or real phenomena, as I share my story with my participants? Insiders have been indicted for being biased (Walt, Shiffman, Schneider, Murray, Brugha, & Gilson, 2008), and constrained to ask forbidden questions as an insider

may be seen as too close to local culture. The advantage of being an insider then becomes the disadvantage of the outsider.

I commenced my data collection with a specific assumption about female academics' experiences (Acker, 2000). I assumed that as I am a partial insider, I would be easily granted access to interview them. I was challenged to examine my assumption about the access. I have found access was assumed to be relatively easy because of a common language, culture, religion but there are specific factors that contribute to problem when collecting data and interpreting them. The similarity may create a community sense that could enhance openness within the research process.

In my experience as partial insider, I asked some questions which were based in taken for granted assumptions that I had learned about the world from my opinion and perspective. As a partial insider, I achieved knowledge of culture, structure, politic, language, but being outsider within: I bring an outside perspective and therefore greater objectivity (Bartunek, 2008). However, I found myself ripped in complicated statuses: the Indonesian female academic, a doctoral student at an Australian university which embraces Neoliberal values, a Javanese woman and a trained PhD student and or researcher. But I would say that being partial insider has given me more opportunities in the field. As Collins (1986) argues that I have an "epistemic" of functioning as a woman and as a credentialed insider in the academic context, then I have used my marginality (my outsider within status) to generate a unique feminist thought. In this case, female academics in my university owned particular commonalities, and they have their own specific standpoint. Their main intellectual role is to provide facts and theories about Indonesian female academics experiences that will make the position of female academics clearer (Collins, 1986). I attained greater acceptance and openness than rejection when interviewing my colleagues from this perspective and here my status as a partial insider worked to my advantage.

The use of a partial insider researcher was advantageous to my study design and helped me with female academic participation and relationship, their collaboration and creating rich stories. By identifying the disadvantage of partial insider research and using strategies to overcome them, I could effectively use the partial insider position in conjunction with a storytelling research design (Blythe, Wilkes, Jackson, & Halcomb, 2013). I would also say, we should accept the views of both insider and outsider as logical attempts to understand the nature of "culture."

Being an outsider within

Using Patricia Hill Collins' (1986) term, however, I will also put my position as an outsider within, although Dwyer and Buckle (2009) called "the space in between" or partial insider according to Foley, Levinson, and Hurtig (2000). I place myself in between insider and outsider because my subjectivities are relative—they may change, depend on where and when research is undertaken, my personality, women that I work with and what is the research topic (Kerstetter, 2012). Bhabha (1994) has informed us that "third space" locates people on multiple resources to make sense of the world and establish their identity. Also, "the space between" which Dwyer and Buckle (2009) speak of is based on involving several dimensions include my identity, cultural background and my relationship with female academics whom have positioned those all in the space. I am experiencing a cultural assimilation; that I am Javanese, now studying for a PhD in Australia and doing research with Banjarese women, but still connected with my local group.

Being a partial insider and openness

According to DeVault and Gross (2007), being an insider or an outsider in research is one of the biggest challenges in feminist research. However, being an insider in research has helped me to have easy access to my collaborators. I am a member of the group I am researching. In my research with female academics I have developed knowledge to enhance the understanding of their experience in relation to promotion to higher academic positions and how to be university leaders. More than that, they shared their opinions, perspectives and experiences on how to deal with difficulty or even failures when applying both promotions. Certainly their stories and experiences will inspire their junior colleagues (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009).

As a partial insider conducting this research, it is my sense that I have increased the breadth of understanding which might only be achieved by insiders, for as Kanuha (2000) suggests, insiders are people who undertake research and they are a member of the community. There is an assumption that insiders own indigenous knowledge (Naple, 2003). Based on Naple's notion, I assume that my insider role at my university community would be acknowledged completely by the female academic members. As a consequence, they might feel more open to me.

Power in feminist research methodology

For researchers who embrace feminist methodology, they are challenged by "authority as interpreters" (Bloom, 1998, p. 2) and the issue of power in relation to positioning is important here. Employing a feminist methodological framework in qualitative interviewing entangles the power relations between researcher and researched (Falconer, 2009). In the endeavour to abstain from

propagating the abuse of women as research subjects, for example, Oakley (1981, p. 41) states the need to separate the conventional hierarchal connection between researchers and the researched in order not to "generalize your sister." However, Oakley's non-hierarchical attitudes explore the problems faced by feminist researchers who adopt more intimate practices, where collaborators might have the risk of manipulation. They also might feel forced to tell uncomfortable information. There might be wrong assumptions that intimate relationships because of our shared status as women works to overcome differences in and inequalities of class, race, sexuality and age between us.

The change paradigm in power relation between researchers and collaborators is an interesting topic in my research, as it encourages me to analyse the characteristics of my interview collaborations. According to Falconer (2009, p. 39), it is important to understand the complex position adopted by feminist researchers and their relationship with their collaborators, especially when departing on narrative interpretation of women. Therefore, everything that happens during my conversations with female academics certainly will shape the continuance of my future research and bring to light of alternative interpretation of collaborators' lived experiences.

Silence and secrecy in feminist research methodology

As previously discussed, power exists and is exercised in feminist research (Reinharz, 1992, p. 249). When I began this research, I understood from my reading that in interviewing female academics, I should try to maintain a position as an equal foster a research experience that empowers them, and have interactive connection with the people who engage with my research results. However, in my data collection, I found it difficult to negotiate relationships with specific female academics to enable them to feel comfortable to share their story with me, and I now recognise this as the performance of the kind of secrecy and silence that Ryan-Flood and Gill (2013) refer to Silence has been identified as having no power and embracing passivity (Gal, 1991). Women who are not able to speak out are considered as disempowered. They cannot do an action and create change. Not every woman has the voice to speak up, especially when some women experience rampant violence and they are unable to speak both in public and domestic life (WHO, 2002). According to Ahmed in Ryan-Flood and Gill (2013, p. xvi), silence and secrecy matters in feminist research, because silence is a resistance to dominant power. According to Parpart (2013) silences and secrecy as strategies to negotiate gender relations, also serve as forms of empowerment and agency for women in a male-dominant world. More specifically, Parpart (2013) mentions silence as one strategy for survival. She describes that in some parts of the world, especially in the conflict areas, there is no chance for women to choose, to speak and to challenge conflict and inequalities. If they could, those women's lives might be in extreme danger. Thus, silence is becoming a survival strategy to cope with the awkward situation.

Asselin (2003) argues that even though insider researchers may collect data easily, their understanding about the local culture could be very low, or they do not know anything about what they have researched, which means that those researchers do not have the ability to go deeper into the local context subculture. It is true that knowing and having female academics' stories is not adequate for me, as an insider I have to ability to know how to identify the stories, then describe and explain them. In order to be able to identify, describe and explain their story, I have to own the skill to conceptualize their experiences sufficiently as not all the experiences can be shared in the community.

As a partial outsider researcher, I found some difficult consequences in that some female academics did not share some stories to me. It is about not all the experiences can be shared in the community. Female academics experience difficulty to share certain stories, they remain silent. I suggest this silence is because I am a partial outsider, even though I have shared my story to them in the interview (Riley, Schouten, & Cahill, 2003). I began to understand that from my own experiences of working in the university, certain experiences of some female academics often remained secret or silenced, and they do not have correct tunnel to communicate and share them with.

Secrecy and silence was also about the stories told by some (junior) female academics, where the stories were short, or conveyed no rich lived accounts or even deep personal experience (my judgements?). Somehow I see that they were scared about the dangers of presuming to know, speak for, or advocate for others (me?). There were three female academics who provided short answers to my questions in the interview. Two assumptions seem relevant: they do not have stories about struggling in a male-dominated university and experience to tell, or they were very reluctant to share the story with me. I do not believe they made up a fake story, as their stories were just not "lived." I experienced what feminist research methodology calls tension involved in coming to know the narratives; female academics' experiences. I have asked how the experience or voice (Charmaz, 2002) of other female academics can be accessed. Even though I and those female academics share similar culture and structure, this does not guarantee me better knowing. As a partial insider, it will not necessarily give me a direct route to knowing (Narayan, 1993).

The tension in my narrative project is when we start a collaboration, which is a tension-filled experience. Indeed, collaborating with female faculty members on feminist research creates new tensions. Although I have tried, there is a distance between me and 3 of them. I could say I have made the power balance among us, through my role as interviewer. I have chosen them selectively to share my story to them, but I sense admitted reluctance from them to share their information that I "need."

I worry that I exploit them and I am scared of being in a privileged position. Do I control them? I feel that I should be accountable to my collaborators and humanize them.

Feminist ethics

The last challenge in feminist research methodology, according to DeVault and Gross (2007), is the ethical issue. The main principle of ethics which should be applied in feminist research methodology is that the relationship between researcher and researched to gain knowledge is not oppressive (Acker, Barry & Esseveld, 1983). Further, DeVault and Gross (2007, p. 225) explain that "feminist researchers, acutely aware of the harms produced by generations of male-centred research that distorted women's realities, have set themselves an even higher ethical standard." Koehn (1998) argues it should be understood how feminist ethics differ from the more "traditional" ethical theories, and significantly, how this difference makes feminist ethics responsive to approaches and methodologies of narrative. In general, feminist ethical theory can be understood as a response to, and a movement against, a historical tradition of more abstract, universalist, ethical theories such as utilitarianism and deontology and transforms into placing women's experience and reasoning in their own voices (Koehn, 1998, p. 9). As its association with women, explicitly Jaggar (1995) defines ethics of feminism as ethics that employ a feminist perspective. The ethics of feminism vary in the way of advocacy. There is emphasis on the behavioural and characteristics of women especially as a care-giver status. Meanwhile, there are those who defend by showing the political, legal and economic conditions as a source of problems and injustice against women.

In their chapter on "Feminist Research Ethics," Preissle and Han (2012) argue that feminist research should be in a position to consider, involve, and empower the women involved. In explaining this position, both authors employ an ethic of care and relationship. According to the authors, some feminist researchers are still using ethical principals including justice, however most have adopted an ethic of care (Gilligan, 1982; Koehn, 1998) in their research practices. The adoption makes it easier for them to supervise the quality of their roles as researchers and to monitor whether they understand the view of the researched. Preissle and Han (2012) also argue that feminist research should consider voice, confidentiality, agency and subjectivity.

The tensions between voice, confidentiality, agency and subjectivity

Voice

Voice is an ongoing challenge in feminist research ethics. In feminist research, researchers always strive to foster a balance between their voice and that of their collaborators. Here, women's stories emphasize complex issues of ownership. Researchers have to prioritize women who shared their

experiences. Feminist proponents argue that the interpretation stages and processes of the interpretation of empirical research are critical to feminists. These concerns are infused with notions of power, exploitation, knowing, and representation (Edward & Mauthner, 2002). It is important that researchers acknowledge women's roles and their active involvement in interpreting their stories. The ethics of representation of women's voices, whether represented in conferences, publications, and other kinds of reports of research, should follow feminists' style and guidelines. In the ethics of representation, it is important not to misrepresent women and their experiences (Preissle & Han, 2012).

Confidentiality

In the context of traditional qualitative research, feminist research focuses heavily on confidentiality to protect participants or those involved in research from harm. Many feminist researchers are involved in high-risk research such as research on women's health reproduction and domestic violence. In this kind of research, ethics has become more varied and complicated (Hesse-Biber, 2012).

Confidentiality is particularly important in reporting research results as many may feel anxious about the nature of their involvement, even as they may appear to be willing to be involved. Issues of anonymity have been a significant focus of my research, most crucially for my participants where I focus heavily on consent, privacy, and truth-telling.

In feminist ethics, researchers have to receive informed consent at all stages of the research process. Previously, particularly in relation to various kinds of institutionalized consent procedures, such as the requirement for participants to sign consent forms, there was a sense that once consent was given, this was the end of the consent process. However, this was always a reductive and inappropriate approach to consent. Now, in feminist ethics, this issue has changed significantly. In feminist ethics, researchers are required to conduct their research by being truthful and consensual with participants at each stage of data collection, analysis, and publication. This requirement deals with issues of how and where knowledge is created (Edwards & Mauthner, 2002). This truth-telling helps to ensure that the information provided by participants will not be used against them and, that anonymity will be maintained throughout all stages of the research process.

Agency

Issues of agency are also crucial to a feminist research disposition. Agency is often associated with notions of freedom, autonomy and rationality. Through their agency, people are spoken and speak for themselves. Understanding agency is to understand that each person is able to take positions

themselves, that their identities are recognizable, and that they accept responsibility for their actions. O'Meara (2015) claims that agency can be in a form of perspectives presumed and may take a stance to attain particular goals.

Agency in feminism is an action of feminists who have the capacity to articulate and act for specific choices and actions. "Feminists have to engage in the very act of choosing to speak, of discovering the possibility of authority, of using that speaking, that authority, to bring about fundamental changes in the possible ways of being that are available to oneself and others" (Connell, 1987, p. 95). An agentic disposition from feminist perspectives entails ways of viewing a situation and feminists' roles so as to advance particular goals. Agency from a feminist perspective is primarily expressed as a response to barriers and opportunities based on sexual differences (O'Meara, 2015).

Subjectivity

The role of the researcher in the feminist research process is crucial. Such an approach demands researchers not remain neutral, but that the researcher exercises self-reflectiveness and self-awareness. Reflexivity is valued in feminist research. This is because feminist researchers view the research participants in the full context of their lives, and continually take into account researchers' own personal, political, and academic worlds. Researchers should see both the researchers and participants as individuals, each located in a time, place, and context. This perspective places researchers and participants in the same critical place (Harding, 1987).

These position-takings in relation to notions of voice, confidentiality, agency and subjectivity are also challenging and contradictory in the ways they intertwine with one another. Acker, Barry and Esseveld (1983) argue "Our commitment to bringing our subjects into the research process as active participants influenced our rethinking of our original categories, strengthened our critique of research methods, and forced us to realize that it is impossible to create a research process that completely erases the contradictions in the relationship between researchers and researched". These position-takings in relation to notions of voice, confidentiality, agency and subjectivity are also challenging and contradictory in the ways they intertwine with one another. Efforts to express agency may be stymied by concerns to maintain confidentiality on the part of researchers and participants. Issues of subjectivity are intimately associated with notions of agency in relation to what is construed as possible within particular circumstances and what may not appear possible. One's voice may or may not appear as authoritative depending upon the broader conditions within which arguments are proffered and perspectives shared. All of these notions intersect and intertwine to foster a complex context of intersubjectivity and engagement that cannot be readily captured, understood or engaged in its entirety.

Nevertheless, and in spite of these challenges, a feminist research ethics can be empowering through the way in which it engages the self of the researcher with that of those involved in the research. Feminist researchers also open to any ideas and feelings. The researcher must receive any of the participants' critics (Stanley &Wise, 1990).

According to Koehn (1998), feminist research ethics cover:

1. An ethic of care

With an ethic of caring, people express and share their emotions. People personally validate their knowledge through showing emotive action and mutual actions (Nodding, 1984).

2. An ethic of broad empathy

With the ethic of empathy, people only share their knowledge if they believe the listeners are empathetic. Preissle and Han (2012) state that the importance of maintaining genuine, healthy relationships is based on empathy and respect for others.

3. An ethic of trust

There is a trust between a person and with whomever they are sharing the knowledge. Within personal accountability, people believes in and reflects the values of the knowledge. Edward and Mauthner (2002) maintain feminist research ethics is described as automatically committed to develop trusting and long-term relationship between researcher and participants.

4. A dialogical ethic

The dialogic process aims to create my participants' awareness of an I-and-Thou relationship that allows and promotes the humanity of both me as a researcher and my participants. The ethics of dialogic focuses on listening carefully to each other (Buber, 1970).

Conclusion

In this chapter I have highlighted the feminist research methodology I use in this research. I also have explained feminist narrative and then followed challenges when conducting research based on feminist value.

Feminist ethics which are little different from traditional research ethics are explored. Beside voice, agency, confidentiality and subjectivity, for instance feminist researchers have to adopt ethics of care, trust, empathy and dialogic.

Chapter 4

Putting feminist narrative method into practice

For all who listen with a different ear …. (Koehn, 1998, p. v)

Introduction

This chapter explains how this study employed postcolonial feminism and what happened in my research and its contextualisation. This chapter includes the detailed description of how I implemented and conducted the feminist research methodology, narrative methodology and in analysis to address the research questions.

I now turn to consider the ways in which postcolonial feminism might be applied in this study to better understand the relationship between Islamic academic women, career experiences and new managerialism.

Postcolonial feminism in this study

Postcolonial feminism in this study helped me to understand different women's experiences in Indonesian Islamic higher education. Because my research examines the experiences of female academics in Indonesian Islamic higher education, it is appropriate to explore the theories that address women's experience in postcolonial regions. Postcolonial feminism informed my proposed research because it provides a language to enable women faculty to speak; this is important because female academics have been exploited by history and seen as "other" in higher education. As argued by postcolonial feminism proponents, postcolonial feminism focuses on "others," and rejects women's universalism. Thus, postcolonial feminism advocated the acknowledgement of all gendered voices of Islamic female academics. Postcolonial feminism paid attention and works for freedom in terms of the social, cultural, economic and religious identities of women (Mohanty, 2003a). Postcolonialism and postcolonial feminism helped me to theorise and understand female academics' experiences in Indonesian Islamic higher education and postcolonial feminist frameworks can be used to analyse Islamic Indonesian female academics' experiences of career success and failure in Indonesian HE settings.

Postcolonial theory allowed Muslim academic feminists to appraise humans' rights, gender equality and women's rights. Such rights are not privileged to Western secular culture, but are important global issues that Muslim academic feminists struggle for. Muslim academic feminists strongly argue that they support gender equality globally (Olyaei, 2013). Academic feminists have significant positions in social movements, and are, as Morley and Walsh (1995) point out, creative agents for change. In the Indonesian context, academic feminists have demonstrated their work through the centres for women's studies and throughout this chapter I refer to their work as significant in grounding my own thought and project. This is a crucial part in this study since it creates an understanding of feminist discourses as related to the context of Indonesian Muslim women in academia.

Using postcolonial feminism, this study then aimed to reveal the voice of female academics, and the ways in which they navigate their low representation in leadership positions and academic levels. This research contributes to studies of Muslim women as the experiences of female academics in Indonesia under colonialism and patriarchy are rarely found in the relevant literature.

The narrative inquiry research model

As a female academic who works in ISIHEI, I am eager to listen to my female colleagues' stories. Why do their stories matter? Female academics' individual experiences are shaped by the larger social, cultural and institutional narratives within which they live and have lived (Hemmings, 2011). Moreover, Hemmings (2011) maintains that the social spaces and professional workplaces, in which moments of their condition are captured, shape the stories lived and told by female academics. Back to the quote of Dorothy Smith (2004, p. 265) "Beginning in women's experiences told in women's word was and is a vital political movement in the women's movement" implies that stories told by women mean acknowledging women's existence and it is a foundation for women's movement, I think stories were important in this study and therefore, I have adopted feminist research methodology and narrative inquiry. Feminist research focuses on women as the central issue; it is research conducted by women, for and about women and generates theory from an explicitly feminist standpoint to create social change (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2007). A narrative inquiry approach grounded in feminist research methodology, therefore allowed space and context for female academics to tell their story and thereby create a comprehensive and complex understanding of women's experience of higher education (Bloom, 1998).

My research design

In this study, I spoke with nine female academics working within one faculty and one ISIHE institution, and asked them to share their experiences in academia with me. All agreed to share their experiences and the data generated from my discussions with them enabled to me to respond to my research question, that is, how is female academics' stories to achieve their career development in terms of leadership and academic level position. This faculty was chosen as the site for this research because it is the place where I work and I am aware of the problems regarding female academics' low representation in academic and leadership positions. Moreover, such "closeness" meant that I already had previous relationship with female faculty and therefore greater potential access to women who might want to share their academic experiences with me. In narrative inquiry, building intimate relationships between researcher and participants is the fundamental aspect. In these one-to-one situations, I have asked them to tell their stories by: responding to semi-structured interview questions that I have prepared previously and engaging in conversation or dialogue. Conversation or dialogue is what Connelly & Clandinin, 2006, p. 478) define when a researcher interviewing or having conversations with participants who tell stories of their experiences. Connelly and Clandinin (2006, p.480) further call our conversation as "the specific concrete, physical and topological boundaries of place or sequences of places where the inquiry and events take place".

The majority of the female academics who agreed to share stories with me were Banjarese, and with only one female originally from Java. In terms of employment status, all women were full time lecturers and while not all of them held leadership positions, eight female academics were in a management position. The highest academic level amongst the nine women was Associate Professor, while the lowest was Senior Lecturer level. Three women hold a PhD degree, while the others have commenced or are in the middle of pursuing their PhD study. All female academics I worked with are married and have children, and ranged in age from 35 to 50 years old.

I followed all appropriate institutional ethical procedures when recruiting women for this study. I contacted each approximately six months before interviewing—I phoned phone Sari; I met with Amalia, Dian, and Diana in person; sent messages via the *Messenger* application to Molly, Rima and Anni; and had an everyday conversation with Nina and Ayu. I received an approval from the Rector of my university, and this approval letter was used as the gatekeeper letter in my HREA (Human Research Ethics Application) application form. After I received the approval from the University of Queensland, I approached those female academics once again to confirm whether they were still interested in this study. I handed them my project description and consent form when we met together in person. After receiving their signed consent forms, I interviewed them in a place and time of their own choosing. I informed them that their identities would be anonymous and that through careful de-

identification of the data, there would no possibility of third-party identification of female academics as interviewees.

After speaking with each woman, transcribing each interview was an important step in writing the female academics' stories. Each story was transcribed word by word and then I read them carefully. This was an essential step that allowed me as the researcher to begin the process of analysis. In the analysis, I initially worked with each separate story by indexing the stories narrated to a particular theme (Riessman, 1993). Following the same process, I read all the stories thoroughly, looking for similarities and differences within the data. The processes that I found particularly useful at the analysis stage were: summarising each female academic's story in pages; coding the data into themes and sub-themes using their own language to describe each theme; highlighting the important words in the process and using one phrase to summarise the main theme of the thesis. At this stage, several thematic categories were created concerning, for example, success definition, career obstacles, family involvement, organisational policy, relationship with male academics and academic work characteristics that influence female academics' promotion. Data and themes were then compared across cases to show trends and variations; the data also provided examples of female academics' standpoint and the political dimensions of their life stories. I then identified three main themes across all the stories told and analysed and described grouped them into the following chapters: "The career advancement experiences of women in academics"; "Moments of success; Living policy: Experiences of women within neoliberal management"; and, "Underrepresentation experiences and feelings: The secrets and sadnesses we do not tell". The next stage was to write a story about their experiences and create texts from the told stories. When I constructed stories from female academics, I built sequences or events by adding time, space and people so that the narrative within each story flowed smoothly.

I saw such interpretation as an activity of sense-making that has a performative dimension: it is not just about representing the world but it is an active process of constructing, shaping, and transforming intersubjective reality (Riessman, 1993). As a researcher I could not remain neutral, but rather seek to implement self-reflection and self-awareness and in this sense, I agree with Hemmings (2011, p. 2) who notes that: "feminist theorists need to pay attention to the amenability of our own stories, narrative constructs, and grammatical forms to discursive uses of gender and feminism we might otherwise wish to disentangle ourselves from if history is not simply to repeat itself". In response to this thinking, I analysed the stories I created from the transcripts and my analytical work using postcolonial feminism theory and management frames. The next stage in the narrative approach was for me to share my restorying in the form of this thesis (Ollerenshaw & Creswell, 2002, p. 331).

Finally, the female academics I spoke with were provided with an opportunity to comment on my interpretations of their individual stories, as well as the overall findings and trends. This stage sought to validate the accuracy of my written account, and involved, as noted by Riessman (1993), the reader's analysis of the reconstruction, or narrative of narrative of narrative. However, validation in narrative (feminist) method is slightly different from other methods in that it involves dialogic and collaborative processes (Paulus, Woodside, & Ziegler, 2008). Dialogue and collaboration as components of narrative research means that something "happened" between myself and the female academics to enable us to collaborate: mutual relationship (Bloom, 1998). Through collaborative processes then, we strived to classify resemblances as well as differences across their stories, and thereby pursue a deeper, more nuanced and interconnected understanding of the meaning of each story and the stories as a collective (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Both Clandinin and Connelly (2000, p. 187) hope that female academics and I think narratively, and we tell stories of what it is that "narrative inquirers do" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 187).

Challenges and tensions I encountered doing feminist narrative research

My positionality, positioning myself as a female academic in Islamic Indonesian higher education

As mentioned in Chapter 1, I am a female academic who has experienced difficult moments in academia. Even though I now have a tenured academic position, I was not happy in my early career life. I received different treatment from my university top leader. He gave more chances to my male colleagues than me in terms of pursuing further overseas study. I was angry without being able to resolve the feeling caused by the rector, the one who had (absolute) power over me. I tried to find the answer for why this had happened to me by actively involving myself with organisations such as the Centre for Gender Studies, Indonesian Women's Coalition and Networking for Women and Children Protection. Through discussion with my peers and some experts, my interest and concern about women's issues grew stronger and I realized that women's oppression in Indonesia, and indeed globally is "universal" (Roth, 2004, p. 192). But this does not necessarily mean one universal theory of feminism. Many of the courses, seminars and workshops I attended on feminism, especially in postcolonial feminism, provided me with some useful insights that "woman" was a complex category, and that women's oppression is not only rooted in gender but also in race, class and age, and thus there is always a need to be able to understand pluralistically the various perspectives and attitudes given to specific women's issues. However this understanding always comes with pain. My experiences as a female academic in a postcolonial country, who was not treated equally, encouraged

me to be a woman who struggles for gender equality. Because of my background as a female academic, and because I experienced delays in my career development based on gender discrimination, I am strongly motivated to conduct research about female academics' experience in the context of Indonesian Islamic higher education.

My experience is not limited to my construction as a female academic more broadly, but it also influences me more specifically as a researcher. As a researcher, I am a product of my race, class, gender, and sexuality. I have chosen this topic because I have experienced life in particular ways. I agree with Harding (1987) who claims that what I do as a researcher cannot be separated from who I am. Therefore, my perspective as a researcher, my beliefs about research, the methodologies I chose and the questions I asked, have come from my background knowledge, experience, and life.

Being a partial insider, being an outsider within and issues of power

I am a partial insider in my study (Foley, Levinson & Hurtig, 2000) as I work in the same institution as the women I interviewed. As a partial insider, I was already familiar with the institutional structures, I had relationships with female colleagues and we spoke a common language; some women also identified as feminists; and others occupied leadership positions and had been working as female academics for over 10 years; and, in this sense, I identified myself as a "native" (Kanuha, 2000, p. 439).

However, as much as I thought of myself as a "native", I was also only a partial insider – my researcher identity worked to create a sense of partiality and positioned me as an outsider within. My status as an outsider within also reflects my position as a PhD student in Australia, which (might be) seen as more prestigious than female academics who hold a PhD from a local university. Some female academics who refused to cooperate might think that I am outsider as I am Javanese gaining access to Banjarese, especially as I am quite a new-comer to my university. I am somewhat of an outsider to the community. Therefore, the problem I faced as outsider is in a form of overlapping among culture, power and seniority.

For example, the use of language reflects one my collaborator's power and seniority. In my interview with Amalia, one of senior academics, she told me how to be a good woman, a good wife, and a good female Muslim. In this interview, my power is negotiated, it is not given. I know that my status as a PhD student was perceived as less powerful than hers, who already held a PhD. But doing PhD in a Western country, Australia, seems to create an image that I am not a "good woman Muslim" anymore. My Western education and affiliation of university constitutes me as something of an "outsider within" (Collins, 1986). A status regarding a Javanese-migrant female academic who studies

Banjarese female academics and my Islamic Javanese culture affected my position as well. In order to be a good (successful) female academic Amalia mentioned many times about how to follow the Quranic guideline when having a conversation with her. This occurred when we sat in the chairs provided for students waiting to consult with academics in their offices. The giggles of female students filled the surroundings. I felt damp with sweat as it was a very hot day even with the November rain. I held my *iPhone* tightly, I was afraid that my recording would not work as Amalia's voice echoed in the cheerful arena and mingled with other voices around us in varying tones, and I might not have another time to interview her. This was my time to be grateful as this moment had been very precious to interview her after a long wait. However I thought it was a wrong decision to choose this open place to interview her; it was too noisy, but it was her choice, and her time was limited. After this interview, she had another meeting, she told me. The following excerpt from my conversation with Amalia refers specifically to who she believes a successful female academic might be:

> *The first is, women themselves; they and I should be good.*
>
> *My religion must therefore be maintained to preserve the family honour. In Islam, -I return to Islam-, in fact, when I working out is provoking slander, it is haram (something prohibits in Islam called haram), while I see the political situation (at university) sometimes justifies all means, if they want to get rid of someone, they were playing a household issue, it is cruel.*
>
> *So it was not a success for me (maybe because I am not a political master??). Take care, especially yourself first, Quu anfusakum, قُوا أَنْفُسَكُمْ (She quotes a Quranic verse, means; take care of yourself.)*
>
> *Take care of yourself, then, wa ahlikum, وَأَهْلِيكُمْ (means; then take care of your family) and your family, the family should be fine. I feel sorry for the children today.*
>
> *They are facing exceptional, different from our day, (we have) great possibility to assist them, then we slowly take care tour relatives then to the workplace. Just do it only slowly, which is important to give even so little. Its value is in the sight of God, but more importantly is being sincere.*

At this point in my collaboration with Amalia, I understood clearly that she was exercising a particular kind of power over me. I remembered Bloom (1998) suggested that power exists in research relationships, even in feminist projects, however, it cannot always be negotiated. Amalia's power is "the ability to take one's place in whatever discourse is essential to action and the right to have one's part matter" (Heilbrun, 1988, p. 18). I felt I knew nothing about being a good woman. It was not seen clearly at the beginning that my position is indigenous outsider. As an Indonesian woman researcher, I was an insider creating tension in an interview process. I considered myself an insider interviewing women from Indonesian culture, however, my different seniority and (Western/non-Western)

education identified me as an outsider (Narayan, 1993, pp. 671-672). For Narayan (1993), cultural identity can be parallel occasionally with education, gender and sexual orientation factors. Dwyer and Buckle (2009) emphasize that my identity as researcher in connection to female academics is not fixed and always experience change. I was permitted to interview once I was a person who was known to the woman academics, I assumed I am insider because I work at the same university, that woman academics there would see me as insider. But as a Javanese woman studying for a PhD in a Western country, I was viewed as an outsider to whom exhausted to explain the already obvious things. There is an assumption that those who pursue graduate training in the West are more liberal than those who study in the Middle East. The evidence for this is "circumstantial and anecdotal at best" (Lukens-Bull, 2013, p. 19). Besides my involvement, I remain an outsider. To get the information I want, I had to assume myself that I occupy an outsider position, based on what Amalia told me that (it seems) I did not know much about Islamic teaching. The seniority seemed to contribute to a factor. However, following ethic of voice in feminist research, I had to prioritize Amelia's voice, the woman who shared her experiences to me.

In the moment of meeting Amalia, I realized that the reality of undertaking research with a certain group as an outsider within was much more complex than I had imagined. It became obvious that two opposed positions exist; insider-outsider. However, many authors now deny the insider-outsider dichotomy. Sometimes researchers were in outside position, and some other time they were inside. Hence, rather to take into consideration of "insider" and "outsider" within a dichotomy, is to make the position of the researcher easier in relation to their participants since researchers are rarely one or the other (Hayfield & Huxley, 2015) since Merriam, Johnson-Bailey, Lee, Kee, Ntseane, and Muhamad (2001) claim that insider is not a homogenous group, but insider is on inter-organisational group. Naples (2003) argues that being insider or outsider is not a static position. As Crossley, Arthur and McNess (2015) mention, the definition of both experiences shifts. As also Mendez (2009) explains that the shift happens since people move from one place to other places and experience cultural, national identical differences and create different group member identity. Dwyer and Buckle (2009) offer a notion of the space between that gives opportunity to researcher to take both places of insider and outsider rather than insider only or outsider only. In explaining this notion, Foley et al. (2000) choose the word "halfies" while Bartunek (2008) suggests that outside-insider status is a continuum.

An advantage of being a group member is a greater acceptance (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). Insider researchers will be provided with a high level of trust, openness and access which might not be available for outsiders. Trust, openness and access are affordable in terms of eager to share their stories as they knew that we have a shared status, I am one of them. It creates safety and comfort for

female academics. Being an insider of ISIHEI has given me some access to find my research participants. The intimate relationship has shaped the openness of some female academics to trust their experience and their endurance during hard times to achieve their career development. I saw myself as a partner, a listener, standing in close relationship with all of the female academics. However, this network of friendship took me several years to build in terms of mutual trust and openness. The following interview excerpt from my discussion with Diana, provides a point for discussion around this:

> *It is my pleasure to be interviewed by you, Mufli*

Diana made this comment when I told her that there were some female academics who did not want to participate in my project because it seemed they were afraid of being asked personal domestic stuff. She disagreed with them, stating that even if I asked personal questions for example around domestic life, the female academics should answer as it is purely for research purposes.

Nina, another woman I worked with, also mentioned if I need more her time, I could just text her:

> *Mbak[1], you do not have to meet me again if you have some more questions. Just text me, okay?*

Anni, the longest interview I had, expressed her openness by offering her time to conduct more interview at some other time by saying:

> *I am ready to be interviewed in another time.*
>
> *Do you think my story is enough?*

When I listened closely to my collaborators, I was surprised that we transformed our intellectual work. We shared some of our experience (differences and) similarities. It is generally assumed that being an insider status gets easy access, the opportunity to ask more meaningful questions and understand non-verbal signs, and the most essential is being able to estimate a more honest, indigenous understanding of studied culture.

Silence

I unpacked my position and power as researcher over research participants, as I sought to work collaboratively, collegially and in an egalitarian manner with female academics. I felt the distance when asking Molly about her new life as an academic:

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[1] A salutation for older Indonesian women who are not married yet.

> *Mufli: Do you think there were problems related with academic life?*
>
> *Molly: No, I do not have that, really…really serious problem, just…yet.*
>
> *Mufli: Do you experience heavy teaching load?*
>
> *Molly: I never experience that.*

The conversation with Molly above was an example when female academics answered briefly, which in my opinion, involved an uncertain mixture about whether they should talk about the story of their academic life or not to do so.

Underpinning my skill to interview is also the need for empathy, and to listen carefully. I was really eager to listen to what had happened during their promotion experience, and wished to receive a story from the perpetrator. Still, I experienced a long pause and the sign of reluctance from those female academics, as follows:

> *Mufli: How is your task in your….position in administrative tasks?*
>
> *Molly: Ok,…as a secretary? Ok. I feel it is my responsibility, so I just do it without thinking about…maybe a burden. I do not think it is a burden.*

When I chased up with another question, I was explicitly told that they just could not reveal a story behind their promotion. In this case, I just could not focus on just what they have said, but the things that they did not say. I started to notice what was missed from their story, what they kept away from, and what this might represent. This is the excerpt:

> *Mufli: How is the challenge of working as an academic?*
>
> *Ayu: I think…in the beginning of being academic, I was a single, so it was not hard for me…*
>
> *Mufli: Now our university tends to embrace new managerialism as a part of neoliberalism, everything is measured in an international standard, does it influence your role in the faculty?*
>
> *Ayu: Not really, I…feel it does not…, even though there is online BKD (Beban Kerja Dosen: academic workload), it does not influence my role.*

I became silent as that is the only response I could achieve. It could be argued, as an interviewer, I had no other choice. I should have built (more) harmony with my collaborators so they wanted to tell me freely about the topic which they might feel is painful. I agreed with Ryan-Flood and Gill (2013) that even when I, as a researcher, feel inconvenienced with their silence; it is better for me to be silent as well, rather having an argument with my informants. I also agreed with Pappart (2013) that by remaining silent, I am not just passive to listening to those female academics, but I am actively

involved in meaning construction, namely keeping quiet. I could not separate from what happened in the interview. When dealing with silence and secrecy, I just needed to remain silent myself. Silences are not a hazard to revealing what really had happened; instead, they reveal female academics have their own story. They kept silent as a representation of their anxieties. Silence shows that their story was considered difficult to accept, so they became silent. Moreover Pappart in Ryan-Flood and Gill (2013) argues that silences create power and privilege; if it is breached, it may challenge their self-sense.

I also experienced the same silence when asking Nina about the effect of the fingerprint regulation, which perform twice a day by academics. As a part of the Indonesian bureaucratic reform movement, the current fingerprint scanner technology has been widely used. This technology is implemented to monitor the work discipline of public servants (Yudiatmaja, Samnuzulsari, Alfiandri & Mahdalena, 2018).

> *Mufli: As apart of rigid supervision, how is your life influenced by fingerprint?*

> *Nina: I took the positive effect of fingerprint regulation, my life is now more organised....*

As a researcher, what should I do with such silences and silencings, and how do I resist this in daily practice in a masculinist, dangerous world? It demands a reflexive analysis that acknowledges female academics' own role in telling stories.

Implementing feminist ethics and narrative

I have claimed in this thesis that my project employs feminist ethics in so far as I have as my followed Brennan's (1999) guidelines, that is, feminist ethics is in quest to develop moral theories which acknowledge the experiences of women as moral agents. She adds further that feminist ethics has connected with an ethics of lived, concrete experiences which take most seriously women's experiences of morality. As my work is informed by feminist values, I would like people to hear female academics' stories, especially the stories from non-White women, Indonesian women, and particularly Islamic women, as stories enable people to more fully understand female academics' lived experience in higher education. Such stories of experience could contribute to creating a better and more equitable workplace in Indonesian Islamic higher educational institutions by combating patriarchy and actively involving female academics.

I now turn to explore specific feminist ethics that have informed and I have adopted in this study, namely ethics of care, empathy, trust and mutual dialogic.

An ethics of care

In conducting my project process, first, I engaged with the concept of "ethics of care". I read several definitions by Noddings (1984) and Tronto (1989) who confirmed that care is intense attention paid to someone to avoid damage. As I read their words, I remembered that when I was searching for (feminist) female academics to meet with and tell them about my project, Nina always asked me:

> *Did you contact this/that lady? Who else should I contact to be your interviewees?*

Then she mentioned some female academics' names which met the criteria for being my collaborators. She also offered me help by giving contact information, or female academics' schedules:

> *I knew Dian's classes, but she is coming everyday now as she is appointed to be a Vice Dean, she supposed to be at university every day.*

Or

> *It is hard to contact Jauhariah (the only one female professor), so you may ask a help from a senior female academic to help you contact her.*

I accepted her advice, I followed her guidelines, but I failed to interview Jauhariah anyway.

Another interviewer, Sari, wished me luck for my study at the end of the interview. I was touched by her warm heart. It seemed that she knew that studying PhD overseas was hard, since she herself was doing her PhD in one HEI in Banjarmasin. I felt she gave me kind support:

> *I wish your luck for your study, hope everything is well planned and done, and you will graduate on time, back home and be back with your little family.*

I was crying when she said that; I felt like she was my mom, giving support to her daughter. Indeed she was more senior than me, and I think she was the right person to do that. We said goodbye soon as two female students were waiting for her, they would consult their thesis I guess, even though I felt hesitant to go away, I already felt comfortable with her caring. I remembered what Tronto (1989) argues that in doing a caring task, there is a care giver, which Sari has already done to me, and care receiver, which I just experienced from Sari. Tronto (1989, p. 349) comments more that, building the narrative of female academics needs conversation and listening, that she calls them as "attentiveness to and knowledge of the other's needs." This means, the trait of narrative certainly connects to an ethics of care. For instance, listening to female academics story, and showing the willingness and ability to interpret and understand the words and narratives of them (which I have done to Sari) are activities and a direct expressions of caring. I thought it is simply difficult to understand, caring without the carer understanding the spoken narrative of the other. As narrative skills are inseparable

from caring, an ethics of care must have the resources to receive, and create narrative elements. I also maintained a care relationship with Molly, who also agreed to share her stories with me. I thought, to describe our relationship, I am the one that take position as care giver and Molly is as a care receiver. She was in a position to apply for a scholarship for her overseas PhD degree. She always talks to me starting from how to find the potential supervisors to apply for scholarships. When I am not in Banjarmasin, we make contact by sending messages through a social media. But when I was on a train to Purwokerto, she made a call as it was an urgent matter, she really wanted my instant advice about documents to submit to University of Newcastle. She worried about document translations, about scholarships, about her children when she accepted to study in Australia, and needed a quick response. She also called me through skype, while she was in Banjarmasin and I was in Brisbane, that actually was to test whether her account works because in several hours she was about to communicate with her potential supervisor discussing her project through skype. Her feeling was up and down when waiting for a response, whether a professor is glad to supervisor her, whether her application to University of Newcastle is accepted. She worried about her scholarship application, should she choose LPDP, AAS, Endeavour or MoRA scholarship, and how could she be awarded. I encouraged her to apply for an Australian university scholarship:

> *How is about Newcastle University scholarship? I know it is quite competitive, but you could try, as you have no problem with your English skill (she got IELTS test and achieved required score in one sit). Try to apply all kind of scholarships, never give up even it takes you years, just like my case. Eventually I have got the scholarship after apply, apply, and apply, in 6 year time.*

I tried to answer all her questions, described all opportunities to take but try not to force her when making a choice. I was happy for her when after several months of trying and waiting, she got a letter of acceptance from University of Newcastle. In passing all those moments, we always communicated, I asked her progress, I gave her my experiences, and she reported back what she got, and asked whatever she needs about particular questions. I have declared to Anni that I and Molly are doing mentoring, that was the opportunity that I offered to Anni too, but in the other way: she is being my mentor. We, Anni and I agreed to make the mentoring happen in our university as soon as I finished my study.

An ethic of broad empathy

Second, when applying empathy in my project, I kept and continue to keep in my mind that empathy, the skill to imagine own-self to someone else's position and understand the feeling, perspective and behaviour, should be present whenever I communicated and interacted with my collaborators. Empathy, according to Meyer (2014), should be recognised mutually among individuals. I applied

this ethic of empathy when I interviewed Dian. Let me begin to remember the story. It was cloudy morning around 9 AM when I entered Dian's office room. Her Vice Dean room offers a really superior comfort, but still it is a work area. She has a large table with the cutting edge computer set, equipped with a laser printer. The wall is painted in ivory, like a comfortable living room. The floors are brown thick carpet, the air is cool with the vague scent between jasmine or rose? I am not sure. It has one window, covered with white tassel drapery making the sunshine sneak in and as a source of the lighting. The furniture is large and of modern styling. The sofa features leisure time, lying and I think it is made of the finest leather. She welcomes me by shaking hands and invites me to sit. Early in the interview, the story seemed so flat; she talked about her position in the Ministry of Information in Jakarta before she moved to this university. It was okay telling how she dealt and had argument with male colleagues, even it was an unpleasant experience, but her when story approached about personal life, I felt the tension. Her eyes were red. When she described her husband, her children and being a wife and a mom, she could not control herself anymore. She began to cry and revealed how she coped juggling between career, study and her family commitment. Telling this story created high emotion during the interview. I offered her a tissue, and paused until she was ready to continue…

> *Dian: I was appointed to be a secretary in my department while doing master, and at the same time I took care of my children alone. I have 2 maids as I have already three babies.*
>
> *Mufli: Oh twins, right? ...*
>
> *Dian: My first baby was so little, when I got other younger ones, I was back and forth, (juggling with motherhood, working as an academic and a secretary and studying), while my husband came and gone to Jakarta, and especially when he got 3 month scholarships to Australia. I took care of my children while studying. It indeed hurt me.*
>
> *Mufli: Yeah, tired…*
>
> *Dian: I was tired, and I should be hospitalised as I had less blood, and my Hb (haemoglobin) was only 4. But I had to be healthy, (because I do) everything, being a secretary, husband was not around, my baby was just 3 month old, I cried a lot. But I had to go through everything, I had spirit, then after that I lived, lived it all, and I made programs for my departments.*

I was tight lipped, I did not know what to do for a while, as she spoke, I listened intently, Dian's body was shaking. I was not fully prepared with this conversational interview but all I could do was understanding and tried to put my position on hers. Fortunately, I had a similar story to Dian, so my understanding was not fake, rather it reminded me of my life long time ago when I was a university leader, and then I replied: "I am glad that finally you made it, you survived!"

An ethic of trust

Govier (1992, p. 17) claims that "trust is an attitude based on belief and expectation about what others are likely to do." In my interviews, I and those female academics have built trust. I agreed with Govier (1992) who emphasizes the importance of trust as when I wanted to acquire knowledge about female academics' life, certainly I needed to employ trust with female academics. I could not acquire information about their career development if there was no mutual trust between us. Anni was particularly aware of my interests in women's issues. She told some stories about how her mom sees women's position in society. Anni also shared a story when she was in dilemma: should she chose study abroad with a scholarship that was already in hand, or get married? Anni trusted her secret story that never told to anyone, only her mom who has passed away who knew the story….

Here is the transcript:

> *Anni: I'm really confused, if I ... there is also a ... I've never*
>
> *Mufli: thought?*
>
> *I: told this story (hahaha both) only my mom knows and she had passed away hehehe*
>
> *M: Well this is an honor for me hahahaha*
>
> *I: Yes it goes on like this, before I go to McGill University, there is also a (marriage) proposal by letter*
>
> *M: oh*
>
> *I: Incidentally he is my cousin*
>
> *M: o ...*
>
> *I: Incidentally his last education was high school, but I am not that problem, keep me saying eee ... I do not think married first, because it's heavy choice*
>
> *M: yes*
>
> *I: If we married before leaving for Canada, would he mind to be left alone for two years?*
>
> *M: yes*
>
> *I: yes, if I marry him later, could he wait for me for 2 years?*
>
> *M: better not to…*
>
> *I: It's better not to, if it is true that he proposed me, then I will go home*
>
> *M: yes he'e*

I: And may be the reason is not only that, but also he is my cousin, I already assumed him ...

M: A close cousin?

I: A distant cousin. I already considered him like family, I cannot marry him. And that nobody knows. Except my mom, I did not tell anyone. When I finished study and returned home, he was not married yet".

The way Anni told about her secret personal relationship has made me feel honoured. I thought that Anni and I had developed more trust to our relationship. The experience with Anni confirmed that the reciprocal trust and openness are essential for my feminist research (Bloom, 1998).

Besides Anni, Amalia is another senior female academic who shared trust with me. It was about how she negotiated her position as female academic to be acknowledged and respected by her male colleagues.

Mufli: Do you feel otherness in academia? I mean, do you have enough support in this uni?

Amalia: I struggle a lot…

Mufli: To get support?

Amalia: You know…there are less…less female academics who climb up…[I think she means being promoted]. How many female academics who held doctoral? There some have problems with their husbands…I guess you know them?

Mufli: yeah I know what happen to Maria…[she filed a case to her husband]

Amalia: Some got divorce in the X faculty. That gave bad precedent that if women are smart, it needs struggle, right?

Mufli: exactly

Amalia: People are scared …they have negative thought about us…and we need to prove it that we are in the right path.

Mufli: Do you mean you need to negotiate, show you are a good person so that they can trust you?

Amalia: It needs professional struggle for women…

Mufli: How is about male colleagues, do they treat you well as an academic?

Amalia: I feel no comfortable with them. Some of them look at me…physically. They think we are an odd one…I am no one. But we struggle…and we prove it…now with my doctoral degree, they do not underestimate me anymore.

Slowly I heard that her voice softened, contended with tumultuous classes, not far from where we sat. I felt she was sad with what she just said. I knew it must be very hard for her to retell the story. Her story passed me with a nervous tremor, as I also experienced the same, long…long time ago.

A dialogical ethic

Finally, I agreed with Koehn (1998) that we needed more than care, trust and empathy ethics, and a dialogic ethic is also needed. Discourse of this nature included figuring out how to listen successfully. Feminist morals advised us that listening to others is an ethical practice that is created in and through relations with others. Successful listening required figuring out how to be really mindful to others, and in addition sustaining the ideals of persistence and trust. Amazingly, there has been generally little accentuation on the good and political estimation of viable listening. While there was much consideration paid to talking and having a voice – in legislative issues, and some consideration paid to being listened by others, it was expected that those others will know how to, and be coloured to, listen to those voices (Russell & Kelly, 2002). With regards to care morals, listening is regularly comprehended as an ethical trait that was produced through practice; as such, it was through tending to those with whom we exist in relations of reliance and obligation that we figure out how to listen, comprehend and be mindful to their necessities. So if a dialogic ethic was about listening carefully, I have been listening to all those female academics, not only carefully, but also intentionally. I have developed understanding derived from communicative interview with female academics.

As Russell and Kelly (2002) suggest, the dialogic of research may be enhanced in the interview process. Both proposed that the reciprocal understandings are planted in the conversation, which allows female academics to experience a satisfied feeling. Then Bradley (1995, p. 373) defines conversation as "a proof of connection to other people that provides a sense of coherence in the world". Buber (1970) argues that the dialogic process creates female academics' awareness and it should sustain an I-and-Thou relationship that allows and promotes the humanity of both of us. In seeking a moral equality, the relationship between me and female academics grows, learns, and changes through the research process. In this way, we have created a space that allows each voice to be heard.

In most of the conversation between me and female academics, we agreed on certain things, for instance, with Diana, we agreed that to overcome the low number of female associate professors and professors a quota for female academics should be given. Anni also agreed about the affirmative action, but she and I were aware that quota might create a bias. Rather than creating a quota, Anni preferred to create a mentor program with me.

Mufli: The number of female academics already less than male colleagues, do you think is it better if we have, something like an affirmative action, there will be a pledging quota? As in our political parties we have 30% quota for females? As we see in our civil servant recruitment, male applicants are dominant, I guess for the next stages, women will be left behind?

Diana: It is good to have quota, women's opportunity is wider to fulfil (the quota). Women will be more motivated…women have certain portion, just meet the quota. Women who were in doubt, who were worried to compete with men, will have more the raised spirits.

Mufli: Because they are given an opportunity?

Diana: A wider chance, rather than competing with men, they may feel…ah I may not win, may be….I agree with giving quota.

The opportunity that I had to witness, interpret, and represent women academics' stories certainly is a dialogic process for me. Through research that brought forward the sharing of co-created and re-presented stories, female academics might also gain knowledge, inspiration, and guidance for the transformation of academic practices.

All those stories shared to me is a form of female academics' capacity to articulate and act for specific choices and actions. They are agentic women who take a stance to gain some better life in university.

Conclusion

In the last morning to collect data, when I entered the English department room where Nina leads, I smelt an expensive perfume that I always long for. I guessed it mixed between wild fragrant plants and orange, a classic scent that smells like musky softness; a perfect ingredient combination. The nice smell is about secret fantasy I reckoned (as there is the brand scents, named Magnificent Secretions). The smells leave the secrets of what actually the ingredients are. Later, this kind of scent would explain, probably, about an earthy rawness of secrecy and silence when I collected data, which has been my largest research challenge. This challenge certainly impacted on the way I see myself as "only" a partial insider. The silence is derived from "playful power" exercised by female academics that chose not to share their (specific) stories, because I am (also) an outsider within. Their silence is as one of the strategies to negotiate gender relations, also as empowered agency for women in male-dominant university.

I understood that this research put forward women's experience, so I had to bear in mind that when asking them to tell their stories, my work raised new ethical concerns. Even though I experienced secrecy; some stories were revealed, some were not, still I have tried to apply feminist ethics when collaborating with them. I have tried to understand their special needs in applying care ethics. In certain times I was the one-caring receiver and in other time I was a caregiver. It is an act of

reciprocity that grows empathy, as I held a skill to imagine own-self in relation to female academics' position and how they are feeling. We also exchanged our stories as a manifestation of a trust. Finally we entered into dialogue by sharing tears and joy, and listening carefully, to show how we built feminist solidarity.

All of these experiences reminded me that as feminist research contributes to positive social change, especially as it relates to diverse women's lives, there is no specific method employed, what happens is ultimately grounded in relationship. Besides, feminist research does not use certain methods, I understood that feminist research is conducted in huge historical contexts. As our histories are large, feminist research acknowledges there is no universality in gender experiences beyond race and nationality. All women's experiences are complex; in my case, some Indonesian female academics have a successful story to tell, while some struggled with sad experiences. As a feminist researcher, I have tried to understand better the ways in which differences among women affected what I can claim to know about women as a group in any specific context. I called for approaches that are non-universalistic and open to varying experiences. One of prominence in feminist research is that I wanted to give space, voice and context for female academics to tell and hear each other's stories. As I went home under the November rain, my brain buzzed with excitement about the continuance of feminist research that I will continue to employ to speak back against patriarchal research traditions and ways of researching and empowering women.

Chapter 5

New managerialism
and the state funded Indonesian Islamic higher education system

Introduction

New managerialism is a representative of neoliberal organisation. The practice of its principles has developed hegemonic control to women in management In Indonesian academia. New managerialism has been as the hegemony of Western epistemology and critique representations about women as the "other" in management discourses. My university is located in the context of Indonesian Islamic higher education. I begin this chapter with an overview of Indonesian higher education, including the types and categories, before moving on to consider the ways in which new managerialism is applied in Indonesian Islamic State Higher Education (ISIHE). As a female academic, I have experiences on stages in career development. In this chapter I consider women's career development in Islamic Indonesian universities, particularly how the problems associated with unequal opportunity develop and persist. Through this chapter also, I illustrate how women in Islamic Indonesian higher education define success, as some problems of career development come up, especially when organizational policy, male gaze and otherness contribute to the problem. I also examine their career development under new managerialism application in higher education. I include their low level of academic and leadership achievement.

The types of higher education in Indonesia

Wicaksono and Friawan (2011) inform us that since 1994, the Indonesian President has reinforced that basic education in Indonesia requires completing compulsory schooling for nine years. It consists six years of elementary school and three years of junior secondary school. Secondary education is for three years, divided into general senior secondary school and vocational senior secondary school. After taking senior high school, higher education is the next education level. The Indonesian higher education system consists of academic and professional learning. Motivated by nationalist ambitions to make a strong modern state, the Indonesian government needs to make education one of the key objectives in the Indonesian welfare program. Higher education institution (HEI) is seen as one of the key factors of modernity (Lukens-Bull, 2013). When facing modern challenges, Abdullah (2017) claims Indonesian Islamic education system has owned its strengths. He says it will lead some

international Islamic experts start considering the Indonesian Islamic higher education as a future alternative system education. Especially focuses on religious education, contents and methods to look for innovation and transformation. This is due to the uniqueness of modern in Indonesian education context. It has a unique notion to discuss, because of the combination of culture, religion, and society (Harits, Chudy, Juvoval & Andrysoval, 2016).

From Islamic, for instance, Indonesian education has been influenced decades ago by Islamic boarding School system, called *Pesantren*. *Pesantren* is a form of education which studies religious topics and centered in a specific building where students stay day and night. According to Harits, et al, (2016), besides Islam, Indonesian education system was influenced by colonialism and imperialism as well. At least, these were two European countries contributed in Indonesia development of education, they were Portugal and Netherlands. Those influences have formed unique Indonesian education today, the two different systems of education mentioned below: Islamic and secular. (Harits, et al, 2016). Today, education in Indonesia is administered by MoNE (Ministry of National Education) and MoRA (Ministry of Religious Affairs). These two ministries serve all levels of education from basic education, middle or secondary education, and higher education (Wicaksono & Friawan, 2011).

According to MoNE (2010) there are five types of high education institutions in Indonesia. Higher education programs are in the forms of academy, polytechnic, college, institute, and university. Academy and polytechnic focus on vocational education programs. The rest focus on more comprehensive and allowed to offer all education. For instance college/*Sekolah Tinggi* is a specialized institution focusing on one particular academic discipline, while universities and institutes focus on certain disciplines such as sciences and technologies, arts, or agriculture (Buchori & Malik, 2004 p. 249). In addition, a university consists of several faculties conducting academic and/or professional education in several disciplines. An institute consists of faculties conducting academic and/or professional education in disciplines that align with a set profession. In comparison, a college conducts academic and professional education in one particular discipline. Meanwhile, an academy and a polytechnic are vocational HEIs that provide professional skills and diploma degrees. Academic education is designed at mastering science, technology and research. Professional education is aimed at developing practical skills (MoNE, 2010). Wicaksono and Friawan (2011) add that academic programs in HEI take place through a four-year undergraduate degree (Strata 1- S1), two-year Master's level (Strata 2- S2) and a three-year doctorate program (Strata 3- S3). For a vocational program, it may take one to four-years. Based on their status, the HEIs in Indonesia can be divided into two groups: the public HEIs and the private HEIs (Welch, 2007). Buchori and Malik (2004) claim Indonesian universities are largely promoted by the private sector. From the private sector, in

2018 there are 2455 college institution, 983 academies, 503 universities, 157 polytechnics and 154 institutes. Compared to the public sector, there are 84, 78, 81, 121, 64, respectively (PDDIKTI, 2018).

More recently, the Indonesian government has transformed some private institutions into a number of new public institutions. Some public institutions in the year 2000 also gradually converted the legal status of some public universities into a unit, called BHMN (Badan Hukum Milik Negara). This government regulation gives those universities autonomy and self-governance through its Board of Trustees, including managing its own financial and human resource (Moeliodihardjo, Soemardi, Brodjonegoro & Hatakenaka, 2012).

According to Altbach (1998), private higher education is so powerful in Asia, not only in Indonesia, but also in Japan, Korea and the Philippines (Mok & Welch, 2003). In Indonesia, I see that people tend to choose private institutions since they provide a higher quality of education than the public ones (Welch, 2007). However in Indonesia's case, the balance between public and private higher education has shifted considerably over the past three decades, and the new trend in Indonesia is the balanced position between public and private higher education (Welch, 2007).

If private HEIs are governed under the Foundation and Education System Law, and regarded as the business arm of the foundation, the public HEIs are governed by the state treasury law, education system law and civil servant law. Under these regulations, the public HEIs are dependent to finance their institutions to undertake their mission. They also become less responsible and accountable and produce fewer ideas. In the admissions processes, public HEIs go through the national examination for higher education. Because the quota in public HEIs are limited, future students should compete nationally for a specific field. They may choose two to three prospective programs. Only those with the highest scores are admitted in public HEI. Admission in private HEIs can be seen as less competitive. However, for certain private HEIs having a high reputation, admission to these institutions might be as competitive as it is for public HEIs (Wicaksono & Friawan, 2011).

In terms of finance, Susanti (2011) argues that private institutions have more autonomy and overcoming bureaucracy. This because for some decades, the centralized educational system has created ineffective and irrelevant educational content for the public. They depend on centralized management and provision of education, and have less educational innovation. Ordinary people in general know that Islamic HEI receive less government funding than their secular HEI counterparts (Welch & Syafi'i, 2013). Welch and Syafi'i (2013, p.11) assert:

> "A particular barrier to improving the strength of MORA HEIs in Indonesia is their lower rates of per-student funding, relative to their MOEC (Ministry of Education and Culture) peers, which means that it is harder to attract high-quality staff, and to establish and sustain the libraries and laboratories that underpin a substantial

university, and provide a high-quality learning environment, and a wide range of subject offerings, to students".

Indonesian State Islamic Higher Education Institution (ISIHEI) under MoRA

As I have been working in MoRA since 1999, I know that beside HEI being divided into private and public, the higher education system in Indonesia is also categorised into two categories: the Islamic genre under the Ministry of Religious Affairs, MoRA, both public and private – *Perguruan Tinggi Agama Islam* (PTAI), and the secular stream – *Perguruan Tinggi Umum* (PTU), under the MoNE, both also are public and private (Wicaksono & Friawan, 2011). Islamic higher education presents strongly in Indonesia. According to Lukens-Bull (2013) Indonesian Islamic higher education (IIHE) generally reflects Muslim values and culture, and has been situated in Muslim intellectual and culture since the mid-nineteenth century. As such, Islamic higher education in Indonesia plays important roles in the future of Islam in my country. This is because IIHE has approximately 18 percent of total higher education which attracts students from various Islamic backgrounds. As mentioned before, Islamic higher education category is under the MoRA (Wicaksono & Friawan, 2011). The MoRA was established in 1945, and takes care of the state institutions such as UIN, IAIN and STAIN (MoRA, 2010) and non-state institutions. All institutions under MoRA conduct three principles of teaching, research and community service known as *Tri Dharma Perguruan Tinggi*. According Buchori and Malik (2004) the most important IIHE is Islamic Higher Learning (*Institute Agama Islam*) which is the highest level of the educational sequence.

However, in terms of quality, particularly in regard to private Islamic universities, IISIHE is still considered inferior to secular universities (Rasyid, Orrell & Conway, 2016). The problem is not only in educational quality that is challenged in Islamic universities, but also in research for improvement and strategic change. There is limited published research on the Islamic Indonesian higher education context. Kinoshita (2009) finds that there is less research on Islamic higher education. In line with Kinoshita, Welch (2012) finds that the Islamic higher education profile in Southeast Asia is not well represented in the world of higher education.

State Islamic universities in Indonesia are under the responsibility of the Director of Islamic Higher Education (DoIHE) of the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MoRA). Beside education, MoRA also has responsibilities of society guidance for all religions in Indonesia. The ministry is led by a minister of Religious Affairs and its central office is located in capital of Indonesia, Jakarta. Indonesian State Islamic higher education/ISIHE is categorized as:

1. State Islamic University (Universitas Islam Negeri, UIN)
2. State Islamic Institute (Institut Agama Islam Negeri, IAIN) and

3. State Islamic College (Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Negeri, STAIN) (Diktis, 2015).

According to Luckens-Bull (2013) the difference between university, institute and college in this case can be described as: a university has faculties and study areas which are non-"Islamic" sciences such as Medical, Psychology, Pharmacy, Nursing, Public Health as well as Islamic study, while an institute only has Islamic study areas it is broader than a college. In other words, universities have varieties of Islamic and-non Islamic studies, colleges and institutes have Islamic studies only but institutes have more departments than colleges. Colleges only have one study area.

The difference between *university*, institute and college in ISIHE I can describe as: a university has faculty and study areas which are non-"Islamic" such as Medical, Psychology, Pharmacy, as well as Islamic study, while *institute* only has Islamic study area but it is broader than college. In other words, a university has varieties of Islamic and-non Islamic studies, a college and an institute have Islamic studies only but an institute has more departments than a college. *College*: only has one study area. Currently ISIHEI, which are led under MoRA, consist of 37 STAIN/Colleges, 47 IAIN/Institutes and 17 Universities/UIN which are spread in any provinces in Indonesia (PDDIKTI, 2018). Admissions for UIN, IAIN and STAIN in my country can be done through the National Selection of State Universities (SNMPTN), Selection Admissions College of Islamic Studies (SNCA-PTAIN), which both are online and the Independent Line which is governed by the local colleges (Kraince, 2007).

ISIHEI under new managerialism

I witness in 2000 that ISIHEI had to strive for and compete with the other universities in the global world because there is more intensified global demands and challenges toward education in Indonesia. In Indonesian Islamic higher education contexts, the emergence of policy to transform institutes into universities (Luckens-Bull, 2013) cannot be separated from efforts to respond to trends in the market. The institutional status of IAIN/STAIN was deemed too conservative to accommodate the development, needs and expectations of stakeholders (Azra, 2008). Institutional change of IAIN/STAINs (State Colleges or Institutions) to becoming UINs (State Universities) is a strategic step in order to achieve the ideals of Islamic higher education within a changing global community.

Previously, ISIHEI only used traditional Islamic curriculum reflected in the faculty of Islamic philosophy (*Usul al Din*), Islamic law (*Syaria*), Islamic Community Service (*Dakwa*) letters and Islamic civilisation (*Adab*) and Islamic education (*Tarbiya*). Later, ISIHEI adopted a wider secular curriculum, for instance, mathematics, engineering, medicine and others. Those institutions then upgraded from STAIN and IAIN into UIN and have an interdisciplinary approach to combine the study of Islam as knowledge and religion (MoRA, 2010, p. 1).

As stated earlier by Lukens-Bull (2013) the upgrade, according to Welch and Syafi'i (2013), is to increase people's access to Islamic higher education. Achieving the aim, ISIHEI need to enhance the quality competitiveness and relevance to the need of society by combining job market with science and technology. Welch and Syafi'i (2013) find that graduates from MoRA HEI also experience more limited employment expectancy. Thus, the upgrade might be a solution, claiming that students from HEI should be provided with science and technology.

The policy of the government to change the status of the institution IAIN *Syarif Hidayatullah* Jakarta to UIN *Syarif Hidayatullah* Jakarta was launched in 2002 as the pioneer. Institutional change was followed by other IAINs/STAINs in 2004 such as IAIN *Sunan Kalidjaga* Yogyakarta, STAIN Malang, IAIN *Sunan Gunung Jati* Bandung, IAIN Sultan *Alauddin* Makassar, and IAIN *Sultan Syarif Kasim* Riau. Some IAINs receive the change to UIN status in 2018.

MoRA, as the ministry responsible for the aim, started to review the management. In implementing the change, Islamic higher education is reforming to design and to increase government efficiency, especially in the public service, and to minimize the state sector. Moreover, according to Rosser (2016), Indonesian universities need to construct a model of higher education that simultaneously fits with the reigning political establishment and produces better research and teaching outcomes than the present model. ISIHEI employs New Managerialism. Deem (1998, p. 47) refers to new managerialism as "the adoption by public sector organisations of organisational forms, technologies, management practices and values more commonly found in the private business sector." New managerialism is associated with management, performance appraisal such as the use of performance indicators and league tables, target-setting, benchmarking and efficiency (Power, 1997). More importantly, new managerialism creates competitive workers, public services privatization, and staff evaluation to measure performance. Moreover, there is an effort to change workers within the public sector, similar to those who are in the private sector. New managerialism represents a way to attempt for large money businesses, onto public sector and voluntary organisations (Deem, 1998). Lakes and Charter (2011) find that the final aim of neoliberal supporters is to alter the educational system into markets, and to privatize services for education.

ISIHEI have responded favourably to the changes to implement private sector values in public universities. Marketization and professionalism are two new managerialism concepts which have exerted considerable influence upon the public (Said, Muhammad, & Elangkovan, 2014). According to Said et al. (2014), marketization is a core element in the philosophy of management. Islamic higher educational organisations under market orientation well understand how to pursue benefits and value for their outcomes. Leaders in Islamic universities are aware of how the market encourages

universities to focus upon customer satisfaction; this reorients the nature of professionalism that is exercised, which becomes much more focused upon responding to customer demands. In terms of professionalism, new managerialism changes the function of lecturers to administrative staff and does not regard them as academics (Deem, 2003). Said et al. (2014) explain that managing Islamic educational institutions is about managing business organisations. Marketization and professionalism have had a huge impact on changing higher education organisations into business institutions. Susanti (2011) states that marketization of Indonesian higher education offers profits and challenges as well. In line with neoliberalism policy, marketization is designed to fulfil the demands of customers.

Managerial and market-oriented forms of professionalism are evident in the push to audit the way lecturers teach. As Ball (2015) notes, in universities lecturers must now respond to a myriad of indicators, indexes and measurements, and leaders make decisions based on information generated from these technologies. Deem (2003) emphasises that new managerialism has the potential to change culture and organisational form in universities, especially public institutions. New managerialism also challenges professional autonomy. Olssen and Peters (2005) confirm that managerial reforms have restructured the identity of professionals. Deem (2001) refers to this condition as "academic capitalism"; that is, changes made in higher education which lead especially to a change in the nature of academics' work. As new managerialism increases productivity, the new managerialism has potential to change different priorities of research and teaching. Also, it focuses on a culture of performance audit, wherein administrative tasks become a burden. This shift, according to Kolsaker (2008), may lead to a feeling of deprofessionalisation among academics. Susanti (2011) claims the condition as "Indonesian academics are under fire" while Gaus and Hall (2015) refer to neoliberal governance in Indonesia as having (negatively) impacted upon academic identity.

Academic staff in the Indonesian State Islamic higher education sector have been under great pressure to achieve their career development and I now turn to consider the impacts of new managerialism on the career pathways of academic women Islamic universities.

Female academics' career development under new managerialism

Deem (2003) finds that management of higher education in the UK is gendered. Ross-Smith and Huppatz (2010) support Deem's claim by saying that management is masculine since mostly men occupy upper management level, looking at the facts that women have more and more represent the rank. Moreover, in the case of new managerialism Collinson and Hearn (1996) maintain that it privileges males, and Blackmore (2002) claims new managerialism is not gender neutral. Blackmore disagrees with Harris, Ravenswood and Myers' (2013) finding that the meritocracy code has allowed women access to new higher opportunities. In management in educational settings, mostly, the

common assumption is that management is occupied by males, about males and for males whilst women are excluded as role-players (Deem, 2003). Peterson (2015) says that we need to understand how far management has changed to reflect the new reality of work. She says we need to pay close attention to gender construction in management, so it will provide insight into the way in which a particular reality is constructed, thus shaping perceptions of reality (Kelan 2008). Recently, postcolonial studies have turned attention to the study of management (Ozkazanc-Pan, 2008) and considered issues of gender. For example, Calas and Smircich (1992) discuss the silencing of Hispanic woman in the area of management while Prasad (2003) employs the frameworks of postcolonial theory to question whether modern Western colonialism has important implications for the practices and theories that inform management and organizations. Together these studies highlight how Western epistemology dominates management knowledge on non-Western management practices.

More importantly, the employment of new managerialism in non-Western countries, according to Ozkazanc-Pan (2008), is universalizing and non-reflexive. New managerialism is a representative of neoliberal organisation and its practice has achieved hegemonic control to women in management. Ultimately, postcolonial feminism draws attention to the hegemony of Western epistemology and critique representations about women as the "other" in management discourses. In effect, postcolonial experts demonstrate that, by making claims on behalf of the native (Ozkazanc-Pan, 2008), new managerialism knowledge is inappropriate to the native. Within the context of globalization, the international management is needed to contribute to local management knowledge available worldwide that can wipe the "West's epistemological and methodological terms" (Ozkazanc-Pan, 2008, p. 965).

Similarly, in higher educational settings, women in postcolonial countries experience structural and colonial policies that exclude them from various opportunities (Oforiwaa & Afful-Broni, 2014). Such colonial policies legalize social and institutional roles in which women are not given the opportunity to pursue their higher education or to take positions as leaders; these roles are given to men. This application of colonial legacy has real impacts on equal opportunity based on gender. Further, Oforiwa and Afful-Broni (2014) claim that in colonial ways of thinking about gender, women's function and roles are restricted to care for and protect society, and this has an impact on opportunities to continue career development.

Hickling-Hudson (2006) discusses how higher education is still a place of colonization. She argues that post-colonialism has a dimension of pedagogy since educators need to terminate objectification and teach it to the next. As educators in universities, female academics and other stakeholders need

to be mindful of our Indonesian history and our history of Dutch oppression, and have the intention to change the oppression. In the decades of 1600-1900, Indonesia was colonised by the Dutch and experienced a politic of "devide et impera." It is politic that combines politic, military, and economy aims to sustain power by classifying people based on certain class and into small groups that are more easily conquered. Indonesians suffered ignorance, darkness and a huge discrepancy in social classes in terms of education, culture and economy (Ricklefs, 2008). The action of impoverishment occurred not only by stealing all natural resources but also undermining Indonesian human resources.

Indonesian people today still experience the colonial inheritance such as not treating people equally and find it hard to move forward. It was an extremely slow process to return Indonesia to reach their own culture, which is free from Dutch influence. For instance, in the colonial era, women who reached puberty were not allowed to go to school, and went into seclusion. In the case of Kartini, an Indonesian early feminist, she experienced seclusion before her marriage. The similar situation, but a little bit different, happens in today's life (Sears, 1996). For instance, in ISHE, women have no equal opportunity to pursue positions as leaders, as mostly men have it.

The practice of career development focuses both on promoting people's career progression and personal choices for meaningful pursuits and occupations. It is about helping individuals achieve their potential. Career development aims to help individuals to be successful in their life. However, the meaning of success is contested. Success in academia for women, according to Hoskins (2013), is relative, such as having a balanced life among career, family and friends; the maintenance of this balance is seen as a crucial part of this success. Based on her research Hoskins (2010) additionally found that success was understood as involving women faculty achieving higher ranks in standard academic roles (from Lecturer to Senior Lecturer to Associate Professor, and Professor) and in relation to formal leadership positions. The latter could include management positions such as Rectors, Deans, Vice-Deans, and Heads of Department (Reybold & Alamia, 2008).

What are transitions?

Female academics' career development can be seen when they started as a junior academic, then experienced transition into a higher position in education institution (Reybold & Alamia, 2008). For women faculty, the transition is a dynamic journey categorised by several transitions including moving up through promotional ranks. This transition for some female academics is crucial as a sign of professional growth and can be seen as an opportunity to transform their practice. As confirmed by Reybold and Alamia (2008), the journey in academia is fluid and not static. People are not automatically appointed academics when they accept their first positions. Rather, they continue this

process of flattering people's appearance as they climb up through their careers. Academic work is characterized by mobility within and between universities.

From their research it is found that female academics who already hold their PhD experience their career development differently from the ones who have not yet achieved this. The more important finding is Reybold and Alamia (2008) who state that female academic's life is gendered, therefore, it is crucial to focus on women's experiences in academia. Female academics experience tangible sexism and discrimination in a climate which is chilly and alienating.

Levit (2000, p. 784) labels these conditions as domestication of female academics and the politics of housework as female academics do invisible work, which she refers as:

> Student advising, attending student community function hosting or participating in colloquium series, reviewing manuscripts for colleagues, and serving on law school, university, and public service committees. Some of these tasks may be slightly more than the academic equivalent of making coffee, but in some cases, not much more.

The climate adds more stress to female academics when they negotiate tenure, promotion, and other career events. Similarly, Terosky, O'Meara, and Campbell (2014) argue progress in advancing women to the associate professoriate has been complicated and slow, and experience the leaky pipeline. They add that advancement from Associate to full Professor remains too low in comparison with the opposite sex. Complicated and slow is clearly explained by Glazer-Raymo (1999) who wonders that in spite of the fact that higher education has increased the number of women to be appointed as academics, many female academics remain "stuck in the middle" at Associate Professor or even lower rank and discover constraints to advancement which are challenges to solve.

In response to Glazer-Raymo's explanation above, however, Reybold (2005) argues transitions in an academic career often link with professional anxiety. She sees the conflict itself is not purely negative and that conflict perhaps is important for professional development. She claims it as "providing the impetus for professional insight and constructive change" (p. 109). Moreover, she values the potential for conflict to contribute to positive change. Reybold (2005) maintains that during their early career, female academics initially have been prepared to become more resilient, characterized as vigorous and less showing a response to a stimulus to external circumstances. This evolution of faculty identity occurred both in terms of professional maturation and transformation.

What is success?

If female academics have succeeded in passing the difficult time in their early career appointment, such as achieving tenure, they celebrate it. After all promotion, then they deserve to define what

success is for themselves. This is in line with Hoskin (2010) who defines success as a complex concept, because mostly women's careers are likely to be limited by family factors (Valcour & Ladge, 2008). The stress created between work and family may require a form of identity balancing position, however at the same time they enjoy their present in male class activities where they become a minority. Most female academics feel uncomfortable and feel out of place as well, when they are in position as outsiders within or insiders-out (Collins, 1986). Therefore, their success definition may not follow the general rule definition.

Generally, success is defined by the representation of objective feature of career reward including increased pay salary, appointment, promotion and status. So 'success definition' for female academics might mean achieving high status or a promotion-based goal. Female academics hold objective constructions of success, granted by universities.

However for some female academics, success is about recognition and being valued. Success also means having a balanced life and as such, family and friends are integral to them and time spent with them is an important part of their success. Similarly, family factors that hinders extensive commitment of time and energy to work, reduce from objective career success (Valcour & Ladge, 2008). There are some contrast meanings of female academics' success in higher education.

Hoskins (2010, p. 137) finds in her research that a female academic defines her success is like this:

> Objectively I am a success. On paper. Anyone who looks at me would say that I'm a successful woman. I am successful in my career because I have reached a very senior level. My salary reflects that. I am successful in terms of what it means to be an academic because I tick the boxes; I publish, I do research, I have research students. So I am objectively speaking a success story. But, subjectively, the price has been very high... Subjectively within myself I recognise success for what it is and it's a hollow crown so I don't get hung up about it.

Female academics understand their own objective success by saying that they have fulfilled all the requirements to complete all the steps in an academic process in an orderly manner. They clearly define academic success is publishing and researching, however, they experience having mixed feelings or contradictory ideas about success. They might experience having a higher opinion of success than is deserved.

According to Valcour and Ladge (2008), the subjective career success results reflect a combination of academic and traditional career logics. It is possible that being able to have both a career and a family definitely contributes to women's feelings of career success. Hoskins (2010) adds that a female academic's understanding of her career success is dilemmatic as it is full of complex identity negotiations. The negotiations are hard to accomplish. Similarly, female academics who prioritise

pastoral care would define themselves a success when they focus on student progression, which will build personal pleasure. They experience success in relation to their ability to support their students and claim "I see success in my students doing well… That's a feeling of my success". This expression of success derives from the wish to help "those students in whom we see ourselves."

Problems in career development

Transition experienced by female academics can be traumatic and a painful experience because of certain organisational politics existing in universities (Reybold & Alamia, 2008). Luke (2000) finds that in undertaking their work, women faculty experience heavier teaching loads than their male counterparts. Women also lack professional preparation and development. In Asian universities, especially under managerial reforms (RuChen, 2008) and marketization (Susanti, 2011), studies on women faculty's career advancement show that women are disadvantaged in promotion because of the challenge of balancing professional and family life. They do not have time to conduct research as female academics because they have more family responsibilities (Major, Klein, & Ehrhart, 2002). As a consequence, women faculty reported having fewer opportunities to publish. This disadvantages female academics, especially when publication is critical for promotion, and research publication is over-emphasised in promotion criteria (Oforiwaa & Afful-Broni, 2014). Similarly, Luke (2002) states that in some Asian public research universities, research productivity and publication are very important for promotion but studies demonstrate that women encounter a greater challenge than men to maintain their research productivity because they have to fulfil their domestic duties. Thus, women take more time to get promoted to senior positions (Luke, 2000). 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 (Lynch, Grummell, & Devine, 2012).

Some studies find institutional and individual factors influence female academics' slower progression (Acker, 1992; Bagilhole & Goode, 2001). The studies argue from critical feminist perspective, saying that societal and institutional structures of power slow down women's advancement, especially when managerialism of American higher education is introduced (Deem, 2003). Valian (1998) finds that female academics face problems of managerial structures that uphold gender norms and schemas, while according to Glazer-Raymo, (2008), they face segregated work roles, and patterns of dominant male power. Those problems contribute female academics to the historically undervalued in domestic functions of academic work. The work includes teaching, advising, free servicing, doing lower level administrative tasks. Because a professor's career trajectory is shaped more by the "sheer number of publications" and grants (RuChen, 2008) than by their contributions in other areas, women academics find themselves in vulnerable positions in regard to career advancement because they have performed

unequal higher workloads in those works mentioned. Female academics have access to academia and being professors, however gendered expectations within the promotion process for publication productivity is having an incorrect position with the workload they face.

Organisational policy

In this study, organisational policy is one factor which contributes to female academics' career development. In some organisation, according to Glazer-Raymo (1999) organisational policy on career development is not clear and Acker (1990) adds that organisational policy is gendered.

In those organisations, promotion is based on trust more than performance (Glazer-Raymo, 1999). Where promotions are more likely to be based on "trust" than on performance, Glazer and Raymo (1999, p. 150) find that women who lack support experience getting "stuck" when they come close to holding senior positions in the administrative and academic hierarchy. Women are mostly not included in gaining access to relevant information or decision-making networks within the organisation. Promotion based on trust means that there are conflicts in promotion as a result of perceived unfair treatment, doubts about the promotion system, including on the basis of class, gender and in some cases race, and religious orientation (Hoskins, 2010; Trappl, 2009). Harris, Ravenswood, and Myers (2013) reveal that promotion procedures in universities may be undertaken secretly and without adequate transparency; this raises questions about how promotion works. This includes the rules and regulations of promotions. Fox and Colatrella (2006) argue that the criteria for promotion in universities which are not clear are a major hindrance for women, as these institutional practices are masculine in orientation, and purely based on merit (Harris et al., 2013). Further, Griffin, Bennett, and Harris (2013) explain merit in universities is based primarily on academics' performance which is determined by a scholar's research productivity. Research and advancement which is based on merit in academy is evaluated by the dominant group. At universities, where mostly men are dominant, assessments of merit promotion decisions for women are often subjective and arbitrary (Delgado, 1989).

A study on women's career advancement in Indonesian universities by Murniati (2012), demonstrated that organisational culture affects their promotion practices. It is crucial to examine how female academics navigate the promotion process. Broader cultural characteristics influence women's chances of success in promotion. Indonesia, where Islam is a majority, is a more moderate Islamic country than other Islamic countries worldwide. Rinaldo (2013) explains that Indonesian women express enjoyment in the public sphere more openly than is the case for women in less moderate countries. However, it raises questions about why in academia women are still lacking the opportunity for promotion? Stereotypical perceptions and conservative societal values towards women still serve

as constraints in Indonesian higher education, particularly in relation to women faculty who desire to become leaders. In navigating the promotion process, they negotiate the tension between organisational cultural values regarding women's identity and their career aspirations (Murniati, 2012). This is confirmed by Priyatna (2013) who suggests that Indonesian women mostly are constrained by local cultures, such as those associated with being Javanese and Sundanese. In her research, women were juggling higher education, work and domestic roles. In Java, women were restricted in what they could achieve because they were seen as primarily responsible for the household; this made it hard for them to provide the time and energy to devote to a full professional life (Lindawati & Smark, 2010).

Similarly, Acker (1990) argues that organisational structures are gendered processes which are not neutral, and therefore different opportunities are available for male and female workers. In terms of workplace relations, Acker also argues that there is exploitation and control, and this is patterned through a distinction between male and female employees. In addition, there is an assumption that only men can obey and comply with organisational rules since they have no obligation to and for family and reproduction. Problematically, Sauers, Kennedy and O'Sullivan (2002) reveal that women usually are not seen as ideal organisational participants or are perceived as ineffective workers. Hence, according to the gender and organisation perspective, women are underrepresented and underutilised because of structural barriers in these organisations. Policy based on "merit," and some unconscious attitudes towards work organisation and the value of work performed by men and women, hinder promotion (Harris, Ravenswood & Myers, 2013).

Women in higher education also experience the "glass ceiling," a phrase referring to a set of barriers to career advancement for women (Jarmon, 2014). The effects of the glass ceiling in higher education are evident in the form of disproportionate underrepresentation, disparities in compensation, rank, and position and lack of implementation of support efforts (Jackson & O'Callaghan, 2009). Eddy and Ward (2015) claim that structures in higher education organisations have permitted the marginalisation of women and have given the impression that the roles of women in higher education are based on gender. Even though workplaces have changed, it does not mean that hierarchical and bureaucratic structures do not operate in higher education to marginalise women. The system in higher education is biased towards the application of gendered roles. As Acker (2006) noted, gender inequalities appear in higher education when top level positions are occupied by males only. Moreover, Acker explains higher education as an organisation is gendered. Even though there are varying kinds of universities, Acker (2006) claims that all higher education institutions have these following criteria: first, there is distinctive job division between men and women faculty; higher education institutions have clear symbols and images that reinforce this job division; gendered

segregation also operates in university in terms of job division, including men as the tasks performer, while women are emotional supporters, and gendering applies for individuals in university, gendering also applies in job measurement and management.

In my university, organisational policy that is currently implemented is New Managerialism. Deem (1998) explicitly mentions that new managerialism impacts on daily organization, and it is associated with masculinity effect. Deem (1998) adds that if new managerialism exists in universities, it will create more of a burden for university members, especially when managerial control and professional convention meet. Connell (2000) suggests that new capitalist academy has provided global masculinity, and only people who have care-less tasks can afford it. As women, usually do taking care more than men, they do not have capabilities to perform satisfyingly in new managerialism (Lynch, 2010). In terms of taking care task, how the care ceiling operates is important for understanding why women do not occupy senior managerial positions within new managerial regimes in higher education. (Grummell, Devine & Lynch, 2009). This also happens to women academics in Indonesian higher education. It is believed that woman without any other tasks outside work is regarded as the ideal worker.

Female academics, who normally have more administration tasks than males (Deem, 2003), are affected by long hours staying at universities. In the Indonesian context, similarly, Gaus and Hall (2016) find that Indonesian female academics experience difficulty in conducting academic activities as they have many administrative tasks to perform and yet the most valued task as an academic is teaching and expanding knowledge.

As a consequence of large administrative workloads, Indonesian women faculty have less time to prepare work for presentation, teaching and publication. Women faculty in Gaus and Hall's (2016) findings claim that their responsibilities for teaching, research and service are already high, and by undertaking many administrative tasks, they experience intense work dissatisfaction, knowing that their workload is potentially detrimental to their careers. Moreover, Gaus and Hall (2016) find that in discussion about the work they are required to undertake, female academics are under threat from the Director of General Higher Education (DGHE), whereby there is punishment if they do not perform specific tasks. Further, in doing the tasks, there are too many interventions from the DGHE. These factors combined do not improve women faculty's work productivity or satisfaction. Gaus and Hall (2016, p. 676) add that older women academics who experience illness and are close to retirement, suffer more from conducting their activities.

Current changes in higher education have strengthened the link between research and promotion and it is believed to disadvantage women academics. This is explained that there are few females in the faculty and they start lecturing much time later after male colleagues.

Kanter in Yukongdi and Benson (2005) claims the organization structure perspective is based on the premise that organization structures shape women's behaviour on the job. According to Kanter, there are "advantageous" and "disadvantageous" job situations. Advantageous positions, which offer job incumbents power and opportunities, are held by individuals whose gender is in the majority (that is, males). Disadvantageous positions, on the other hand, offer job occupants little power and fewer opportunities, and are held by individuals whose social category is few in number (that is, females). Individuals in advantageous positions develop attitudes and behaviour that help them to accelerate, while those in disadvantageous positions develop attitudes and behaviour that reflect and justify their job situations, which offer limited advancement. According to this perspective, it is argued that the differences between men and women in their attitudes and behaviour are due to the differences in the opportunity and power structures in organizations (Yukongdi & Benson, 2005, p. 142).

A research study on women's participation rates in higher education finds that women are unlikely to become research active (White, 2003). Women faculty participation rates in Australian higher education reveals why women are 'passive researchers' (White, 2001, pp. 67-68). Given their high participation rates at below lecturer and lecturer level, many have a greater workload for teaching and administration and less opportunities to undertake research. The increasing casual work in the higher education workforce further contributes negatively to the academic women's career development, and the globalisation adds more pressures on women in higher education. Lipton and Mackinlay (2017, p. 7) find that Australian female academics under neoliberal management is, 'Yet women's contribution continue to go misrecognised or unrecognised, judged against male norms and practices, making it difficult for women to gain promotion to senior academic and leadership positions'.

Indonesia experiences the same. Research by Gaus and Hall (2016) which was conducted in Indonesia, finds that female academics experience difficulties in the era of new managerialism application. Indonesian academics are asked to publish journals with international standard means and it should be published in an international journal. It is written in English language which is very hard for non-native English speakers. One female academic says that English has been a hazard for academics to publish their research results, as noted by one female academic from the University of Melati: "… and English has been used as an international standard. For me this is also unfair. But what else we can do. English has been accepted internationally" (Gaus & Hall, 2016, p. 138).

Male gaze and otherness in academia

The concept of the male gaze is central to portray women's underrepresentation in academia and was introduced by scholar and filmmaker Laura Mulvey (1989) in her book *Visual and other pleasures. Language, Discourse, Society*. Mulvey (1989, p. 19) suggests that the "male gaze," or she describes it the "heterosexual, masculine" gaze refers to the sexual politics of the gaze; "women in their traditional exhibitionist role, are simultaneously looked at and displayed, with their appearance coded for strong visual and erotic impact so that they can be said to connote *to-be-looked-at-ness"* and suggests a sexualised way of looking that empowers men and objectifies women. In the male gaze, woman is related to seeing or sight positioned as an object of heterosexual male desire (Mulvey, 1989). Women's feelings and thoughts are ignored as theirs are being compiled by "male desire" (Mulvey, 1989, p. 19). Mulvey understands that the sexual pleasure involved in looking and women can still be objectified and sexualised despite keeping her body covered. As Mulvey (1989) argues that most popular gaze is in ways to satisfy masculine fantasies.

Male gaze also means the way men look at women and women have to watch themselves being looked at. Male tend to sexualise women as Mulvey writes, women are characterised by their "to-be-looked-at-ness." Woman is "spectacle," and man is "the bearer of the look" (Mulvey, 1989, p. 19). Bordo (1992, p. 164) adds that "when we give expression in academic settings to those aspects of our identity placed in marginality, seems women seen as a 'spectacle'". Walkerdine (1990, p. 134) supports in her research that "women are produced to be feminine as the opposite to masculine rationality confirming that women are always be with poor performance, even when the girl or woman in question is performing well." Consequently, men occupy greater positions of power and authority, not because of their outstanding individual abilities or talents, but simply because they are representatives of the powerful group. In academia, male colleagues with fewer publications and qualifications had been promoted instead of female academics.

When reading Mulvey's book (1989) it is possible to cross over through the Lacanian theory, written extensively by authors about the depiction of male and female bodies (Bordo, 1999; Irigaray, 1985; Kristeva, 1982). Mulvey's work (1989) is a key example of theories of "the look" of others for there are multiple ways to read texts, the meaning of "the gaze" varies by culture, gender, race, sexuality, and so forth, and the notion that patriarchal society structures images. Previously, Simone de Beauvoir (1974, xviii), in *The second sex* argues, being looked at may have extremely different meanings—it may range from admiration, to threatening. Also being looked at, according to her, in a manner that one cannot equally return is objectifying. de Beauvoir says that "look of mutually validating reciprocity." Similarly, turning to postcolonial feminism, Mohanty (2003a) asserts that the

way Western (men and) women look at non-Western women creates the later as "other" because the lack of understanding of diversity of non-Western women. That look gives this non-Western group a feeling of "otherness" and creates an "us and them" way of thinking and acting. The women who also are labelled as "Third World women" are represented as the "Other" to Western women.

Based on my own experiences, male gaze exists in academia. I look at Fotaki (2013) who claims that because woman was represented as the opposite "other" of the male and was defined in relation to the same, which was tacitly assumed to be masculine, the male (phallocentric) discourse is considered as universal to all. In male-dominated organizations, women's emotionality and physicality are located in binary opposition to men's rationality. As a consequence Fotaki (2013) claims women's continued marginalization in academe. She uses feminist approaches to language and body, which are useful for exploring gender in academia and for understanding knowledge production. She uses Irigaray's idea of the un-symbolised woman, and Kristeva on her construction as an abject other and "matter." According to Fotaki (2013), both Irigaray and Kristeva's idea are brilliant to understand the position of women who have no place in academia. Both ideas are principal to academic knowledge creation and for exploring women's under-representation and their subordinate position in academe. This discussion of male gaze is relevant to my study as those above ideas inform us of the recent condition of women in academia, both are in academic level and leadership.

Female academics' academic level and leadership in Indonesian higher education.

In the Indonesian context, career development for academics is evaluated through the three pillars of academic activities mentioned earlier, namely teaching, research, and community service called *Tri Dharma Perguruan Tinggi* (Three Main Duties of Higher Education). There are other activities called supporting activities (*kegiatan penunjang*) which are added to the three pillars but they are not compulsory. Results of these activities are used as a basis for academic level promotion. All academic staff members are expected to meet these standards during their career. Academic members who do not meet these criteria may be rejected for promotion, whether in the form of advancement of academic rank and/or leadership positions.

Kholis (2012) finds that in Indonesian State Islamic Higher Education Institutions (ISIHEIs), men occupy higher academic ranks and leadership positions than women. He also finds that female academics have fewer publications and earn significantly less than males. Female academics experience heavier teaching loads, but less thesis supervision, have fewer research grants, and fewer committee appointments. In terms of academic level as Professor, Kholis (2012) finds women are still underrepresented in Indonesian academia. It is estimated that women represent only about 3% of

full professors in the 133 ISIHEIs in Indonesia (MoRA, 2003). The representation of women across academic levels such as Associate Professor, Senior Lecturer and Lecturer is lower than that of men.

In terms of leadership positions, Kholis (2012) argues none of the rector positions in 133 ISIHEIs are held by a woman (MoRA, 2008). Kholis' (2014) analysis reveals that no woman has been appointed as rector in the MoRA groups in the last fifteen years. However, in the MoRA universities, a few women have reached vice rector positions (around 6% in 2006 to 2010). Furthermore, the percentage of women in middle leadership positions doubled in the space of a decade. Despite an increase in women holding leadership positions within ten years, it seems that the higher the leadership position, the lower the representation of women (MoEC, 2008).

Murniati (2012) finds no female rectors, 25% female vice rectors, 11.1% female deans, and 21.7% female vice deans. While the existing Indonesian-based data is valuable, expanded data are needed in order to gain more comprehensive information on the status of women in Indonesian academia as compared to men, and more detailed accounts of women's experiences. In my university, in the year 2018, only one female has gained a professor level. One female is appointed as Vice Rector. Some departments are led by female, however in faculty level, males are dominant. Despite the fact that the ISHEs in Indonesia apply the same regulations for the recruitment, selection, and appointment of staff, the effects are different for women and men. Similarly, the United Nations Development Programme (2010) reports that in management positions, although the number of women employed in the public sector, such as universities in Indonesia, has reached 45.5%, only 9% have succeeded in reaching the highest echelons; the majority occupy lower echelons. Gender schema may operate to consistently favour men at the expense of women applicants (Valian, 1998, 1999). Valian (1998) emphasises that schema is a stereotype which refers to different psychological traits for men and women such as men are independent and women are nurturant. This stereotype operates in universities. As a consequence, Valian (2005) notices women have more problems than men in achieving the senior position as gender schema influences perception, resulting in women's capacity being underestimated and women academics being disadvantaged.

Kholis (2014) further argues that Islamic Higher Education Institutions could and should provide specific empowerment for women by, for example, providing support for their continuing education, professional development, and career opportunities. Nankervis, Compton and Baird (2008) state that employers should offer special training for academic women in the form of seminars, conferences and postgraduate study. Cortis and Cassar (2005) claim employers should develop a program which helps female staff to gain promotion. They state that programs can be in the form of career mentoring, networking and counselling. Employers also need to have a training program to share female's and

male's perceptions, stereotypes, myths and more importantly, the role of female staff in management. Stereotypical attitudes may be reduced by offering diversity training such as gender mainstreaming and gender leadership programs which make employers familiar with women's role in employment. In terms of family matters, there should be support from the organization or the government if problems occur between family and career (Cortis & Cassar, 2005).

One specific effort to enhance the participation and advancement of female academics in Indonesia was the establishment of Women's Study Centres (*Pusat Studi Wanita* or PSW) at state universities. Many private universities followed suit, with the number of centres reaching 132 by 2005 (Robinson, 2009). These centres promote research and scholarship for women and provide input into policy agendas in the universities concerned. Although the PSW do not only involve women academics, women play the dominant role; and women scholars are heads of the centres. These organisations have constituted new forms of officially sanctioned women's organizations predicated on women's professional roles and are expected to accelerate more active participation of female academics in university management and policies. Most importantly, the PSWs provide a training ground for women to exercise their abilities in self-development and preparation for future leadership (Luckens-Bull, 2013; Qibtiyah, 2012). Finally, women academics take longer to advance to higher academic ranks than men. The slow promotion of women has been apparent in academia other than in the Indonesian setting.

I myself took longer to move to my Senior Lecture position than my male colleagues. More of my male colleagues pursue further studies than my female colleagues. I also notice that my female colleagues in academia have less successful career outcomes than men: they are less likely to reach professorial and the highest management levels.

Indonesian Islamic feminism

It is quite often that Islamic feminism is misunderstood by Western society. A common question which comes up is "How can you consider yourself a feminist if you are veiled?" (Saadallah, 2004, p. 225). Saadallah (2004) argues that is not well known in Western media that Islam is pluralistic and therefore creates many kinds of feminist discourse. As Syed (2008) confirms, research on gender and equality in Islamic societies undertaken by the West is biased, and Western people oftentimes see Islam and its culture as immobile and regard Europe as the leading culture. Moreover he asserts that there is extreme diversity in Islamic society and movements related women's and gender issues such as feminism are also different in every Muslim society. This means, Islamic feminism in Indonesia will be applied differently from feminism in other Islamic countries. As a consequence, solutions to

women's problems in each Islamic context will be different. Moghadam (2002, p. 1154) poses several questions including:

> Is feminism a Western ideology? What should women's rights movements and organisations that eschew the label feminist be called? Are those who promote the advancement of women de facto feminists? Is feminism defined and understood only through the writings and actions of Anglo-Americans? What of the writings and actions of feminists from developing countries?

According to Mirza (2008), Islamic feminism involves efforts to reinterpret sacred texts in order to pursue equality between women and men in Islamic contexts. Islamic feminists have challenged themselves to interpret traditional holy texts from the Quran and Hadith. Through their interpretations, they seek to transform new political, legal and social rights for Muslim women. Islamic feminists have tried to reinterpret Islamic texts, some of which are heavily gender biased or even misogynist. They propose to reconstruct the patriarchal traditions which are regarded as Islamic thoughts and practice (Robinson, 2006). Islamic feminists have been involved in progressive readings of both the Quran and Hadith to find the original configuration of women in Islam. They strive to renew gender equality which matches with Islam, while remaining faithful and ethically correct to its religious values. They claim that gender equality is an integral part of Islam, but this has been lost or marginalised throughout centuries of Islamic history (Mirza, 2008, p. 30). To illustrate this, Ahmed (1992) claims there is evidence of public roles played by women in the beginning of Islam, especially by the Prophet Muhammad's wives. She mentions that the first convert to Islam was a woman, named Khadijah (the Prophet's first wife) who was economically independent and was involved in trading. Women also transmitted the early verbal texts of Islam, that is, the Hadith (prophet's tradition) literature. Aishah, the Prophet's youngest wife had narrated more than 2000 Hadith, which were incorporated into a Hadith compilation. Such insights clearly show that the Muslims of the early Islamic era had "no difficulty in accepting women as authorities" (Ahmed, 1992, p. 47). Moreover, women in the early Islamic era freely participated in warfare. After the Prophet Muhammad passed away, Aishah used to give legal verdicts and decisions, and many people used to consult her. She also delivered a famous public speech in Mecca. It was during the reign of Ali, the fourth caliph when she wanted to redress Uthman's death (the third caliph). She involved herself in the Battle of the Camel by giving speeches against Ali for not avenging the death of Uthman, and she led troops on the back of her camel. She did not win the battle however, it greatly impressed people. She was also in political leadership for a brief period after the assassination of Uthman (Ahmed, 1992).

Wieringa (2006) notes that the discourse of Islamic feminism in Indonesia was established in the 1980s. According to her, the first activity was a seminar held by Muslim activists and scholars such as Lies Marcoes Natsir. The seminar argued that an interpretation of Islam based on contextual

circumstances is needed to combat patriarchy. Muslim feminist activists such as Wardah Hafidz had prepared this discourse a long time before large Indonesian Muslim women's organisations such as Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah came into being (van Doorn-Harder, 2006). However, the idea that women had the right to interpret Islamic teachings arose from these organisations, even though these women's organisations were under men's control (Wieringa, 2006). Wieringa (2006) supports the notion that Muslim feminist discourse is established around Islamic reform together with gender-sensitive terms, including women's rights which were written in the CEDAW and Beijing Platform for Action. Muslim feminists claim that these rights are universal and in accord with the Islamic basic principles.

Moroccan feminist, Mernissi (1991) uses interpretive strategies to challenge women's exploitation. Both Mernissi (1991) and Hassan (1987) argued that there is no single verse in the Quran mentioning that women and men were created differently. Moreover, Mernissi uses semantic and historical contexts when analysing Quranic verses and Hadith. The hermeneutic approach focuses on three aspects of the text: the context in which the text was written, the grammatical composition of the text, and the world-view of the text (Wadud, 1999). Based on these feminist efforts, there was some law reformation regarding women, such as changes to family laws in Iran, revision of the Moroccan family code (Mirza, 2008), and also Islamic Law Compilation in Indonesia, especially of the 1975 Marriage Law (Robinson, 2008).

Indonesian Muslim feminist scholars use a hermeneutical interpretation of the Quran to reduce gender bias. For example, the lawyers of Women's Association for Justice (APIK) argue that Islam is for both women and men, not only for men; therefore, they suggest that reform of gender bias and inaccuracy is needed. This concept matches with APIK founder and lawyer, Nursyahbani Katjasungkana's transformative theological discourse. It tries to deconstruct and contextualise theological thoughts, and tries to include women' rights. It focuses on violence against women and seeks to diminish women's poverty. Besides APIK, there are similar organisations such as Indonesian women's coalition, *Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia*/KPI and Women's Research Institute. APIK also has introduced the Domestic Violence Law (Robinson, 2008).

In addition, the works of Middle Eastern feminists Mernissi and Nawal el Sadaawi, who were inspired by feminism and Islam, have been translated into the Indonesian language. Their works focus on approaches to sacred texts to promote women's equality. Muslim feminist writings became popular among women's rights groups and student activists in the early 1990s in Indonesia (Brenner 2011). Most of them analyse works of world Islamic authors on women and gender, such as Wadud, Mernissi, Hassan and Engineer. Some Indonesian organisations translated and published those

Islamic writers' works, such as Equal before Allah (Hassan, 1987), into *Setara di hadapan Allah,* Women in Islam into *Wanita dalam Islam* (Hassan, 1995). Riffat Hassan herself had an opportunity to visit Indonesia to argue that there is gender equality in Islam. Indonesian writers such as Marcoes-Natsir and Meuleman (1993) edited a book entitled "Muslim women in textual and contextual study". While Fakih, Megawangi and Asa (1996), whom Fakih is a male author, wrote "Debating feminism," which provides a summary of debates on Islamic textualism and gender relations. According to Robinson (2008), most sources to support feminism are not taken from Arabic but from English, French and German. Besides Fakih, by the end of the 1990s there were two books written by men. For instance "Argument for gender equality: The Quran perspective" by Nasaruddin Umar/*Argumen kesetaraan gender: Perspektif al Qur'an*, and "Matters not considered: On women's issues in Islam" by Syafiq Hasyim, *Hal-hal yang tidak dipikirkan: Tentang isu-isu keperempuanan dalam Islam.* Men's involvement in women's rights in Indonesia, according to Robinson (2008), is very unique, as it is subjected to criticism. It may generate criticism as, generally, women will not trust men in relation to issues for women. However, the collaboration of men and women in this movement, according to Van Door-Harder (2008), has been a very effective way to challenge gender inequality. International donors have also held workshops for Muslim women's organisations, including *Fatayat*, where the concept of the social construction of gender was introduced and discussed (Rinaldo, 2008).

When the *reformasi* (reform) era came in the 1999, the discussion on women and gender issues became more ubiquitous. There are now women's advocates from LBH APIK working together with activists from the Ministry of Religious Affairs, such as Mulia, who criticises polygamy, men as household heads, and divorce provisions. Both argue that law reform should occur to create gender equality in Indonesia. The law was actually developed by men, who alone can practice polygamy and decide divorce, while women do not have any rights on these issues. They also want to revise unequal inheritance laws to protect women's rights, as in Islamic law, men own two shares while women own one share in any property settlements (Robinson, 2006).

Moreover, Indonesian feminists face challenges from local customs (*adat*). Where these reforms were implemented in Aceh province, it is based on sharia (Islamic law) but mixed with local regulations such that every Acehnese woman should wear head cover and have limited access to being in public at night. However, Javanese women have more opportunity to implement gender mainstreaming and promote gender equality. There is *Rahima*, an organisation based in Jakarta founded in 2000, which focuses upon women's rights within Islam, especially promoting gender equality within the Islamic boarding school, *pesantren* community. Rahima holds training and workshops for students, teachers, and religious leaders on issues related to gender equality. Rahima is led and driven by well-known intellectual and feminist activists (Rinaldo, 2006). Also *Fahima*, located in Cirebon, continues to

struggle for equality. Fahima was led by Husein, a man (feminist) who wrote some books about women in Islamic Law. They adopt local cultural practices such as creating joyous songs to praise the prophet (salawatan) which contain gender equality materials. They also published books on gender in Islam (Robinson, 2006). The struggle for gender equality in Indonesia, according to Robinson (2008), is an example of the social and political complexities of Islamic debate in Indonesia.

Indonesian Islamic academic feminists like Nurmila (2011) argues that non-Indonesian Muslim feminism has influenced Indonesian Muslim feminist discourse in particular kinds of ways. To begin, the influence of secular feminism occurred in Indonesia earlier in the 1980s, and arguably, the influence of Muslim feminism emerged a decade after the end of President Soeharto's reign. Although global Muslim feminism entered into Indonesian Muslim discourse in the 1990s, two different reactions from Indonesian Muslim feminists towards both Western and Islamic feminism emerged: first, a group of people who denied any kinds of feminism; and second, those who embraced and adopted certain feminisms (Qibtiyah, 2012). Basically, according to Safi (2003) there are two positions taken by people involved in the debate. The first group argues that Islam does not fit Western feminism. Qibtiyah (2012) maintains that for this group, they are concerned to deny and reject the influence of the West and Christian feminist sentiments. They argue that Muslims already have certain guidance in their own sacred texts that are more relevant and culturally appropriate than those of the West. Therefore, Muslims do not need to import Western terms or values into Islamic society (Abdellatif & Ottaway, 2007). The second group argues that Islam and feminism are compatible. Contemporary scholars who are proponents of Islamic feminism, such as Laila Ahmed, Riffat Hassan, and Fatima Mernisi, argue that feminism fits into Islam. Qibtiyah (2010) maintains that Islam and feminism are complementary of each other and Moghadam (2002) similarly argues that Islam promotes equality between men and women, although in practice this principle has been applied differently.

Classification of Indonesian feminists

According to Nurmila (2011) there are three groups of Indonesian Islamic feminists. First, secular feminists—those who struggle for equality based on secular laws and conventions, both national and international, such as CEDAW, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. She claims that this group of feminists typically have an educational qualification from non-Islamic institutions or overseas, even though they are Muslims. Among them are feminists from some Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) such as *Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Asosiasi Perempuan Indonesia untuk Keadilan*/Legal Aid Association of Indonesian Women for Justice (LBH-APIK) (Robinson, 2006). LBH-APIK is centralised in Jakarta. It has branches in some big cities in Indonesia such as Makassar and Aceh. LBH-APIK aims to create a just, prosperous and

democratic society, as well as creating equal conditions between women and men in all aspects of life, whether political, economic, social or cultural. This objective is to be achieved by creating a legal system with the perspective of women, the system of justice in the light of the pattern of power relations in society, in particular the relationship between women and men, by continuously working to eliminate inequality and gender inequality in its various forms. Robinson (2006) finds that LBH-APIK had criticised the formal law which positioned men as household heads and women as its managers. LBH-APIK also criticised the continued polygamy that remains legal in Indonesia. They argue that polygamy is also a form of domestic, physical, psychological, sexual and economic violence against women and children (Van Wichelen, 2009).

Another group do not call themselves feminists, but "woman activists," as a reaction against Western ideas. According to Rinaldo (2013), such groups among others are the women activists of *Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir* Indonesia or members of Welfare Justice Party/*Partai Keadilan Sejahtera* who argue against gender equality. They agree that women are complementary to men, and their main duty is to run the household, and men are breadwinners. Further, while women may participate in the public arena, their main task is serving family.

The last group are termed Muslim feminists, those who use the Islamic sources the Qur'an and Hadith as their standpoint for women's equality and justice. If secular feminists in Indonesia derive from the middle class, Muslim feminists are from the lower class, commonly live in or have a link to a country area, and their educational qualifications are from Islamic institutions such as the State Islamic Institute for Islamic Studies (IAIN) or the State Islamic University (UIN), and often with a pesantren (Islamic boarding school) background. Such Muslim feminists are predominantly academics in those institutions including Siti Musdah Mulia, Nasaruddin Umar, Zaitunah Subhan, Nurjannah Ismail, Kyai Husein Muhammad, Faqihuddin Abdul Kodir, Siti Syamsiyatun, and Siti Ruhaini Dzuhayatin (Nurmila, 2011). Karam (1998) argues Muslim feminists believe that the Qur'an liberates women. Unfortunately, some verses of Qur'an have been mostly interpreted to justify misogyny, and most Muslims tend to read the Qur'an literally. Muslim feminists argue that Qur'an reinterpretation is needed from a women's perspective to achieve equality by looking at the sociological aspects, such as context, including where and when the Qur'an was revealed (*asbabun nuzul*). The historical approach to reinterpretation considers the influences of place and time on the revelation and recording of texts, understanding them as shaped by the social, cultural, and geographical conditions, and follows the principle of fallibility of human knowledge (Abdullah, 2002). To reread the Quran from women's perspectives, Wadud (1999) offers a hermeneutic approach which focuses on three aspects of the texts. These are the context in which the text was written, the grammatical composition of the text, and the world-view of the text. I consider myself in the third category. My educational

background was from IAIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta even though I have never been educated in pesantren. My family is from the middle class, and I have lived in city central. I am also a female academic who teaches in a state Islamic institution, and I attach myself to several organisations which support women's movements.

Indonesian feminist identity

Based on the classification above, the last group; Muslim feminists are scholars, mostly academics, who fight for women's rights. As defined by Simic (2010), an academic feminist is a feminist who has conducted feminist research in multiple disciplines, and is influenced by women academics' perceptions, and their history in academia. Academic feminism is influenced by how women speak about feminism in higher education. However Indonesian academic feminists are often asked to classify themselves: are they feminist or activists? (Qibtiyah 2010). According to Qibtiyah (2010), in Indonesia, if a woman labels herself as a feminist, people regard her as a person who has negative attributes. The word "feminist" has more negative connotations for women than the word "activist," which is more neutral and not seen as challenging to the status quo. Regarding this identity, Simic (2010) finds that some Australian women in academia hesitate in declaring themselves a feminist. Similarly, women activists in the Middle East are reluctant to label themselves as feminists (Abdellatif & Ottaway, 2007). In Indonesia, in the beginning of the feminism movement, feminist was not an acceptable term. Most authors of Islamic feminism literature strictly rejected being labelled as Islamic feminists. In the 1960s, Indonesian society was in a war against communism, and according to Suryakusuma (2004), the rejection of the term feminist derived from the stigma that feminism was linked closely to communist or liberal tendencies (Wieringa, 2003) that promoted individualism, selfishness and premarital sex (Van Doorn-Harder, 2006). Derived from a Western perspective, Indonesians understood feminists as people who were anti-men, and sympathetic to lesbianism (Sadli, 2002). Therefore, feminists were seen as something dangerous and breaking Islamic law. Because of these negative associations, some Indonesian women's organisation members claim that "even though we struggle for women's rights, we are not feminists" (Suryakusuma, 2004, p. 271). As people become more aware and understand more about the women's movement in Indonesia, and especially now that some regulations about gender from the government have been launched, young activists are beginning to claim and name themselves as feminists. Sadli (2010), one prominent female academic, was warned by her supervisor and colleagues not to encourage new students to become feminists when she established a program of Women's Study in the postgraduate department in the biggest university in Indonesia, UI/*Universitas Indonesia*. Sadli states some Indonesian women have a suspicion that feminism represents a Western challenge to traditional Indonesian values.

Academic feminism and institutions

Two institutions that "belong" to academic feminists are Women's Studies programs and Centres for Women's Studies. When establishing the Women's Studies program, Sadli was in cooperation and partnership with a Canadian university. She recommended the establishment of a truly Indonesian Women's Studies department, which adopted Indigenous Indonesian culture, and that did not embrace Western culture (Sadli & Porter, 1999). Sadli argued a truly Indonesian approach means countering a suspicion that feminism represents a Western challenge to traditional Indonesian values. A challenge was put to both staff and the students to find ways to translate and make the concepts relevant within the Indonesian context, which is more acceptable to the Indonesian general public.

Apart from the establishment of Women's Studies departments, in almost the same decade, the government of Indonesia established Centres for Women's Studies, PSW/*Pusat Studi Wanita* in some Indonesian universities as a way of supporting the government policy of women's empowerment and gender equality (Burhanudin & Fathurahman, 2004; Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan Republik Indonesia, 2004). One of PSW's goals was to help the process of developing methodologies and theoretical foundations for research with women (Jacqui & Mohanty, 1997; Orr, Braithwaite, & Lichtenstein, 2011). Sadli (2010) points out that the principal aim of PSW was to provide women's issues data based on research in every region in Indonesia. As PSW is based in universities, the role of female academics is very influential to its development. The establishment of PSW, has advanced the women's movement because of the female academics who promote consciousness about those making decisions about women's issues, who according to Sadli (2010), mostly are men.

Moreover, Sadli (2010) specifically argues that PSW/PSG focuses on women's issues, and female academics pay adequate attention in program development, and that women should be part of the decision making process in developing these programs. Moreover, local government allocates sufficient funds to conduct research on women, and develops relevant programs for women. The female academics in PSW/PSG definitely are the motor engine to encourage collaboration among university, government and community (Sadli, 2010, p. 366) in relation to issues of women's equality and justice.

However, because of women's equality and justice would be impossible without men's participation, PSW later becomes Centre for Gender Studies, PSG/Pusat Studi Gender. The change name from PSW to PSG means change from the word WANITA; women, to GENDER; both women and men. The change hopes that men also participate to the centre and more men 'join' to the center. One of the centres realise that gender justice had become more advanced and progressive issues (Qibtiyah, 2012, p. 174). When the name was PSW, people assume that the center is only for women, while actually

the struggle to create gender equality in higher education derives from male staff members' contribution as well. Basically there is no difference between PSW and PSG missions except the name and the acknowledgement of men involvement. This is actually a key thing to show how Indonesian women movement is not man-anti which most Indonesian women afraid of.

The first name used was PSW which was established around 1980 and later some universities change PSW into PSW, and several universities which just built the centre, directly used PSG as the center name. In terms of staff recruitment, it was only female appointed in the centre, and it involves men once PSW changes into PSG. However, for the head of the center, all agree it should be female, as traditionally, university leaders are male dominated. This agreement cannot be forever as some university now have male leader for PSG (Qibtiyah, 2012).

Conclusion

The contexts of Indonesian Islamic higher education institution is so complex and the arrival of new managerialism adds to the complexity, especially to female academics' career development. When I and female academics experience transitions, we have to define by ourselves what success means for us, because in academia, we face some problems to achieve career advancement. We face organizational policies such as new managerialism and also the male gaze problem. We experience lag in achieving Professor level and managerial positions in a masculine academic world.

In the Indonesian Islamic feminism context, gender equality is being challenged by both Muslim and secular feminist academics. Through Center for Gender studies, female academics deliver their voices to demand equality. Indonesian academic feminists have proved that their role has been very important in contributing to Islamic feminism dissemination. It reveals that they are the agents of social justice change.

My study, compared to previous studies on Indonesian higher education (Gaus & Hall, 2016; Kholis, 2016; Murniati, 2012; Susanti, 2011) has a bit difference. Gaus and Hall (2016) focus on performance indicators in Indonesian universities: The perception is taken from academics. Both authors do not specially focus on women's experiences. Kholis does the topic of academic career development in the setting of ISIHE. Murniati in her PhD thesis conducts research on women administrators' experiences on their career advancement. Susanti (2011) claims that Indonesian universities experience changes because of budget cut. Four of the studies do not focus on female academics' experiences in their career development.

Chapter 6

The career advancement experiences of
women in academics: Moments of success

Introduction

This chapter reveals successful stories of female academics after experiencing challenging transition, from civil servant candidate, tenured position to full time academic. More importantly those female academics have climbed the ladder up to senior academic and management positions. There are stories which contain their experience when first appointed as academic.

I experience difficulties influenced by technical factors how to deal with early academic life.

I thought that being appointed as a lecturer at our university, which is state and Islamic institution, will mean teaching, not doing administrative tasks. All I remember, I experience transitions. Transition is categorized as a chance to develop within the institution or moving up. Tenure (which is mandatory) and promotion to senior level (both in professorial and managerial levels) are events experienced by female academics and I (Priola, 2007). Once I achieve a tenure position and adapt to academic life, I need a bit of a struggle to get used to with research things. I also focus on learning through senior peers and join some local and national seminars to increase my skills in teaching and research once I got a civil servant academic.

An academic's life is influenced by various career transitions (Reybold & Alamia, 2008). In Indonesian civil service academia, these include being promoted to be a full time academic, then achieving professorship as the highest academic level or being appointed as a leader in a unit or department. These transitions are experienced by each female academic differently in every stage. Some female academic's transitions run smoothly and they do not have problems with their teaching, research and community service responsibilities. However, some have difficulties making the transition. As stated by Hoskin (2010) many junior female academics may experience growing anxiety, have little understanding about their job description and lack support and guidance at the beginning of their career. Some female academic's transition runs painfully as they have to solve excessive burdens when conducting their responsibilities, mainly as teaching, research and community service. Some have moved up to Senior Lecturer position, and they do not constrain a dramatic shift. This means they achieve the position without painful experience, compared to moving up to Associate Professor. Some female academics experienced tension to achieve Associate

Professor. Each story reveals that moving up to Senior Lecturer is easier as the evaluation is done locally, than Associate Professor, which the evaluation is done the MoRA and then the MoNE in Jakarta.

In the below narration, female academics, in the end, make their way through their resilience and endurance. In the stories, the successful story of their career development is covered, a broad range of interpretations of success is compiled. Usually, success is measured by career rewards, including promotions and increased salaries. However, most of my female colleagues acknowledge that success means running their career and family together. Both family and career are seen as complementing each other. These reflections often goes beyond the category of "balancing work and family responsibilities".

Stories.

My university is located in one city of South Kalimantan. It is a couple of kilometres away from the city centre. Just adjacent to the main gate of the university there is a flyover that was built a year ago. The building of the flyover was needed to solve traffic problems as the city is more and more congested. Ahmad Yani Street is the main street connecting Banjarmasin city and Banjarbaru city. Banjarbaru is only 30 km away from Banjarmasin, however, geographically it is totally different. Banjarbaru somehow feels to me like Java, the houses are built on the ground. It has no wetlands. The urban planning is well managed and this contributes to my feeling of fondness for Banjarbaru. When I came for the first time to South Kalimantan province, I thought the airport would be in Banjarmasin, instead of in Banjarbaru. I have heard rumours that the capital will move to Banjarbaru, and a new governor's office is already being built there.

Nina.

What I thought about the airport is perhaps similar to what Nina thinks about being appointed as a lecturer at a state university. She thinks that being appointed a lecturer would mean teaching, not doing administrative tasks. She feels a bit uncomfortable doing these tasks, as she thinks people were seeing her doing a low status administrative job, while in Indonesian culture, being an academic is regarded as a high social status job. When she narrates the story to me I notice her face frowning. I remember her facial expression very well when I ask her about her feelings moving from a private university – STIKIP as an academic with a management position, to a public university where she was relegated to a position right at the bottom of the academic ladder. When she frowns, she furrows her brows. Her eyes seem darker and move faster under her black framed eye glasses.

"Eighty percent of my work was administrative, I only got a few units to teach" she exclaims. Nina's case is actually typical of the experience of many newly appointed civil service academics in Indonesia. I also had an administrative task in the Community Service office, then was moved to the library. The regulation is that the new academics have to gain experience with administrative skills for two years, then when appointed to a tenured lecturer position, they start to teach classes and stop doing the menial administrative tasks. Those tasks may include writing letters, stamping them and delivering them to university units. However, the tasks may vary depending on what unit the new lecturer is working in. The way Nina tells the story makes it clear that she dislikes the tasks, she feels disappointed and is unhappy.

"It was completely unexpected!" she yells and glares again at me. As new lecturer, I understand the expectation she should have of her appointment, especially with regard to teaching. In the workplace activity system, new lecturers experience contradictions or tensions. The administrative burden discourages her from build new expertise as academic.

She also states that as a civil servant, she had to be present at the university every day. At that time, there was no regulation yet about "fingerprints," but attendance was compulsory. The direct supervisors check rigidly whether new academics show up every day. I can recount an unpleasant experience of my own when I was a junior academic. One day my supervisor thought I was absent, but actually I just did not meet him that day. I overheard him saying angry words about me that I will never forget to some administrative staff members. I was sad when I heard him says that I was a bad employee who could not maintain loyalty. I had to defend myself so I stepped forward and said to him, "I come every day Sir, but unfortunately I do not see you most days."

At that moment I also experienced what Nina has experienced, an unexpected work situation. Nina and I, as the new lecturers, find our transition to university challenging and confusing because of the emotional strain over what a lecturer should be. For Nina alone, she tends to hold on to her current identity as a lecturer from a private university who had a leadership position, rather than accepting new identity as a civil servant academic (Boyd, Cintron & Alexander-Snow, 2010).

At the time I seriously considered withdrawing from academia, but I then I remembered how difficult it might be to find another position.

Nina also says.

"I receive a lower salary compared to my previous university".

In Indonesia, civil service salaries are low, resulting in low take-home pay. People working in the private sector, usually receive a higher salary than public sector employees and are often eligible to receive a bonus as well.

Nina continues.

"I was a permanent lecturer and teacher in a favourite school, I had no problems with finances but when I became a civil servant, why I….." She cannot finish her words.

Silence comes between us.

Then several seconds later with a melancholy face she whispers, "I can only accept that condition when I realise that my colleagues and supervisors are good people." Boyd, Cintron and Alexander-Snow (2010) argue that the environment of new workplace learning is crucial to help the transition of new lecturers within higher education.

Nina's narrative about her early life as academic tells us that university is a complex workplace, especially communities and job descriptions in its academic departments. Nina appears to find her transition to higher education confusing and challenging to some extent because of these tensions over what a lecturer should be. Her confusion has been found in previous findings about junior lecturers (Boyd, Cintron & Alexander-Snow, 2010).

Now, Nina is a head of a department, and previously was the secretary for two periods. She has rich experiences in her department, as she has remained in the same department since being appointed as a new academic until now. She labels herself as "the department expert," since she "knows everything" about the department, has both contented and sorrowful experiences and stories, and knows everybody there and she is able to handle the department's problem. For me, it sounds so amazing.

She verbalises, "Perhaps I am in my current position because in fact I have never been anywhere else. I have spent my entire working time at this university from early the 2000s until now here".

I listen to her carefully, realising that it is good that I get a long answer from her. I do not say a word. She continues, "I do everything for the department, I know more than anyone else about the intricacies of work in this department."

Then Nina recounts her experience about "since" and "what," "I have progressed from being a junior staff member to gradually become a secretary, and finally the head of this department."

In spite of the fact that career-related transitions often are connected with professional discomfort, according to Reybold and Alamia (2008) the dispute and tension are not automatically negative. The conflict, anxiety or tension experienced by new lecturers establish encouragement for better and constructive professional change. In other word, the conflict contributes to positive change.

"I may have been appointed head of department for what I have been handling all these years. It has become the major part of my life."

What Nina tells me is congruent with the notion that the transition of new faculty to the role of higher education can be seen as "being." Nina reconstructs her identity in her new workplace to become more experienced lecturer, and accepted as a member of academic community (Wenger, 1998).

As I ask her about her success now, she starts from the adaptation point as a junior appointee. She did not expect that she would have to do so much administrative work, however, the supportive surroundings were the key to her success in enduring the hard times. "My adaptation? I think that here the environment is comfortable, there is good support and mutual good cooperation which has continued from those times until now. I think there is no problem anyway, so it is very good."

From her broader explanation it seems that she is satisfied by the people around her who have allowed her to survive and continue her civil servant position. Her success is not just due to the support of her colleagues, but also perhaps her family, and students too? Nina recalls that success in dealing with both the student and the wider community. To illustrate, besides success with handling her early year career problems, Nina is also very capable in handling students' problems. "Well, because I am in this department *mbak*[2], the problematic students come to me." She remarks that some of the parents come to her department to ask for help to solve their problems with their child. Nina gets involved when the parents ask her to help them, and Nina cannot say no.

"One day parents cannot find their son, they come to the department, right? So, the parents who have a problem with their child, report to the department and usually it is delegated to me."

Nina adds more, "There is a student who had not come home for a long time and then his parents come here. What I can do is I search for that student's friends and then his friends will search for him. We keep on searching, using friends and neighbours to find him. Well, after he is found, I finally bring him to counselling program in order to make him a more diligent student and to help him to connect again with his parents." Basically, she solves the problems as a mediator. She reports that it is not just this one case, she faces an ongoing variety of problems that she has to solve.

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[2] A salute for older or more respectable women, mostly in Java. She calls me *mbak* because I am older than her.

From what she has told me, we could categorise Nina as a successful academic, even though she says that she is just on the way to success. Nonetheless, she agrees that she is happier with her life now than previously. When I am in her office to enjoy the air conditioner, I notice that she and her staff members have changed the room decoration. I know that she wants a new atmosphere for her leadership time. They move the large cupboard to the left, where the previous male head had his desk. Thus, now there is a small space in the corner covered with a thick pink floral carpet to lay down in the break times or perform *dhuhur*[3] prayer.

I ask what her aspirations are for the near and far future. Nina simply answers she wants to be a successful person (not specifically mentioning being a successful academic).

"Who is a successful person?" I propose this question because now I see Nina is a successful academic, and perhaps if I could have a definition from her own, it is a wonderful enlightenment.

"Someone who is able to make everyone happy, both on campus and in their family, I think it is not just a successful lecturer, but a successful person" she quickly utters.

The transition that Nina has undergone is characterized by "mobility within and between academic institutions" (Reybold & Alamia, 2008, p. 109). The transition may create trauma when it is dealing with a painful process, even though according to Eddy and Ward (2015) transition to a higher rank is seen as a chance to grow professionally.

An academic's life is influenced by various career transitions (Reybold & Alamia, 2008). In Indonesian civil service academia, these include being promoted to be a full time academic, then achieving professorship as the highest academic level or being appointed as a leader in a unit or department. These transitions are experienced by each female academic differently in every stage. Some female academics' transitions run smoothly and they do not have problems with their teaching, research and community service responsibilities. However, some have difficulties as Nina did making the transition from a private to a public university. As stated by Hoskin (2010) many junior female academics may experience growing anxiety, have little understanding about their job description and lack support and guidance at the beginning of their career. In Nina's narration, she experienced tension, but in the end, she makes her success through her resilience and endurance.

Diana

The second story is from a female academic who had no experience in teaching before she appointed as a civil servant (full time, tenured) academic, however she can achieve higher level of academic

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[3] It is performed in the afternoon time, between 12 to 3 PM

and management position in the end. Her name is Diana, she begins her narration about early years of appointment.

"I was first appointed as a lecturer when graduated from Bachelor in the 1993s, long time ago."

She smiles. She wears a black *jilbab*[4], long black skirt and white top. Today is Tuesday, which the uniform for my university staff is black and White dress. This uniform is applied after President Joko Widodo is elected. According to him, black and White represents modest and proper attire for civil servants, beside *Batik*[5], surely. Previously, we wore any kind of working dress, wearing certain dress on certain days was not set up.

"Then there was a recruitment of civil servant/CPNS in this university, I applied for and I took the test as well. At that moment, both my academic certificate and transcript have not come out, but I applied the job by a reference letter.

"A*lhamdulillah*[6], in the first test, I was granted the job," Diana expresses her gratitude thankfully.

As Diana starts her career with Bachelor degree, I suppose she experiences administrative tasks for two years.

I ask her, "Did you help administrative work in your early life as academic?"

This experience of administration was done before commencing "a tenured full time lecturer."

"Yes, in that regulation, I helped to do administrative works for two years". She confirms the stage.

She continues without hesitation, "After obtaining the appointment letters of civil servant and the decree of lecturer, I become a lecturer assistant, started teaching."

She narrates about her less-teaching experience.

"Well…beforehand, I had no teaching experience. Actually, right after I graduated, I got married. Then in the year of 1993, I joined my husband to stay in his village".

From her face I can detect her memories roaming to her honeymoon time, when Diana spent six months with her husband in a village outside Banjarmasin. By the end of six months, she returned to Banjarmasin and started looking for a job.

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[4] Indonesian name for head cover.
[5] Indonesian traditional cloth.
[6] Praise to be Allah.

As usual, in conversation with female academics, I always ask how their particular feeling was when they were doing the administrative tasks.

"Maybe you did typing mails, stamping and delivering them, or something like that, can you tell me please, *Bu*[7]?" I feel my voice is insisting, this may be because I am too excited to know what is next?

She bows her head, looking at the grey tile of the office.

I do not know what she is thinking. Perhaps she was not happy when doing the official task? At this moment, I notice that nowadays new academic civil servants do not do the administration works as we did.

Suddenly, a second later she throws a glace through the window that is a half opened. I wonder what she finds there. She fixes her sit position, and calmly pronounces, "Yes, when I was doing administration tasks, I was placed in the office of community service."

By accident, back in 1999, I was placed in the same office of Diana, but her task was quite different from mine. Mostly at that time, my duty was writing a proposal of community service activity. The head of community service office passed away now, but my memory about him is still lingering. He was absolutely a great man; a heart-warming and compassionate person. He always showed a strong sense and sympathy of my sadness when I was suffering from the new job. He always patiently showed me how to handle problems associated with my tasks. His last position was Vice Dean. Years later he died right after a graduation ceremony when I was the MC. Just several hours before he died, we had a talk about how to improve the ceremony for the next year. His answer about improvement was, "if we could," which means he could not do it again. Right after in the afternoon of the graduation ceremony he left us forever. It breaks my heart when I received the sad new.

I am startled when Diana carries on, interrupting my memories, "There, I was the only one female, all staff were male. As the only female, I felt lonely, however, the administrative task was not much. I was not constantly busy because KKN[8] activity was held once in a semester."

"Could you please explain what your specific task was at that moment?"

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[7] *Bu* or *Ibu* means mother, as a greeting.

[8] *Kuliah Kerja Nyata*. Community service program for students to stay in a place for certain times and help the community. KKN gives the experiences how to live in real social life situation.

"My task was handling KKN students' enrolment, and making register lists. It was not online yet, so I did not stuck too much in front of computer screen. I recorded the enrolment and payment on a big registration book. In the past, students paid KKN fees directly at BP KKN office manually".

"Did you enjoy the job?"

The simple response is, "Sometimes I was busy there and sometimes I was not."

Unsurprisingly, her answer shows no "sadness" when handling the task, seems she likes the job! Nina, Ayu and I typically cannot accept it and label it as "the lacking prestigious tasks." Even though Diana and I have disagreements about administrative jobs, I respond to her favorably, "Oh ya? I was the only girl too, in the office, but my task was dealing with writing letters and proposals,"

She looks excited to tell me about her involvement in the office of Community Service. However, when moving to the next plots, teaching tasks, she looks a bit nervous. She states that her task as a lecturer started when she got tenured. Her narration of new situation as an academic, reveals that she felt so unskillful.

"I had never been in an apprentice after graduation. I only done the PPL[9] apprentice when I was student."

I smile and nod my head. I have read from literature review that most of new academics experience "feeling new" (Boyd, Cintron & Alexander-Snow, 2010). It is not a surprising finding I recall. Some of the new lecturers' perspectives, like Diana's, provides useful view about "how" far is the feeling new. Some new academics can accept the challenges of the new environment by having quick solutions, some perhaps complain doing nothing. I am sure, the feeling of new is different from mine, or even from Nina. When I was in a new position as an academic, I encountered feeling of not enough and I also doubt myself that I could finish new challenging stuff. One thing that stays in my memory was teaching a subject that I have never heard and learnt before.

"Indeed the first was bit difficult to teach. I must really prepare the material, how to face the students, how the method to teach and everything. I should master the materials, all must be extra learnt!"

I can relate to Diana's feeling that feeling of being a "small fish in a big pond" is sharpened by lack of practical information (Hoskin, 2010), as a new academic she has to understand new regulations and the culture of the university, especially in terms of teaching tasks. New female academics have

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[9] Micro Teaching

to conform to the structure of the university by adapting to the university's new language. Fotaki (2013) claims that university is a masculine place, in which patriarchal symbols are implemented both in culture and organizational policy (Acker, 1992).

Further, Diana describes spending many hours in preparation for teaching. This activity seems a common scholarly activity which takes more attention during early years in her position. Her answer about how to deal with the teaching task problem is by attending seminars.

"I fixed the first year problem of teaching, by understanding that it was necessary to learn and to ask senior lecturers. I often also joined the seminar. I remember once I joined a teaching methodology seminar, for junior lecturers, it was a mandatory".

Her experience of joining the course for new teaching staff is admitted as very helpful by her (Boyd, Cintron & Alexander-Snow, 2010). As a professional educator, Diana finds the course is useful, since it provides useful networking across several departments and is helpful in supporting her teaching practice. There is no impression from her voice of resistance to joining the course, as she already has a teaching qualification, she even claims it becomes great support to her teaching skills. Moreover, the course is mandatory in the case of my university.

What Diana shows me is her responses of being a new lecturer searching credibility through knowing in our university. It seems to me, joining professional development programs is her priorities.

"So, now you are happier than before because you have passed the difficult time?" I give her a sudden conclusion. "…I bet now you succeed?" Again, I cannot control myself and letting me jump to another question. I should wait for her to finish talking, just in case she has more to tell, but I did not…

Diana smiles, "If it is said to be very successful…." She stops for a while, her mouth opens, then, "Maybe I am starting success, start ya…already adjusted." There is uncertainty both in her facial and verbal expression, about whether she already holds success as an academic.

It is a signal that I may move to the next question.

I ask specifically about being an academic and as mother or wife at the same time. After her reply I am impressed by her perspective which in fact is quite different from other female academics I interviewed. Most conclude that household success is an indicator for woman academics' success. However, Diana confidently vocalizes, "Then the household I do not think should be an indicator of the success of female lecturers, although the meaning is yes, there should be no problem in households."

I interrupt, but still, trying to be polite, "…Then what is the definition of success for you?" Just several seconds, I feel guilty because I remember the feminist ethic guidelines that I have to follow when revealing female (academic) stories. I am not supposed to interrupt or cut in when they are speaking.

"For me, success is doing more community services, while community service is a wider area. By serving in this faculty, I can also … not to put aside the household affairs, *alhamdulillah*, my children can go to school, can study at university, then husband also can work well, even though I also work in this office. So both household and career can run smoothly…"

I am not surprised that the definition of success, according to Diana, (actually) is for both domestic and public achievement, not so different from most female academics. But I am disappointed, and I think it shows in the constant apprehensive gestures that appear on my face. I was happy when she says "household, I do not think should be an indicator of the success of female lecturers." Now, after having conversation with female academics in leadership backgrounds, I think about Hoskin (2010), who explains that gender and class background might give a particular form of woman's constructions of her success. As Hoskin develops closely, success for women is complex. Some female academics incur emotional and psychological cost to succeed in academia. In looking at Diana's story about success, it is quite ambivalent, and she tends to describe herself as "not successful yet."

"Wow, it is an amazing perspective for me, but I guess you have more interesting story when you apply for a higher position after your tenure, *Bu*?"

"As I recall, no problem when achieving Associate Professor level".

"Really?" I am surprised.

"It has been a long time not being promoted, I do not apply for an academic promotion. In the next year I will apply."

Her face changes dramatically. She looks so regretful because of her rushing activities in the department hinders her from applying for an academic promotion. Indeed she gets the managerial promotion by becoming a head in the department, however she sacrifices climbing her own academic ladder.

"It has been four years I am as the head of department. This is the last year of service but I can be appointed again. Actually I have rights to be re-elected."

"Are going to accept if you are re-elected?" I wonder whether she accepts it. She just says she wants to apply for academic promotion, and it only can be done when she quits as a department leader.

She answer confidently, "When there is a new election to be the head of department, and I am asked by my supervisor: "do you support me, and agree to officiate?" My answer will be "Yes, I do support you, *Insya Allah*[10] if I am given trust, *alhamdulillah*, if possible. If not, it is okay, I can find other field to do service or devotion.""

The managerial position she occupies now does not discourage her to become the head again, given the fact that the position disadvantages her academic position. Diana's story gives me a positive description that her career pathway runs smoothly both in her academic and leadership transition.

The way in which Diana presents herself through subjective accounts of lived experience declares a more generalizable reality of "Indonesian women"/"Muslim women"/"academic women." The proclamation is to take the opportunity of the work done within postcolonial feminism in order to challenge White feminist domination. By utilizing techniques associated with the lived experience through narrative inquiry constantly, it is returning to their authenticity as a survivor in academia and as an insider within university life. Those female academics in many ways endorse the very core of postcolonial feminism's political agenda. In short, they are bringing the actor's perspective back (Spivak, 1999).

Moreover, when female academics are successful, they need to recognize their privilege and construct a commonality with Indonesian Muslim women academics, which in turn not only authorizes them but enforces them to speak on their own behalf. Indonesian female academics' celebration of their own experiences confirms an ability on the part of the authentic narrators to release forms of domination and work in a reflexive way seriously. The female academics' celebration is the subversive power for over-generalisation of women's experiences around the world (Mohanty, 1988).

Rima.

Formerly, Rima was an English teacher and at the same time a casual academic at my university. She failed to become a civil servant when taking the test, but then she tried again and passed it in the next year.

Rima graduated from a secular university in Central Java. Though she is Banjarese, her first impression of my university which is state and Islamic, is as follows, "I thought all the majors in this university were religious, but apparently there is an English major."

"After knowing that there is a non-religious major, what did you do?" I ask her curiously.

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[10] God Willing.

"I was interested to apply. The head of the department was Mr. X. I was given the opportunity by him to teach in English department, as his lecturer assistant". She explains.

I ask about her confirmation when she applied a for civil servant position, she states, "I was a casual lecturer, then I took the opportunity to become a civil servant lecturer."

"When did it actually happen?". I am more curious.

She replies, "It was in 2004 when first time I applied, but I failed in the administration stage."

Silence struck. We only heard the voices of the students who are giving a presentation in the next class. The lecture room where we do our dialogue is empty, except for the two of us. A hash flashes on Rima's face. Suddenly the sound of shoes entering the room dispels the tension between us. A male lecturer comes in and we throw a smile.

"My administrative document was incomplete, so I could not take the next stage. In order to take the next test level, I had to complete administration requirement. I was not sure, it was, either because of my national identity card (KTP)[11] or something. I thought my national ID card had expired".

"I think it is a compulsory to include national ID". I comment on her, trying hard to remember what I enclosed in my civil servant application, almost twenty years ago.

"It might due to misunderstanding that I did not need to include the ID card in the application". She concludes why she failed in the application.

Her eyes stare blankly. Rima leans her body back. She adds her explanation, "Yes, there should be a national ID. Finally I did not have a chance for the test."

"So, how did you achieve civil servant then, did you apply again?"

She clears her throat, and fixes the cream *jilbab*. She wears a trendy *batik* top today. It is not *sasirangan*, local batik from Banjarmasin, but Solo. In Indonesia, batik has lot of variety, depending on the region. My hometown also has a special batik that the motive brings up *parijoto*, a tropical red flower, which especially grows in the slopes of *Muria* Mountain.

"The following year, it was 2005, I tried again. I was able to surpass the administration stage and took the test. Thanks God I passed it!".

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[11] *Kartu Tanda Penduduk.*

I clap my hand as a way to congratulate and she giggles, showing some of her teeth. It is a moment needs to celebrate.

After a while I give a signal to Rima to describe her job as new civil servant.

"In the early life as civil servant academic, I had tasks as an administrator. Unfortunately, I was not placed in the English department office."

"Where?"

"In fact, it was in 'Diploma Three' library for two years."

"Did you teach at those two years? Some of us purely doing administration in the first two years of civil servant appointment." For myself I did teaching in my role as administrator, just like Nina.

"I taught General English in the X department, and at the Diploma Three library."

"Was it difficult to teach while to do office stuff?"

"Actually, in the beginning was not so difficult because I have been a teacher since long time. It has been quite long."

She sighs.

"When appointed as a lecturer, I just need to adjust the level of teaching."

"Sorry, could you please explain briefly…?" I want to know what she means by "adjusting" as I understood teaching in university is much different from school.

"You know, it is different to teach students at school and at university. I used to teach junior high school kids. When I teach university students, I just need to improve level of the course, the theories, and method how to teach college students."

Certainly she needs to keep up to date with policy and practice changes take place in schools. I was really eager to know about her transition from school to university.

"Were there difficulties teaching college students? Do you have some?"

She looks at me, smiling awkwardly.

"Yes, I do. In the early time appointed as lecturer, I was not fulltime lecturer yet. Thus at that time I had not conduct research at all. You know, I applied for the position with my Bachelor qualification."

I am reminded of the new regulation commencing about ten years after I become an academic. The new regulation confirms a Master's degree is required to apply for an academic position. Some who hold a doctorate may apply with the same schema of Master. As a consequence, those new appointees with at least a Master's qualification, do not need to do administrative tasks.

"So I still had to pursue my Master degree and actively participated in research trainings. There was a research training, named 'research for 100 hours', I joined it. Still, I needed to learn to how to undertake research. I understood I had very minimal research knowledge, still learning."

It is found in the literature (Hoskin, 2010) that junior female academics may experience growing anxiety. So it is experienced also by Rima, not only by me.

I let her depict why the beginning year was difficult, "The research field was so quite difficult, and because my educational background was Literature, so in this faculty I must be familiar with Education, must be acquainted with research methodology."

I want her to more express her feeling about the transition, but looks fail.

Shortly she relates, "That is the minimum requirement that I should fulfil to be academic."

So teaching for Rima is not a problem, but research is. Her focus mainly on research skills is due to establishing her career in her new role as an academic. Certainly, her experience is totally different from Diana. She had no teaching experience before, so the challenging one for Diana was teaching tasks. This is a kind of experiences of the new lecturers feeling new in academia (Boyd, Cintron & Alexander-Snow, 2010).

However, Rima repeats, "I think in general, the difficulty to get along as academic maybe from research stuff."

I wonder whether she got a support, as she recounts, "I was helped by a training from center for research". She insists that to be accepted in her new job she needs developing new knowledge through research activity.

I ask myself why we work so hard in the first placement. Junior female academics have to work very hard to learn the new workplace environment. It requires not only hard work but also this female lecturer reports the need of research expertise which appears to be a new identity as a researcher. Certainly there is a need for academic familiarization to focus more powerfully on building research capacity and as Murray and Male (2005) claim that support is needed by new lecturers.

"I am sure that now you are so skillful in research?"

We both laugh easily. We know for sure, it sounds silly if she answers yes.

She does not reply me, so I move forward with term "success". This time she does not mind answering.

"For me, success means our students can accept the knowledge that we transfer. The importance is we teach subjects that be in accordance with our educational background. Sometimes at this campus we have to teach the field that is not ours."

There is a clear sign for the new lecturers to engage in wider subject discipline by teaching different subjects. In the first semester I got shocked when I had to teach subjects that I have never heard of. I found that the resources were limited too. I asked a colleague who taught the same subject but did not get much help. It was my unlucky semester! My accident shows that become a junior lecturer was not that easy, we experienced lack guidance in our career commencement.

Here, Rima's definition of a successful academic is quite different from other female academics I interview. I am aware that for women who teach at university, success means having different point of views. However, it sounds that her success definition has no relationship with her gender. Let's us wait.

"How do you manage if you teach subjects that are not your expertise?" An unusual sensation overwhelms me.

"If not in accordance with the field that we mastered, we can add knowledge gained through seminar or something like that." Her words vividly describe the tensions between the obligation to teach and her chance in developing her own scholarship.

Suddenly she jumps to the next definition. "Another success definition is, maybe in terms of I was so concerned; we do not have to occupy a managerial position." I agree with her that whilst "success" can be represented in an objective way as a feature of appointment, promotion and status, according to Rima, it also has a subjective dimension related to personal achievement, such as the ability to solve academic problems.

She continues, "Moreover, success is relationships with the family must remain balanced as before. Women have limitations. Women always be bothered by children and so on." This one is the opinion that I am waiting for. Eventually her success definition is not different from other female academics. She cannot escape from her gender class!

However, next when I ask whether now she is a successful female academic, her answer is so honest, which I really like it.

"I consider myself is quite successful, although my career is slow."

"Slow?"

"Yeah, because I see my fellow academics already held PhD, and I do not. They have achieved their academic level IV/a (Associate Professor). I started my career from Bachelor then studying Master, I am quite satisfied."

Her hoarse voice echoes.

"Most of my fellows started their career from Master degree, so I am satisfied enough. I have a position is now, I am a head of English language section in the language center."

Her acknowledgement that now she succeed is really important for me. It is different from other female academics' perspective in terms of "defining success" I work with. "Some say they are just on the way to success." "Some say I am not success yet." "I do not limit success definition now."

Through her story, I can conclude Rima claims,

> *This is our own life story. It is a subjective file of our own personal experiences, as appropriate as we can make them, stories that we have experienced, we have seen, and the way we do. These experiences are useful, and important to share. I want to tell people about our own academic world and what does it look like.*

Her stories are a collection of a postcolonial feminist's concept of voices and empowerment. Based on the ground for critical inquiry, these stories are uneasy traditional positivist ideas on empirical data of women. These stories bring the concept of egalitarianism.

Drawing on an Indonesian feminism, these stories emphasize Indonesian women's epistemologies and care of other for better understanding of worldwide women's experiences. Indonesian marginalised feminism may create foundation for the construction of an anticolonial, equal social justice. It is a foundation of an anticolonial which respects other cultures. These stories and anticolonial foundation challenge oppressive social institutions, support transformative systems of knowing and bring activism (Mohanty, 2003b).

Her case is different!

We say goodbye and we have a lunch date to catch up. Our conversation gives color to academic life horizon. I can conclude from my collaboration with her today that she cogently points out that she is likely to feel at home in academia.

Molly

The next female academic to tell her story about success in academia is Molly. Molly begins her story as a junior academic who has a position as a secretary in one library.

I stand with my bag hanging off my left arm to welcome Molly. I say "hi" to her with a wide smile. We meet in the library cafeteria, eventually, after a delay as she had something to do. We order traditional local food which makes my mouth water. The smell of grilled *haruan*[12] fish penetrates my nostrils. The chilli sauce put on the tiny plates adds more grumping on my tummy. I really cannot resist this traditional local food. *Haruan* fish which categories cat fish is the most favourite meal in Banjarmasin and across Kalimantan I guess. The fish is served during lunch and dinner time with *sambal acan*[13] accompanied with a local veggie soup such as *keladi*, taro or caladium cooked with washy coconut milk. As most people from Kalimantan Island eat *haruan*, I do not wonder the price never falls down. When I was in Java, I see Javanese eat less the fish or meat as they have substitutes of protein sources like *tempe*[14] and *tahu (*tofu*)*. Based on my observation, *tempe* and *tahu* for Banjarese are only snacks and not considered as dishes (*lauk*). Therefore, the fish price in Java is lower than in Banjarmasin, as the demand is not as high as in Banjarmasin.

When we finish our lunch, Molly agrees to start our storytelling journey in the cafeteria corner, blocked by a rattan wall. Something unique that differentiates between Molly and other female academics I work with is, she is the only one academic who joined as a tenured civil servant lecturer with her Master's degree. Eight of the women working with me joined academia with their Bachelor degree. They have started academia early, but they also move slowly. Molly is the opposite as she started out later and has moved faster than us (Bronstein, 2001, p. 185). When she entered this job, she is in the era of new regulation, namely; for academic background, academics should start with Master's degree, and the ones already in the occupation and had no Master's yet, will be automatically lowered down in to administrative staff member, after given some years to study for her Master's.

The administrative task stage always becomes the first issue when starting civil servant appointment. "How is your administrative tasks, both as academic and as a library secretary?"

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[12] Is a kind of predator fish that live in fresh water. Known as *gabus* fish or snakehead fish (English).
[13] Chilli sauce.
[14] Fermented soy beans, covered in banana or jati leaves, the traditional Indonesia special food.

However, Molly has no problem with administrative tasks, as she claims, "I always enjoy doing administration as sometimes because I feel that it is my responsibility."

I am humming like a bird, "hmm…"

"So I just do it without, without thinking about….maybe a burden."

I make a continuous low humming sound, and I think what should I respond to her.

"I do not think it is a burden," She repeats it once more, she wants to show me that she means it.

On the other hand, I was so burdened by administrative work in 1999 that has continued to increase over the past 10 years. I feel that there is an increasing lack support of administrative staff to facilitate that increasing burden that I have decided to leave my hometown university in 2014.

I and most female academics in this project blame our departmental colleagues for their unfairly high administrative and service workloads. We criticize our senior colleagues for ignoring our need for a fair share of service works.

Molly even reveals she has no problem undertaking service to students, known as pastoral care. I may conclude this is perhaps she is a junior academic? Not sure yet.

"I seldom face that, I do not think servicing to student is a burden."

Molly's story is rather like the silence and secrecy in research process (Ryan-Flood & Gill, 2013) to me.

"How could you say it is not a burden?" I sense there is an angry tone in my voice.

I understand this is a very personal conversation between me and Molly, and it is a little bit hard for me to disclose her story.

"Because when students ask me how…"

"Did student just come to you without an appointment and then they ask something you do not pay for it?" I chase her without mercy. I am getting impatient.

"Ok." She replies to me calmly.

I did not waste this opportunity by saying more, "It is like a voluntary for you, and mostly students come to female academics."

Molly answers, "Ok may be…I think I experience that, some students come without appointment as I set."

We are silent. No one is in this cafeteria, it is a late lunch time.

Molly tries to keep in her mind then comments, "I think it depends on my mood and also the job that I have to do that time; if I feel free, it is okay to help, but sometimes when I have lots of administrative jobs, I feel so emotional." A bit confusing here, as she prior mentions, she has no administrative burden?

Anyway, I lead her a choice, "You are going to say no? Or…because women colleagues are hard to say no if students asks for a help."

She looks so confused.

I laugh loudly, "…hahaha that is for all I know."

"Sometimes I say NO to students."

I would say I am one of those senior lecturers that did way too much service starting from the beginning of my appointment in 1999. Additionally, I often engage with students at all levels of semester and I greatly contribute to my department in terms of service. I feel that I am cursed for these activities since it takes time to away from high pile of papers.

Surprisingly when I move to supervisory issue, she mentions she has a lot of thesis supervisory that makes her angry easily.

"How about your role in supervising thesis, do you experience heavy load?"

"I think yes"

"Oh ya, why?"

Molly's facial expression clearly indicates her emotive feeling towards this issue and gives a clear indication that she wants to be resolved.

"I should supervise many students in the (English) department. I think I can solve the problem by doing this: when the students ask me to consul at, I mean they consult me their script or the thesis and then they ask me to correct the…"

"Grammar…error?"

"Yes, I just told them that 'I will text you, if I finish correcting,' I tell them when." Molly looks deep into my eyes from across the table.

I smile to her with her brilliant idea.

"Or 'I will contact you', so that will reduce my time…you know. It is to reduce time consuming. When they leave their thesis with me, I try to finish it in 2 weeks or 3 weeks I will text them, 'ok you now you can take your thesis'. But if they just come every day, or every week, then I have not finished correcting the thesis, I will be angry. So I told them just wait for my text."

"You have made the regulation for them. That is such a good idea." I flatter her explicitly.

"I feel comfortable like that, instead of them come to me every day, it will give me the burden."

"I agree with you, ya that is a good idea I think."

She smiles and nods.

Afterward Molly finishes elaborating her thesis burden, I need to explore something successful. She succeeded to manage administration, I hope she will narrate about success in research grants. Fortunately, Molly is granted a competitive grand at campus level, and she claims she has time to write proposal.

"Unfortunately, I never apply nationally. I just apply for this campus level."

Molly looks deep into my eyes from across the table. I take the opportunity to find out more. "Have you got the grant…I mean you succeed locally?"

"It is ok for me if I accept local grants." She is giggling; possibly, she wants to tell me how stupid the system to apply for a research grant nationally is. Only few academics achieved it.

"Seems you manage your time and your schedule to prepare your proposal? Wow, that is good."

She does not reply me, instead saying, "I have to write one proposal in one semester. I have to do it. I have to do it, so…."

Then Molly describes the way she collaborates with other colleagues. "In conducting research annually, I do it in group. This means that all the members of the group share the job. We do set together."

I ask for clarification if it is an article with a single author, not a group of researchers.

"But for writing an article to publish, l think it should be a single author. l am alone."

"How do you manage writing an article? Because you need more time and you do it by yourself, right?"

"I just do it slowly…" hahahaha both of us laughing.

"That makes sense." I stare right back at her.

"I mean, l have to deal it." She declares proudly.

I breathe in the frigid air and smell smoke. I wonder, since this cafeteria is fully air conditioned.

I grab my glass, and take sip of a half glass-water.

In the next minute I politely ask what her leadership position is now.

Molly gets that position because a colleague who was in charge as a secretary, was awarded an overseas scholarship.

"It was in 2014, l substitute a male academic whose got scholarship to study abroad. So and then…do l have to tell everything or…?"

She looks worried about revealing her appointment story. I desire to be curious to know.

I make an attempt to calm her.

"It is up to you, it is your story, you are the only the one that know the story."

"When I was appointed as the secretary, I do not understand the promotion regulation in our organisation, especially for this leadership position. l do not really know about it."

I raise my eyebrows, mimicking a huge question. I think she can read my amazement. It is a clumsy moment, when I realise that I need to say something.

"That is ok."

She looks relieved.

"I am appointed because I was called by Mr. H. There at that time was a vacant position. I am eligible, and I do not need like to compete with other nominees, there is no competition." Molly begins to understand that she has self-efficacy, and even self-confident.

One of the most common questions on women's appointment is whether the criteria and process promotion to management is clear and fair. A long time ago Glazer-Raymo (1999) warned us about how women in academia face this issue.

Molly portrays herself as an eligible academic to occupy the vacant position, and instead of questioning what would be challenges to hindrances. Molly does not know why exactly she is chosen, why not other female colleagues.

Molly's self-confidence in her own abilities enhanced her career advancement because of its connection to self-efficacy. It is a perception that she can do something, which connects to the bigger possibility to take tactical actions to achieve a goal. In short, Molly appears to struggle more with planning and directing the route of career management aspects (Terosky, O'Meara & Campbell, 2010). Unsurprisingly, Molly gets an administrative problem in the early time as a secretary.

"As a new secretary of a library department, I got a problem. I just remember incident hahaha," She closes her mouth to reduce the high tone.

"When l cried a lot, because of that." hahahaha...she cannot stop laughing.

"I mean...just...I cried a lot at time." She adds more.

A curious sensation begins overwhelmed me.

"As a secretary, I have responsibility to class timetable, right? When the process of teaching and learning in the semester starts, suddenly the time of the classroom teaching were taken by another department." Molly continues her story about her main tasks.

"I thought you know, where the room for teaching and learning for the library science department is?" Her eyes dip towards me.

Unfortunately, I do not know where it is. This university is so huge. I shake my head rigorously.

"So there was a mistake, there was a misunderstanding." Molly stops for a while.

"It is possible there is no communication between the department and the other departments." She makes a conclusion.

"It is likely, department members did not attend the meeting. Something like that. That was misunderstanding, and because of that, I cried a lot! l just remember that well, hiks…I was so scared, since the schedule is under my responsibility." Molly's words are so reassuring for me.

"How did you solve the problem?" I ask Molly.

"We solved the problem by moving the library science department to another building, finally." Molly explains then smiles.

I feel relieved. It is an interesting experience basically. The way she gets scared and cried a lot, potentially derived from the way she was appointed; the blur between her own ability to lead and the chance availability.

When Molly finishes her narration, I watch students down there, through balcony, in front of the corner where we sit. The students are busy with their assignments, as final semester is approaching. Suddenly, they disperse because of a sudden rain, and the gazebo they shelter cannot save them from the rain water splash. The rain struck my mind; how is her academic level promotion?

I ask Molly, "Is it the same case of your academic rank promotion? I mean, how did you achieve your Senior Lecturer position now?"

"The way I move up to Senior Lecturer level? I just order who is in charge. For example *Pak*[15] N who is in charge in our faculty. I just ask him what l have to do, and he tells me what I have to do." The words run from her tongue easily.

For me, her promotion sounds pretty easy. I admit the easy process she does. To be promoted into higher academic level, civil servants are requested to complete all file in the field *of tridharma*.

"He suggested me, 'ok you have to collect this…and this…you have to provide this, you have to write that, give me a number of journals,' that is it." Molly adds the way how *Pak* N is in charge.

Certainly Mr. N will accumulate her points to be promoted, and when she needs to add more points, Mr. N will notify her. If everything is good, she will be promoted. However, Molly says:

"In my opinion, the process is not really clear, because there is someone who can do that for me already."

To my mind, the requirements for promotion are less clear than those for Civil Servant tenure, and more women were unsatisfied with the clarity of promotion to full guidelines (Glazer-Raymo, 1999).

My reply to her is, "If you have experienced that way for both your leadership and academic promotions, I supposed you do not experience 'otherness in academia'?"

She implores me to elucidate the term.

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[15] *Pak*, or *Bapak* literally means father or Mr.

"Otherness is like you are feeling alienated or secluded, it is about support. Do you feel you get enough support from your surrounding? As an academic?"

"It is including family?" She demands a clarification.

"Your family and also your colleagues and your supervisors." I answer her confidently.

Molly replies by saying, "I think l have enough support especially my husband, we need husband's support."

I agree with Molly that support from leaders on-campus, departmental colleagues, especially in relation to career advancement, which matches studies at faculty, undoubtedly is needed by women academics who are parents as well (Priola, 2007).

"Ok and how about your male colleagues, do they treat you well in your academic tasks?"

Molly admits it by responding me, "l think so"

"Hhmmm, you have never experienced..."

"No, No". She jumps in as quickly as possible.

I could smell the denial or hesitation in perceived that Molly is treated less favourably relative to her male colleagues. The way she answer is so quick and it is repeated. According to Riessman (1993) in narrative, something repeated is something regarded as primary data.

"A bad treat?"

"No"

"That is good. And how about your direct supervisor, do they give you equal opportunity to develop for female and male academics?"

"Do you mean by the supervisor is the dean?" I hint her; he can be the Dean, or her direct supervisor.

"l think so."

She sounds not sure, because she does not add more explanation, and her answer is only 'I think so' all the time. Looking back to Parpat's (2013) note, if Molly cannot speak out she will be seen as disempowered, unable to act and to effect change. While the empowerment will be beneficial for women's voices, particularly when Molly demonstrates her words to speak against patriarchal domination.

"Hhmm you do not see that they do unequal opportunity?" I have to explicate my question and make to the point in order to receive "a proper response."

"Well, we are in library science department, all are female."

This female majority under one male supervision is so surprised me.

"Only, you know the chair is male… and the rest are female hahaha."

That is why Molly claims the head gives equal opportunity to everyone in the library. Neither Molly tells me that she knows someone in our workplace who had encountered harassment nor other uncomfortable approaches from men.

Drawing upon the success experienced by Molly, I interpret that life now as academics is much better and more favourable than in their past time. It seems that Molly is not worried and is confident enough regarding the changing life in today's academic work.

Molly's story reveals that mostly it is very positive to have a career in academia. However, Molly expresses clearly that academic work requires a balance between home and workplace.

"l believe that to be a successful lecturer is to balance family and also work-life. In reality, l cannot manage the balance, sometimes. For example, I have to teach at 8.30 AM and then l leave house so messy and not really clean, something like that. l just say to myself 'ok never mind, I will do it, I will do my household work later'."

"It is so weird...l think." She acknowledges that she believes in her own abilities to meet success criteria, the door will open to focus on contextual barriers, however, she feels it is a challenging constraint. She vividly acknowledges it is hard to make both balanced.

That is how Molly upholds "successful female academic." Personally, I am going to say I have never met successful female professors who have a balanced life. All I see, they are so possessed by and committed to their work and sacrifice (if it is not a rude word) their own or family life. That, for them, is balance. I made similar choices as them, and I am simply sure that I am not going to succeed at both levels, but so-so.

In fact, Molly opines why less women are in leadership because of family commitment. It means, female academics put more focus on their family rather than their career.

"Female academics have less position because of their family commitment, especially when they are married. Then they feel guilty if cannot make…."

"My responsibility is at home. But for me myself, l do not want to be trapped as a housewife only. I do not like sitting in the house doing nothing. I want a balance between house and the career."

Molly re-states about housewife.

"I do not want to be like housewife all the time doing the dishes, and of course not only career, because I am married and I have other responsibilities."

Grasping institutions exist in new managerialism, and suggest that workers fully concentrate on scholarly production rather than the demands of home and family. As a result of that, women academics are susceptible if they do not support the ideal worker notion (Lynch, Grummel & Devine, 2012). However, if Molly doubts her own abilities as a scholar and believes her abilities were steady, she would have greater doubts about advancement.

In the narratives of female academics I work with, for instance Molly, I find they tend to view connections with others who share similar interests or experiences as important for their success and happiness in their academic positions. These included supportive direct supervisors and helpful colleagues. In postcolonial feminist theory, narrative inquiry is acknowledged as a tool for non-White women seek to challenge dominant status quo and assert various conceptions of their own experiences. Specially, narrative inquiry storytelling has been widely used within Black Women literature as a means of "writing from the margins to center" (hook, 2000).

When I come down the cafeteria stairs, it is already late afternoon. I see many students in the parking lot in front of the library. They get ready to go home and to the boarding house, welcoming the night.

Sari

This story and quote come from my conversation with Sari, a senior female academic working at (B) faculty for more than 20 years. I meet her in her office, which is tricky to be found. I though she has office somewhere near to faculty B, but it is not. As she is now a member of Quality Assurance unit, she resides in an office on the second level of Rectorate building. It is located just next to D faculty which has a magnificent building. I have never though that there is office here, I assumed this building is for classrooms only. It was 9 AM sharp when I knock the door saying '*assalamu'alaikum*'[16], then entering the huge wooden door. The room is pleasant, as I smell the fresh air, I step right into it. The sofa is huge, offers comfort and snuggles.

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[16] Peace be upon you, a common Islamic salutation when meeting up.

We shake hands and I sit in front of her. There is no other member here, so I feel free to have a conversation with her today.

Sari is content as always, this means she is in a state of peaceful happiness. She smiles warmly, with her appealing appearance: a tidy uniform fits to her body, a light make up in her face.

   "Would you mind to tell me how your early life as an academic was?"

   "Well, I…"

I stop the continuous progress of her talk, "But feel free to start from the way you like, as I am interested in your today's life too."

I fix my sitting position, ready to explore this senior woman's academic experiences.

I have known Sari since I moved to this university. My first involvement with her was when I needed her signature of my book publication. The signature was to apply for my Associate Professor promotion. She was generous at that moment, was keen to read my book and gave acknowledgment.

Also when I needed a table to do supervisory work she was the one who cared and offered help. Basically I was impressed by her splendid caring.

   "In my early life as an academic, I just felt comfortable with my work and fortunately with all friends too." She opens the beginning part of our chapter.

   "*Alhamdulillah* my work companion was no problem, while adjusting the work. Also with the university leaders, *alhamdulillah* were good."

Every time she has a good thing she always says *alhamdulillah,* she is really thankful.

It appears to me she has not faced any academic issues. But I have to ask her whether she has something to share about how to deal with new life as an academic.

   "I was appointed as a lecturer in 1994, then after entering one year of civil servant candidate, I joined *prajabatan*[17] training."

I also joined a special full time training for civil servant candidates in 1999. It took three weeks. The training is still held today, mostly in a capital city of every province. All civil servant candidates from all ministries get trained about insight into nationality, personality and ethics that they have to adhere

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[17] Literally *Prajabatan* means pre-tenured.

to. *Prajabatan* also informs basic knowledge about the system of state governance, task field and organizational culture in order to be able to perform duties and role as public servants.

"Finally I was appointed as a full civil servant. A year later, in 1996, I went to my course of expertise. I was told to choose subjects that considered my qualification. I chose 'media and teaching media,' it was called teaching media at that time. So my expertise is teaching media, or now called media and learning technology."

"Where were you placed in 1994 as an administrative staff?"

"I helped the administration in the office of 'academic and student affairs,' where the service is about student administration; starting from preparation of KRS[18]. It is like enrollment of subjects that students will choose."

"What else is your main tasks in the office? As all I know that the office is too busy servicing our students," I maintain my voice sounds normal. I do not want it to sound like "I know more than Sari does."

"I collected the KRSs, then I compiled them."

I am waiting. The hour hands of the clock sounded very loud, racing with the sound of my heartbeat.

"I also had another duty. I filled in the marks that I received from the lecturers."

"Did you encounter problem in that office?"

"Yes there was a problem associated with the lecturers. If the lecturers gave a late marks for example, or they have made mistakes to write the marks, or….."

She stops to take another deep breath.

"If we missed to announce the marks to students. This problem is very influential on the smooth administration and on lecturing students."

It is a big responsibility working at that office. Students will get angry if on the day of grade release, the office cannot produce grades because the lecturers do not finish marking.

"Did you stay in that office for long? As I experienced moving to library after another year." I share my own journey to Sari when I was still an administrative staff.

"Oh on the next year, I was still placed in academic and student affairs at B faculty."

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[18] *Kartu Rencana Studi*, Study plan card.

In the end, Sari gives me a positive comment about the administrative job that she had to handle, by stating, "Those were the initial experiences that I think we, -as a lecturer-, have to serve."

She adds more, "Then we are obliged to adjust, not to make administrative procedure as obstacles."

In the next topic, I ask Sari whether she had enough opportunity for advancement. "You said, that you have to serve in that B faculty, so do you think you had chances to upgrade your academic expertise?"

"There are some efforts until today to have active participation, in various activities or scientific forums, such as seminars."

She supplements her statement by mentioning some academic sessions to join.

"Certainly, I am more focused on something that would help to improve my scholarship progress, also for something related to self-development. For example at that time I focused to learn the method of learning."

As new lecturer, as I recall, she needs to engage actively with new current understandings of good practice of teaching methods (Boyd, Cintrón, & Alexander-Snow, 2010).

"Yeah there was the type of the seminar that I joined." Her voice stresses.

"There was also the chance about development of foreign languages, because my ability on the languages is minimal, I was happy to expand that skill."

Based on my own observation, English and Arabic are the foreign languages mostly used in universities under MoRA. As Islamic universities, we use a lot material resources written in Arabic. However, the use of English is also massive. Besides having English department, we use English to study secular subjects as a part of the university curriculum.

"Then the research method," she verbalises this sentence by rolling her eyeballs. It is like to reveal something secret about the research method.

I guess her eyes' expression shows that research method acquisition is a plan for her scholarship and research activity and she knows clearly how that it will link directly to her teaching practice (Boyd, Cintrón, & Alexander-Snow, 2010).

"Off course…", I respond to her favourably as I myself and also Rima should acknowledge, research method is the most challenging proficiency for us as new lecturers.

When Sari declares the importance of method of learning and research method, it is time for me to move to her activity dealing with students. My inquiry is, "How do you describe your relationship with your students? I am sure when you acquire those methods to develop subject knowledge, it will explain how you serve to students?"

"There are students asking for a help," She begins her narration about students.

"Is it an extremely time-consuming task?"

I explain to her what my question specifically is, as I emphasize on a task dealing with students but the task is not a liability and she does not get paid, it is pastoral care.

"When doing pastoral care, as long as we have time and we prepare, it is no problem for me."

"Why?" It seems I interrogate a celebrity, demanding for more detail. "Actually it is not your job, but they come to you for consultation. This is not the thesis guidance, which is not paid. Do you often accept such students?" I try to clarify the situation.

" ... because for me, all students who interact with us is our responsibility too."

I am silent. If this woman says it like that, it means I cannot ask her for more detail. She has no problem with that. I am the one that had a problem with pastoral care. Once I had been hiding from students to avoid their contact, as my schedule was tight and I feel guilty if I do not help.

"How is about research proposal?" It is time to ask about proposal grant. "Have you got research grant easily?"

"Yes *alhamdulillah*, there is once my proposal is accepted. But there are sometimes my proposals were not accepted, unfortunately."

When she mentions accepted implies she gets the grant.

"So you have sufficient time to write proposal?"

"*Insya Allah*, I have time to write a proposal, the proposal is once in a year.

"Because sometimes between the submission time and writing a proposal is not matching, *Bu*." I insist that it seems it is hard to achieve competitive research funds, especially on the national scale.

"The proposal writing was mostly from my cooperation with friends."

"Oh I see. It is a good idea to have cooperation with colleagues. However, do you see that the accepted proposal division is fair enough for everybody? Such as the fund as well?"

"I have no problem with how much is the fund available and as long as it is accordance with the right policy. It is the right of the university rulers."

She expounds a powerful argument, "Sometimes there is fund allocation of research requested by the organizing committee transparently. We understand the committee and the selection of the seminar, need the money to disseminate the results of research as well. It is to carry out the committee. Well, for us is OK as long as it is rational. We do not question how much actually, I could accept it."

It seems I have run out of time, so I should inquiry her about management positions. Surprisingly Sari has no issue with it. There is barely a word about inequality, suffering, or the sexism that Sari experiences in our university where seems gender hierarchies are sustained.

"Really? That is amazing that you…"

She cuts my sentence, "Basically I had no obstacle to have academic and management position."

I politely ask her to mention what were the leadership positions she ever had.

"I was a chair of the thesis bureau, a chair of teaching apprentice (PPL), two of apprentices. I was a treasurer in Center for Gender Study (*Pusat Studi Gender*), then...now is, as a Quality Assurance Unit (*Unit Penjamin Mutu*) member."

The thesis bureau is basically the center for theses. Students propose their thesis title and get approval from this center. Information about their supervisors and date of thesis seminar can be found here. While the Quality Assurance Unit ensures the standards and practice of teaching, learning and research.

PSG is the center for the development of women's quality both in their field of work and research. PSG also improves understanding of equality but now it is about partnership. It is in order to align goals how to become together to parallel with men. I myself was appointed as the head twice before moving to Banjarmasin. I enjoyed my roles a lot as a member of editorial board of the journal and later as advisor.

She narrates how she became a member of PSG since the name was PSW, even though she never been in the highest position in the center. She voices that she keeps participating in the center for every activity held. She mentions a three month program showing on local TV. She appreciates how the program supports women and their development.

I show my gratitude, the quality of being thankful; readiness to show my appreciation for her return kindness, before I ask Sari to tell me about her academic promotion.

A quick response comes out from her mouth, "*Alhamdulillah* my promotion ran smoothly." I write down on my notes. She gives me a mysterious look, when I lift up my chin, wondering why she stops for a while.

"… But every step takes time,..." Her eyes are charming.

It is true, I experienced delay for my Associate Proposal promotion, but as a replacement or I call it bless in disguise; I got my opportunity to pursue a PhD in Australia. For me, every step takes different consequence, too.

"So when I applied for Associate Professor, there were no problems."

Quickly I ask her other questions, as I do not want my "Associate Professor application accident memory" blocks me.

"Do you understand how the policy to apply that position?"

She confidently answers, "I understand the rules. Yes I understand the stages and administratively I know what to prepare."

"In the meantime we are in our faculty B, we are partnering, we are sharing."

"With whom do you partner and share with?" I am not clear with her response.

"I often share with my colleagues even I am partnering in undertaking research."

"Is it with female colleagues?" I hope she will say yes.

"I have a solid cooperation with gentlemen, both with the ones who are more senior than me, and more junior ones as well." No, she says with "gentlemen."

She makes a gesture pointing her finger to chest, to assure, like "both me and male academics."

Suddenly she declares, "I never experience with 'man who does not see women'."

I do not want to break this mesmerising moment with her by asking something frustrated, a question like "do you have a miserable relationship with male lecturers," but she predicts my mind carefully that I would ask about it. She understood since our first research negotiation that my research is holding a Postcolonial feminism perspective.

From what she tells me, Sari has not experienced otherness in academia, or feeling an outsider the way I and some female colleagues do. Her experiences for me is to complete my sad story in

academia. Sari's story is full of much fun, like curling up in a warm blanket on a rainy night. Like finding the last piece of puzzle I am working on. Can I regard her as a successful female academic, then?

"To define successful academic for me, in the meantime I am trying not to limit of success. For me success is unlimited, and there is no limitation. As long as we are still active to achieve success and before the time is finished. For me success is when I can continuously carry out the *tridharma.* For me, it is without a limit, so not yet…" Sari defines her own "success" in academia.

Unfortunately the way she defines success is not the way I hope. I hope she would say confidently, "yes I am success now." She comments:

"Yes, I have not dared yet to say that I achieved the success. For me, how to achieve that success depends on each person to interpret, it can be so personal. Personally, if I am needed by my family for example, supposing that I must give in for example, I will certainly prioritize my family affairs because family is for the world and for the hereafter."

I guess that definition is so important for her, her thus Sari repeats her own definition, "My success is if I am able to carry out *tridarma* tasks as I mentioned earlier."

"I never thought if any woman who has a position, is the characteristic of successful woman, No." She stresses this sentence firmly.

As informed by Hoskin (2010, p. 137), every woman academic has a different view defining success. Objectively a female academic is a success on paper. People who look at her perhaps say that she is a successful woman academic. She categorised successful as in her career she has reached a senior academic level or management level. She might receive high salary or publish, undertakes research with high grant or supervises PhD students.

"Because I am a lecturer, so performing *tridharma* is my duty. If I perform the duty successfully, I am a successful academic."

However, as also Reynolds et al. (2018) find that, subjectively, women academics recognise success is a factor which different for each woman. Some women regard success is something about family or spouses.

As revealed by Sari that she would give her family priority over career as they are more important than her career, and she claims that family matters in this world and the hereafter. She wants to live

a balance life. Thus, the most important question I think that I need to ask to every woman participant in my project is, how to handle balanced domestic tasks and academic ones?

She replies wisely.

"There are strategies which are specific for each person."

I nod like a bird eating a grain of rice. I listen to her carefully like we are in a huge public lecture.

"I have my own a strategy."

"When dealing with how to manage time between family and also for such *tridharma* tasks, I might have relatives who could help or, look for a household assistant."

I agree with Sari, as we have money, why do not we pay someone for doing cleaning and we could read an article?

She emphasizes, "For me, the core is, how I can handle both jobs. Meanwhile this is so far *alhamdulillah*, yes I have lived it."

I nod my head again, in agreement.

"What I have done is 'what I should do to my family', then I try well-balance my roles between at home and *tridharma* tasks."

Balancing double roles is hard to maintain. I barely give up to be in those roles. Most women struggle to balance both roles, which I believe is the reason why less women become university leaders. When I question Sari how she thinks about less women in leadership, she informs me:

"So when women have lower position because of the women themselves."

I am astonished that Sari "blames" women. Certainly this is a tension between me and her as I found as well when Bloom (1998) had a networking with a woman who had totally different view from hers. I try to relax the tension.

Sari states the reasons why women disadvantage themselves from higher position, "Yes the woman's personal surrender, maybe, the low motivation."

Sari completes her reasons with, "Barriers are that we are less able to speak foreign languages."

"Well, I assume that in everything, let alone in the position, it is just like that we need a step-step, step by step. While from the beginning women were already less in development, it influences women leadership."

"Women's seats are few." Her voice is flatter than before.

"We know that the career starts from the bottom. It is impossible if that career suddenly happens." She elaborates widely.

Sari clarifies by saying, "Of course, everything will be seen such as how is the involvement, the participation, then the activity, then the potential, continuance to develop, the readiness to uphold the quality of her. Now women have a lot of help but few who want to use to improve their quality, while men's career are more permanent."

I like the way she labels "permanent" since it is an appropriate term to describe how the management held by men these days. Yes, women are not permanent in holding their leadership.

"So women start from the bottom. Women really start from the bottom. When they are already there, there are only a handful of women who are permanent."

"Well maybe, in fact the women may have been given the opportunity but they less maintain quality. Well, those female profiles show frequent failures; women already entered the position but not safe there. Not safe! *naudzubillah mindzalik, wallahu a'lam[19].*" I feel delighted with her explanation, which so makes sense to me.

Sari more enlightens me, "So, perhaps, there are temptations when the women are in position."

My memory goes quickly to remember Indonesian women who were in Parliament but they ended up in jail. The rationale behinds it perhaps well explained by Sari here:

"The women must be ready for thought, must be prepared in their ability. It needs to be strengthened, do not let that position will destroy them." In the end, Sari yearns, "I hope women can be permanent in their final position, like men who always survived."

In this story, the way Sari speaks, is not to be mediated through dominant discourses, but her own voice. This resounds Spivak's (1999) views where she pays attention that theoretical knowledge on the status of the subaltern has no meaning except it leads to positive results that provide to reclaim

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[19] We seek refuge in Allah from that, God Knows.

their restrained voices. Therefore subaltern then has the opportunity to rewrite the supreme messages to fight the bad stereotypical representations of their culture and their lives.

I learn a lot from Sari's personal experience, especially her perspective about women in leadership. It is true that at the first stage of a university career, the number of women represent half of new lecturers. However in the next stage in some department fields, women are left behind at all ranks, even entry level. Moreover, women experience the academic pipeline which begins to leak at the Associate-Professor level as informed by Eddy and Ward (2015). Both authors also find that women experience the leaky leadership pipeline which hinders the jobs in the organization that have progression paths that lead to the top positions.

Conclusion: Reflection on moments of success

The story above depicts an Indonesian female Muslim academic gaining success. When female academics narrate that they are successful, certainly it is reclaiming the voice of the third world women and "shows the implication of a particular discourse that postcolonial feminists have unconsciously endorsed: namely an importance and celebratory positioning of the original 'Third World woman's voice'" (Grewal, 2012, p. 1). As informed by Cannella and Manuelito (2008, p. 45) telling Indonesians women's experiences is a kind of telling "feminism from unthought location." By telling these stories, basically Indonesian women have built a worldwide connection of solidarity weaved through story and have followed what Mohanty wrote (2003b, p. 250) that: *"A transnational feminist practice depends on building feminist solidarities across the divisions of place, identity, class, work, belief….in these very fragmented times it is both very difficult to build these alliances and also never more important to do so."*

In this chapter, I reviewed the ways in which female academics construct and experience their academic lives, especially how to articulate their condition of success. My texts focus on my own interpretations of their roles as faculty members, and as leaders in higher education.

In the early years of career, some women academics struggle with hidden workload issues, such as having administrative tasks, and the lack of access to teach as the main job as lecturer. Some woman academics experience painful transition as the job is different from they expect.

However, when moved up as secretary, head of unit or vice dean, I and female academics face unclear policy for our leadership position (Glazer-Raymo, 1999). Most of them said they did not know why they were chosen. Some female academics claim, their qualification is why they become a chair of a department or unit. One knows her strength as she has spent her whole life as an academic in the

department, meaning she is "the expert" so she was chosen as a secretary. The other female academic, gets a call from a male supervisor telling that one position in a library was vacant.

Generally speaking, most of female academics claimed that the transition was not that hard, but not without challenges. The nature of civil servant work, such as administrative tasks in the first stage, contributes to challenges. However, in the end female academics could manage it by understanding the nature of the work and accepting it as taken for granted. Those challenges contribute to positive changes. They understood women faculty members' lives. They define that now they are (on the way to) success. The indicators that I found which related to women faculty members' success are: ability to engage in academic stage change, teaching and learning relationships, collaboration with colleagues, and work-life balance. They mention that family and work are complementing each other. Success also means that they could solve some problems, their anxiety, little understanding of teaching stuff, lack of experiences. However, eventually they could achieve a position as an Associate Professor and or become leader in a department.

There are benefits of starting the thoughts from women's lives because they are often marginalized in their own context, especially in higher education. Their storytelling allows people to see structures that people never see. It is easy to see, describe, and unpack a barrier if people have heard about Indonesian academic women's live. Their stories and my own may provide recommendations that are well-founded in some literature. My position as outsider-within (Collins, 1991) assists with a well comprehensive analysis. The women's stories and my effort is significant to improve higher education.

Chapter 7

Living policy: Experiences of women
within neoliberal management

Introduction, locating the new managerialism

I have worked as an Indonesian academic since 1999 in a community where there are not many women and yet in this male dominated environment, I have been able to find a way to build my career. Although it was not easy in the beginning for me as a young female minority academic, I obtained more confidence in my role as a faculty member because I was able to embrace a certain kind of assertiveness and was able to gain tenure. Around me however, I saw that the persistence to keep and promote significant numbers of women into the senior ranks of the university remained challenging and watched as many women were less likely to become tenured academics than achieve senior faculty positions.

Now, several years later, I have witnessed the Indonesian institutional context of higher education experience massive change. I have noticed a new trend in academia to "modernise" my workplace, a state institute for Islamic studies, which sits under the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MoRA). The trend towards modernisation aims to reduce the role of the government and open the role of the private sector in higher education as the government becomes more focused on the broad public interest in modernisation. As a civil servant academic, I have keenly felt the impact of such modernisation efforts, reflected most vividly in terms of management manner and specifically the adoption of the doctrine of the "new managerialism" whose primary goal is introduce private sector values and practices (Deem, 1998) into public Islamic universities. The gendered nature of higher education has not been immune to the impact of new managerialist (Teelken & Deem, 2013) and Collinson and Hearn (1996) go so far as to question whether new managerialism is a masculine area with certain practices and values which privilege male managers. Blackmore (2002) has the answer that I look for—definitively new managerialism is not gender neutral, even though it looks to allow new opportunities for women through a meritocratic code (Harris, Ravenswood & Myers, 2013).

The female academics who shared their stories of working in one Islamic university in Indonesia under new managerialism, reflect a division of labour typical of other academic institutions. Their stories show the significant impact of new managerialism on women's working lives, and in particular, the current fingerprint scanner technology which has been implemented as part of

Indonesian bureaucratic reform. The fingerprint scanner technology is implemented to monitor the work discipline of public servants (Yudiatmaja, Samnuzulsari, Alfiandri & Mahdalena, 2018). Several studies on the use of fingerprint scanner have been conducted in Indonesian public sector contexts (Anggara, 2016; Asmira, 2016; Sari & Suardana, 2017; Yudiatmaja et al., 2018) and demonstrate that the fingerprint policy is intended to influence or control governmental employees in a way to get them to act in accordance with the rules and goals set by the government (Anggara, 2016).

In my opinion, the fingerprint regime is the most the notorious regulation in the reform, as the regulation changes the role of female academics dramatically. The best way to describe this regulation is that every morning at 7.30 AM, as a civil servant, I have to report my attendance by compulsorily signing in at the finger print scanner. I have to do the same signing out at 4.00 PM to make sure that as a civil servant, I have recorded that I finished my work on time. Anggara (2016) finds that public sector employees should be motivated to accomplish their job, because of the application of electric attendance. However, my experience suggests that the application has not been effective. Asmira (2016) asserts that civil servants are not satisfied yet with their work for it does not yet provide them with comfort and motivation to improve and this certainly agrees with my own experiences. Civil servants, therefore, have a high percentage of absenteeism. The long-term effects are that employees provide poor service to the community. The findings of this study suggest that partially, implementation of fingerprinting has no influence on work discipline (Yudiatmaja et. al., 2018, p. 47).

Similarly Anggara (2016, p. 3704) finds that the application of electronic attendance (fingerprint) has not been effective until now because still many employees are not disciplined enough to comply with the defined working hours. Such studies on fingerprint use (Anggara, 2016; Asmira, 2016; Sari & Suardana, 2017; Yudiatmaja et. al., 2018) unfortunately indicate that the fingerprint regulation has not actually had a positive and significant impact on work discipline. Thus Yudiatmaja et al. (2018) conclude that fingerprint is not the factor to measure the discipline of public servants, as Indonesian policy makers suggested. The following three stories from Amalia, Diana, and Anni all speak to the problems associated with the fingerprint regulation and new managerialist practices on their lives as female academics.

Story One: "Dear God, I am also about to have thesis defense" (Amalia, 2016)

This day is bright and the sun is not shy to show her blazing light. I can see on my going to university where I work, that the roof-making people are happy. They can dry the moulded clay today, so they may deliver the roofs to the retailer, and they have money in their pocket. Conge, is the name of the

village where the roof making is the main livelihood. And my university is located just back to back there, it stands up straight in the middle of a rice field, surrounded by the Muria Mountain view.

Today is Monday and I start the first day of five day-work in a week. Last week was the last time I had to work for six days each week. Today I will also go back home at 4 PM, rather than 2 PM, but Saturdays and Sundays are off. I do not know exactly why the working day changes to five days. Some colleagues are pros and some are cons. The cons come from my colleagues who also teach at *Madrasah Diniyah*[20] at 3.30 PM. With this new regulation, they cannot do their side job anymore. Basically, it is not a job, but it is more like a community service, as they do not get paid (enough). The school is designated for teaching how to read the Quran and Islamic studies, which might not be taught by some formal school held in the morning time. The pros come from colleagues who like to have business at the weekend, so with these 2 day off, they could run their business in a wider/longer time.

A problem comes up in the five-day working week. Some employees tend to go home earlier than they should be. The Indonesian government sees that employees have more free (ineffective) time: less work at the weekdays and more free time at the weekend. This five day working new regulation seen by Indonesian government as not so effective for us yet, civil servant academics, working at a public university. Therefore, the fingerprint regulation is introduced. It is used to watch the presence of employees in the workplace. My government representatives said that fingerprint is for enhancing our work performance. Most academics reject this, based on the argument that their tasks are not only (teaching) at campus but also doing research and community service, which basically done outside campus. (In ISIHEs, the community service tasks are any activities to empower society, but academics do not get paid). They claim that their job cannot be restricted by the fingerprint regulation.

For single female academics, initially their working life is not influenced heavily with the changing regulation. But for those who have family, it is. I heard some female and male colleagues start complaining. Some say, it is hard for them to take care of their babies with this fingerprint regulation. Some academics say that they have to do other job to survive in their household. They make several efforts to make the fingerprint rule fails. They become ignorant with it, but still teach the usual schedule, then back home if finished. But then the new regulation comes up, which should be more harshly implemented; all employees especially academics are invited to make a formal appearance in a meeting and they were warned, if they do not follow this rule, they might end up with being fired. The one who came in the meeting was a Director of Islamic Higher Education from Jakarta, which means he is a prominent person in our ministry. We are confused, how could we as civil servants be

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[20] Afternoon private Islamic school.

fired because of this new regulation? We feel that the government should evaluate whether fingerprint is applicable to the nature of work at the university (for some organisations such as offices, bureaux, it looks applicable). There is always a resistance, especially from senior professors from several universities around Indonesia (after all public universities implemented the fingerprint policy), but the managers win over academics.

For my case, since the implementation of the fingerprint, I feel the intensity of my job. I get more teaching, I am appointed as a chair in a centre, I am given more thesis supervision, many students come to consult, then the administrative task to fulfil online evaluation is increasing (Lipton & Mackinlay, 2017). The fingerprint is applied since there is a department enlargement. As MoRA expands the status of higher education, such as from college to institute, from institute to university status, it seems that every institution under the ministry experiences change. Most of the days I get home later than 4 PM, and I still work at the weekend. At home in the night, I work in front of my laptop until the battery dies as I fall asleep in the middle of working. In the morning, I wake up sadly and do not know how I am going to make it through the day.

These stories of struggle help me to understand why I was not aware about the shift. I did not understand why there were such massive changes in my university, but I could not explain. But now when I am doing my PhD, I understand it, what new managerialism theory tells me. Deem (2003) and Susanti (2011) have helped me a lot to articulate these sad stories in which academic work has deteriorated in many respects during recent years. I agree with Scott (1997, p. 5) that the university has turned out to be "survivalist, dominated by a sense of the duty to endure rather than enjoy." Whitehead (2001) adds that the changes of educational culture into more managerial culture may reduce the discourse of equal opportunity and may encourage gendered culture within the university. Those cultures prefer men to apply an aggressive management. Moreover she says that the application of cultures may hinder women who challenge themselves as managers and want to be successful in the university. One of the challenges faced by female academics, for instance, is in terms of time management (Deem, 2003).

Amalia is negatively impacted by workload. Her case is dealing with a heavy load of teaching and thesis supervision. I know her story when she agrees to meet up, and I tell her about a kind of identity crisis experienced by female academics, especially when I find the extensive external push and academic capitalism in our university (Deem, 2003).

"It is true that now we live in the market orientation," she opens the conversation. I look deeply into her eyes, framed by attractive eyeglasses, which look expensive. Her white head cover moves, swept by the November wind. "It is odd…it devalued our professional identities,"

I reply, "Indeed, how is your story about that?"

She mentions that there two things that make her crazy; a heavy teaching load and thesis supervision. She explains, "Last semester I taught 8 credits, and this semester I teach 16 credits, so the burden of teaching is doubled from the last semester for undergraduate. I also teach postgraduate students. Fortunately, in the postgraduate program I teach in a teamwork."

"Hmm….". I hum a response and remember that the most obvious feature of the management of universities is the dominance of masculine styles. Women seen as suitable for teaching (not to conduct research), thus they are given more classes to teach (Acker, 1997).

She goes on, "So the hardest teaching was in the first meeting. Yes, because we have to explain everything in the first time classes. It must be so detail, the following classes is easier, because planning is hard for me, so if planning is good…so for me it is the first thing that matters."

I show my support by saying, "I agree with you, as the contract of study determines our teaching in a semester."

She nods and goes on quickly, "In the first classes meeting, I experienced my voice gone, I got a little bit sick". Amalia clears her throat. "Then I got really sick in the following time of teaching. I teach on Monday in the postgraduate program, on Tuesday I teach here (in this faculty), also in Wednesday, Thursday, Friday. The week is full, and on Saturday I conduct a PPL. I keep doing PPL, PPL 1 is the same as PPL 2 too"[21] . In those PPL activities, Amalia is the supervisor.

When she speaks, I listen to her intently, I suspect that she gets angry by the busy schedule. Her black eyes glare firmly, and she keeps talking with a bit high tone. I wonder how she could handle those things as she has a family with small children too. When I ask about it, her response is "by having a diary," and for me, having a diary is quite ordinary. However, I felt different hearing her story detail about how she uses the diary. I think most of us rarely have a diary with the type of work mentioned.

"I overcome it by time management, if I have an appointment with students, then the students were late, I leave them hmm ... even though they are a little time late. Yes the schedule must be fix". It is true, that before this interview there was a student call her, I hear that she says, you are late, so please meet me in the afternoon.

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[21] PPL one is explaining the theory of teaching and doing a micro teaching and PPL two is when students do teaching at schools (apprenticeship).

She stops a while, it gives a chance to breathe. She takes a deep breath and continues, "I have a tight academic schedule. I include my family schedule there as well, for example a schedule to visit my son's school in the next hour today. That is my schedule too, my schedule is important." She laughs sarcastically. As she now talks about her son, I am ready for the following questions, it must be something about how handling household tasks.

"About tasks in my family? I set it up, we have no household assistant. All I do alone, with husband. He sometimes helps me sweep, sometimes helps me with dishwashing".

This story part is interesting for me, as basically I do not know about how a Banjarese male involves in domestic tasks. I want to explore more, but she already hastens the next plot, "When I study the teachings of Chinese, it is actually all the facilities that cause us easily sick due to lack of movement."

She goes on.

"I sometimes ignore the washing machine, I wash clothes by myself, I enjoy it as a health program". What I just hear is a bit weird, as she wants to have a time that managed well, but why avoid using washing machine? Yet, I do not want to spoil her spirit. I may see it as a disagreement between me and her, but not so important, so far?

To add some more, "To maintain my stamina, I also attend Yoga gymnastics every Monday". I hear this voice indistinctly, as she carries on, "I am getting older now, I do not want to do hard exercise, I want something calming, as my work is already make me tired," In this part, I could not agree more with her. As our body gets slower in doing tasks, basically Yoga is the best. I share my experiences with her about Yoga that I join in my Australian university, to cope with my stress which sometime I late realize it. I am happy that we do the same Yoga, namely mindfulness, and I enjoy the similarity that we do.

Until now, I have used Amalia's story as signals of an awareness of "situatedness" and I bring her story to visibility where identities and political positions are worked out within the postcolonial context (Lewis & Mills, 2003). In this part of the story, by using postcolonial feminist approaches, I sense visibility in the diversity of Amalia's experience as a postcolonial subject and in the physical conditions of where she lives. In a fieldwork setting, my approaches require my acknowledgement as a researcher, how there are differences in position and privilege. Those may take place through gender, ethnicity, and class among other relations, impact research as well me, -as the researcher- and female academics' relation.

We move to another topic—supervisory task.

Another challenge experienced by Amalia is that the fantastic total number of students whom she supervises. She is in the middle of finishing her doctoral degree when she experiences this burden.

Amalia is sitting in front of me, her face is calm like the sea during a low tidal wave.

"When I was about to have my PhD defence, I was given too much thesis supervisory. It seems an administrative disorder. There was a student came to me, who was not my student or under my guidance, well, when she comes, I asked her to show me the letter of appointment. She said 'now there is no need that letter anymore.' I said wow, hahaha."

Both of us laugh as it is weird if we do not need a formal letter if a student is under our supervision.

Amalia connects her story with her assumption about the student. "Does this means I am close to students, because maybe they are so easy to contact me, and they prefer to be supervised by me?"

Based on my own experience, some students propose to their department that they want to choose Ms. X as their supervisor because she is always available or so. Amalia puts it like this, "I remember when approaching to *Eid*[22] I did supervisory every day alone, dear Allah, there may be 30 students or more!"

What she tells me is an amazing story. Definitely the number is too excessive. The obligation is that every lecturer supervises theses for 6 students and if it is more, they receive an additional payment. Mostly, many lecturers who already have 6 students, refuse to have more. Regarding the time, when in Ramadhan month, people tend to reduce the jobs, as their schedule changes. Some are ready to go back to their hometown (*mudik*), some have to be religious speakers in their community, and some prepare the Eid celebration. I wonder that Amalia should lock herself at campus doing supervision. I feel it is not really pleasure moment.

"I am sure some of the students are from lecturer refusals, and there are those who choose myself. It confused me, is that administrative turmoil? I did not follow what happened (in the faculty), I am lazy to ask. But I know most of the students were from X major, it is well-known that the major has excessive students. Oh God, everyone is going to have thesis defence! I am also about to do that!"

Through this story about administrative disaster from Amalia, I aim to highlight Amalia's marginalized experiences and subject positions and let her as individual to "speak for herself". This is necessary to critique representations of Indonesian Muslim female academic subjects in Western theories and texts and engage with the notion of the "native" (Ozkazanc-Pan, 2012).

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[22] A big religious festival for Moslem after one month of Ramadhan fasting.

Even though it is a sad experience, I see that her eyes blink beautifully when she speaks. She thinks it is a silly management, but she ignores what happens in the department, she just wants to finish with the supervision, and no more. In the end, she closes the story by saying, "Finally I could go ahead and all succeed, although not perfect supervision, as I have much more stakes."

When Amalia confirms that eventually she manages all her burden, I have to come back to the subaltern subject. I conceptualize subaltern based on Spivak's concept (1988). For Spivak (1988), the subalterns live outside worldwide capitalist processes and do not have the medium to speak for themselves.

For the "true" subaltern group, whose identity is its difference, there is no un-represent-able subaltern subject that can know and speak itself; the intellectual's solution is not to abstain from representation (Spivak, 1988, p. 80).

However, Spivak (1988) reclaims this similar concept of the subaltern as a room to overcome and question dominant subject positions. Through the concept, subaltern require a solution to represent the gendered classification of universal labour under conditions of globalization. Because of this claim, I would agree and accept what Loomba (1998) claims that the subaltern is not a group of people or a person, but is a subject position. According to Loomba, this conceptual difference is vital for us to be able to see how different people may take the stand of the similar subaltern position and are able to understand the possibility for an agent of collective subjectivity.

My experience with Amalia clearly articulates for us that story exchanges is prime in this feminist research. I have learnt from Amalia about resilience in academia. I am happy as well, as we have developed mutual trust that generates through care and to share stories between us, which is able to grow a reciprocal relationship. Here, I think I have started to build (global) sisterhood inspired by Morgan (1984). A postcolonial research through Amalia's experience may produce new concepts and practices related to understanding Indonesian female academic identity. The concepts and practices may be invisible and marginalized by the Western theories that assume gender, ethnicity, and class relations in eastern world settings is the same as the ones in the west.

Story Two: "It is a flabby motivation" (Diana, 2016)

The next narrative is from Diana. Diana and I have been friends for a very long time and yet as I prepare to meet with her to discuss her academic career, I realise I do not know very much about her working life and how she came to be where she is at all. Diana has been the Head of her department for almost four years, and she has not been awarded her PhD yet. As I prepare to meet with her, I

think about the disjuncture between her position and her "lack" of a PhD and I wonder what this means for her sense of identity as a female academic and what she aspires to become.

"I am tired being in this department," she begins. "There is a lot of work for us to do which means women cannot apply for promotion to move up in academic rank, we cannot." She pauses as I smile. I can emphasize with her feeling of tiredness and nod my head encouragingly for her to go on.

"Well, we all know the attitude of the students who come into this office", Diana continues. "Everyone asks to be served, everyone wants to get their stuff done quickly".

She sighs deeply. "While I sit here wanting to write a research proposal, which has already been delayed, there are a lot of things to do: a signature affair and others, students will not let me alone when they see me here, even there are other staff members around."

She continues, "When I am at home, students then seek me out and call me. That might be an obstacle."

I keep silent, and look down. I understand her story well as I too experience management intensification in my working life. Borrowing from Lynch (2006), the definition of an idealised worker is one who is available twenty four hours, seven days a week—always be available for on-call, even when at home. Most of the time, answering phone calls (from students) takes place in "non-working hours," the time when we really want to take a rest. This intensification (such as getting a call while at home) is not done by students only, but also by people in leadership positions, mostly by our direct supervisors.

She adds, "Yes I do not really think I can focus on the sidelines of busyness, with many branches, too much tasks to do."

I try not to make her feel sadder, but stay focused on the topic of her workload in the department. When focused on a problem with the department that hinders her opportunity for promotion, Diana recalls, "They trimmed our budget. We are in the department that experiences the fall of the research budgeting. The research is also limited, usually there were almost 40 research titles, now…not many research proposals for lecturers. That is probably what I think. Our research is very helpful, yes, although the fund is not too big, but it has motivated us." Diana winces in pain. She experiences hardship in the department she leads.

"Besides cutting the budget, what else do you think that make you feel burdened?" I slow down my voice when asking this question, as I notice her voice becomes low, and slow too. I think to myself, is she showing me something?

Before Diana shares her story, I remember the work of Susanti (2011) who introduced me to the idea that reducing government subsidies for higher education is a common phenomenon worldwide. This phenomena also happens in Indonesia and Susanti demands Indonesian higher education to re-regulate managerialism (mostly in relation to marketisation and privatization) principles, so as to influence academic values such as those felt by Diana.

Diana keeps quiet a while; it seems that she is about to say something important. "Moreover, fingerprint is the new rule from the center, MORA Jakarta that seems to be adhered to," she explains. "Fingerprint, for example in the beginning of application, it has been a year yes, let alone the finger print is 7.30 AM, at first I was a bit…a little surprised."

"How do you come to be surprised?"

When she says a "little surprised" about the implementation of fingerprint, I am surprised too, as the fingerprint announcement was made a year before the implementation.

"I was performing *Hajj*[23] last year. After coming from the hajj there was information that the finger print starts at 7.30 AM. It is early-initially. I was quite upset…."

"Why?"

"I have to adjust the schedule at home with the schedule of children leaving for school. You know everything is happening at once."

In my university, the first class starts at 9 AM, so previously/normally academic staff go to campus at 9 AM or whenever they have classes to teach. With the fingerprint regulation, all staff members have to be in campus at 7.30 AM regardless if they teach at 9 AM or not. In South Kalimantan province, schools start at 7.30 AM, which is different from in Java which start at 7 AM. The time that school starts is exactly the same time as fingerprint time which creates difficulty for female academics who have parenting responsibilities.

From Diana's feeling above, actually Collins has informed that when women experience oppression, there must be someone/something dominant. The reference of domination is intersecting through several forms. The domination is managed and reinforced "through four interrelated domains of power: structural, disciplinary, hegemonic, and interpersonal" (Collins, 2009a, p. 8). For example the domination that Diana experiences is politic of new management in university.

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[23] Doing pilgrimage to Mecca, Saudi Arabia

My mind flashes back to a dimly remembered black box hanging on the wall of our faculty entrance. Each day we have to press that box with our thumb – it is the fingerprint scanning machine. When we have finished putting our thumb on the box, it shows exactly what the time is today and a female operator's voice says "Thank you." Over time, I have grown to detest that voice very much! I feel that the female operator smiles triumphantly and ridicules us as we are obliged to do the fingerprint.

"Usually I do prepare all the school stuff and lunch box for my son. Sometimes for the lunch, he wants sometimes the menu that the cook can be long, I just finally… told him to have other menu. He does not like it, he gets bored, he said."

I respond to her story by asking how she feels about that. "Are you happy with the fingerprint regulation?"

"Well that is the beginning – we are initially unmotivated, so sometimes I have no time to do the fingerprint. But my husband said: fingerprint is a risk, the risk as a civil servant, we must obey rules, and our own should adjust that."

Diana stops. It takes me some time to process a response to her comment and then I remember clearly what Collins (1990) told me that one of the devastating legacies of colonialism is oppression, and it is preserved through cultural and even academic institution. Later, Collins offers intersectionality to identify oppression in this modern era. In my opinion, the way we work in university as academics who were previously free but are now monitored with a machine, is a similar kind of oppression. My mind comes back to the slavery era, slaves were kept as prisoners. In Indonesia, we are not in the colonisation era anymore, however, we have to do the fingerprint like captives, at the same time we are required to perform multiple academic tasks optimally, while my male counterparts have less burden than me and those women. As claimed by Collins, female academics and Diana, experience oppression due to their perceived sexual identity and gender.

Diana continues with her story about managing the fingerprint.

"Well… it can finally be arranged. I must wake up early in the morning. The early in the morning must be organised really well; children already have been woken up, that is the beginning of it…like that."

Diana turns her head. More silence between us.

"How do you solve your difficulty regarding fingerprint?"

"Alhamdulillah there is support at home. My family did not say for example, eh why doing finger print? No. Even my husband added: just obey the rules. From our home in KM 7, my office is further

than yours to the MoRA office in the city, close to Sabilal (the icon masjid in Banjarmasin). It is far he said. But the important thing is we have attempt first; whether it comes or on the way there is a problem, then did not get finger print, it is a risk. A risk, which obviously we have made effort already." She speaks at length, and I could barely interrupt politely to give my response, except smile and nod.

Eventually, Diana compromises with fingerprints by accepting fingerprint rules, still doing hard work and relying on family member's support, who accept the changes that occur in the household, because Diana must go to campus at 7:30 AM and go home at 04.00 PM.

The common features in this story are the descriptions of the miseries of the current working conditions experienced by Diana. Nowadays, many female academics illustrate their work in very negative terms, including what is claimed by Diana: it is said to be, such as, "quite upset, quite flabby motivation." The workload has increased too much, and according to her, it is in the wrong proportion at present at her department. She perceives it as an extremely difficult time in the department.

However, I notice this problem is possibly solved by Diana's resilience, together with spousal support, and indeed, that her husband is supportive, and her son is well behaved. As Priola (2007) outlines, the importance of spousal and family support, organization skills and the importance of collegial support within women's workplace. Diana's resilience to cope with fingerprint which disrupts her family life, has been announced by Spivak (1999) that women as subaltern are not silent. Actually, female academics like Diana, have the competence to enunciate their complaint well and they can fight for their stand clearly in front of people who have authority. The real problem is located in the recipient, in this case is MoRA, as they are not ready to listen to the women as message sender. The MoRA are not interested in listening to the message and to understand the message of the women senders. The surrounding of noise disturbs the proper reception of the message when a subaltern tries to speak.

As I read back over my writing about Diana and the fingerprint regulation, I see that I always find that postcolonial feminism topic appears on the top. I pick up Spivak again. I read her description about subaltern and from Spivak's writing begin to understand that even though female academics were subaltern, Spivak clarifies that they are not the ones described by the west that "cannot do anything." Mohanty (2003a) has succeed to reveal this miserable west description of the east by striking back that Indonesian women are fighters to change the oppression. From Mohanty's notion about the ways in which the West depicts the East, I could claim that Indonesian female academics are not just in a state of period of inactivity or dormancy of colonisation. Like Western women, Indonesian women have the ability to take steps and undertake action in order to resist the status quo

and to adapt to the situations they encounter. In the case of the female academics I work with, they have voiced their aspirations, but no one (male) ear would listen to them. In reaction to the fingerprint regulation, female academics have raised their objection to the MoRA and I know that they do not want to be passive victims. Those female academics only compromise it and do not have agency for themselves and do not how to voice their aspiration when their objection is not heard.

Still, I remember the way Collins (2009b) verifies, intersectionality produces variety of lived experiences and social realities, which then highlights specific forms of oppression to address in the making of amendments, as well as looking for new connections.

In recent years, intersectional analyses have far too often turned inward, to the level of personal identity narratives, in part, because intersectionality can be grasped far more easily when constructing one's own autobiography. This stress on identity narratives, especially individual identity narratives, does provide an important contribution to fleshing out our understandings of how people experience and construct identities within intersecting systems of power (Collins, 2009b, p. ix).

As Diana informs, she finally can manage her problem, and pursue a better future. Collins (2009a) provides a tool to understand how the experiences of Indonesian academic women are shaped by interrelated kinds of oppression and how their experiences can be further centralized and contribute to erase for colonialism and enslavement.

Emerging intersections raises a clarion call for the next generation of scholars/activists who inherit the very large task of using it to foster social justice (Collins, 2009b, p. xi).

Story three: "Everything should be prepared at a night before" (Anni, 2016)

The third female academic's story about new managerialism is Anni's. From where I sit on the wooden chair of the air-conditioned Postgraduate program room, I can see Anni is climbing the stairs towards me. She waves at me, then points to a corridor. I follow Anni going straight down to the corridor that ran through the middle of hall to the gateway; a massive wooden door. We turn left, at the end is the huge room that may properly accommodate our interview in this hot afternoon. This huge room is with an "ulin" table in the middle which is big enough to seat the whole faculty members if they have a meeting here. When I look at the right, there is a window that has a view of an artificial lake. It is cool here, both the scenery and the air.

My first question to Anni is how she negotiates with the new regulation of intensification in our faculty. She starts with discussion of the fingerprint regulation. Similar to Diana's story, Anni also

has to prepare her four children's school provisions the night before. Anni adjusts the way she sits, leans back in her chair and starts talking:

"Because of the fingerprint regulation, the morning schedule changes. I must change my routine schedules. For example, prepare everything for school kids is in the night, come on, where are socks, where is tie, hat and homework."

I need to confirm whether she changes time to wake up, as I hear from Nina who now wakes up 2 hours earlier than before because of the fingerprint regulation.

"I should wake up earlier."

Her voice fills up the room and I become fully aware of that there is only me and Anni. Without hesitation, she continues, "The shift going to university from 9 AM to 7.30 AM also changes the schedule to do laundry. Laundry can no longer be done in the early morning, it turns into night."

She continues the sequences, but the outside noise of graduate students finishing their class diminishes the rhyme of her story. I lean forward and pay more attention.

"When I went to campus at 9 AM, I still could dry the clothes in the morning. Yeah it changes. The fingerprint at 7.30 AM influences the way delivering children to school, too. I myself need to be ready before drop the children, then from their school, I directly go to university for doing fingerprint. At least I depart from home at 6.30 AM, as you know the city traffic in the morning. It is just too early for me."

In case of the fingerprint regulation, a postcolonial feminist reading might suggest that Anni experiences marginalisation of her professional identity. When she encounters resistance, her credibility is questioned on the basis of not only language and accent, but also due to institutional racism and gender inequalities. Collins (1999a) notes that black women are uniquely in position that they take side at the focal point where two incredibly strong and common systems of oppression come together, namely race and gender. In a postcolonial feminist perspective then, Anni experiences the margin, as she is an Indonesian Muslim woman. At the same time, Anni also experiences the center since she has tenure, a middle class income, and moreover, a middle class social position (Asher, 2010). However, as an academic Muslim woman, she encounters a high degree of scepticism regarding her participation in academia.

I pause a moment before continuing with a question about teaching. I give her a signal whether she stops. I expect she has similar stories to other senior female academics, where most of the semester they have to teach more than 8 units. Unfortunately, when our topic moves to teaching stuff, Anni

discusses it very briefly. She confirms that a long time ago she used to have excessive teaching hours, but now she limits teaching because she is afraid not to teach properly. I really want to explore this topic further, but our conversation is interrupted by her phone ringing.

Someone talks and Anni asks me can we have another time to interview.

"Yes we can, but what time do you want to end up this interview today?"

She sharply shouts at me, "At three?"

I cannot agree more, as we still have 30 minutes to go. She mentions she needs to pick up her oldest daughter. I understand, I do not mind that, as we have employed feminist understanding in this project. I have tried to apply care ethics within our relationship. As an embodiment of reciprocity act; she agrees to share her stories to me, and I grow empathy by imagining Anni's position and her feeling right now (Bloom, 1998). So, I keep on to the next topic with services she does to students. I explain the definition of pastoral care and she is keen to pick up her experiences.

"I have a story about pastoral care to students," she says. When she is about to reveal her story about pastoral care suddenly a male academic appears. He asks Anni about his schedule that seems clashed with other colleagues. Anni explains a while, after the male academic left, Anni and I continue our conversation.

"Oh yes, pastoral care, I cannot refuse to help and concern students' life. How if, later in the next 20 years they do not have jobs, because of ourselves who do not help? I think, if we ignore them, they may fail? I am not over-feel, but it is our responsibility, not to ignore them and not contribute to their failure."

"So do you spend more time on doing the free service to student?"

"Yes, I do."

When Anni describes free service to her students as her obligation, I remember vividly how my male colleague gave me "advice" that I need to explicitly say no to students who come to me and take up my time. He argues that our promotion is not based on how much we help students but how much we do *tridarma perguruan tinggi*[24]. Mentoring students is included in community service items, however, there are other activities that according to him have more "worth" than helping students, such as teaching in a community, giving a speech, or being a speaker in religious gathering. The

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[24] Three pillars of higher education: teaching, research and community services.

community service points needed in every promotion is around 10 percent, which is so low if compared to research which has value around 40 percent (DGHE, 2013).

I perceive that my male colleagues are more likely to articulate clearly the need to "say no" to service obligations. My male colleague explicitly states to the students who ask his time: "I am sorry, I have to teach class now, I cannot. I have already an agreement with student Y to be the speaker in students' seminar about how to win a scholarship on this Friday." He says this to the student with an innocent face, but it is hard for me to do the same.

I disagree partly with him, but I also cannot agree a hundred percent with Anni. I am willing to help my students but without sacrificing my time to finish my academic job. I also notice that my male colleague is consistent in the way that he rejects students, and that he also focuses on how he learned to "say no" in order to succeed. Griffin, Bennett, and Harris (2013) confirm that women faculty have difficulty to articulate the feeling that they should do less service (or teaching). For a male colleague, it is easy to "say no" in his first year as a faculty member, but for a female colleague, who has a high position and is several years into her career, she is still in the process of "learning to say no" to her students. Her career progresses well, however she still articulates a need to be stronger about guarding her research time from service requested by students. As Anni describes the ways in which she engages students personally and professionally, she admits that she probably spends much time with them and certainly engages them in a more personal way than her male colleagues. Indeed, Acker (1997) shows that workloads at higher education institutions have led to gender differences in certain kinds of academic work, including research that more done by men than teaching and administration. Anni illustrates this when she explains why she was not awarded any grant, "I have a problem with competitive grant, since to have that opportunity, I must read a lot. I have no time to read then write a proposal, not enough time to prepare a proposal."

She connects this with what happened last year and yearns for the next year resolution, "But I want to apply the grant, next year I hope, because last year I was rush with accreditation document in my department. I just do not enough time to prepare the proposal such as for having time to read."

Her eyes look at the window but without focus, it is like a dreamy look. She sighs trying to collect all her memories about why she does not have the time to read and to write a proposal, "When I used to be an ordinary lecturer, I mean not the head of a department, I had the time …it is because now I am a chair, I have no time because of some meetings and students' thesis proposals."

From her narrative, I connect within Indonesian public universities, that academic work is not segregated by gender. Apparently, women and men academics do the same job involving teaching,

research and administration, however, related to Anni's lack of time to write proposals, a study by Acker (1997) also shows that research is more done by men. As claimed by Deem (2003), new managerialism is not gender-neutral, and new managerialism has the potential to take control of the education sector by surveilling its employees and this is associated with particular forms of macho-masculinity for female academics. Similarly Deem and Hillyard (2002) add that women in academia also experience the "long hours" culture, as they are doing more teaching and administration than men, required women to stay longer in university, claiming on higher productivity and accountability. As this culture is experienced by Anni, I ask her a question about her academic level which, I am sure, is effected by the culture of long hours. "Bu[25] Anni, what is your academic position now?"

"I do not apply for promotion for such a long time. My position is (still) a Senior Lecturer now".

Although some older female academics in my university have achieved positions of repute and prestige in certain departments, many more have remained in the background or on the periphery, marginalized by age-related discriminatory practices that are penetrative and unacknowledged. Anni's low academic position is the consequence of institutional neglect that has limited her advancement. It means sexism and the combined ageism affecting the careers of older women faculty (Bronstein, 2001). There is little awareness of Anni's life circumstances and why she is on a slower trajectory. In reality, although she may be fabulous lecturer, and does high quality scholarly work, she is not able to have time to read and write. I know Anni is a very dedicated academic, she does outstanding work, and further that she is an admired and beloved lecturer. However, if she does not publish internationally, she will not move to the position of Associate Professor. In Mohanty's view, ongoing globalisation processes have made Indonesian women subjugated, and according to her, it is necessary to move away from "geographical and ideological binarisms" (Mohanty, 2003b, p. 506) in associate with duet "Western/Third World." She confirms there is a need to conceptualize marginality that looks to reveal and challenge the political, social, and economic processes of power that creates the social, economic, and epistemological conditions for "marginality."

My direct response is, "I thought you are already in Associate Professor Level. What is your obstacle?"

"I do not have a publication from an internationally accredited journal".

I ask for clarification, "Is the main reason why you are not achieving Associate Professor because you have less time to prepare the proposal for the research award and an international publication?"

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[25] *Bu* or *Ibu* literally means mother, but in this case is the predicate to respect older/married Indonesian women.

Spivak (1999) advises me that post-colonialism pays attention to the end of the colonial period and the first appearance of light in the sky before sunrise of the new era. The post-colonial period is important for the subalterns since the nation and the people have just been relieved from the power of colonial grasp. However, postcolonial feminism approaches examine how Western patriarchal management knowledge and practices affect the third world academic women (Özkazanç-Pan, 2008) including in terms of publication. Without contributing through international publication system, non-Western women's participation to knowledge is hard to value.

"Yeah for me, I have a problem with editing process. Editing my article, actually needs a right moment, two days is enough, but I do not have the heart to be absent going to campus. For me, my problem is that I need more time."

I myself have to turn more attention to this part of Anni's part story because as hooks (2000) argues, my research practices can search to reveal the voices of the silenced and marginalized; and in this context, especially Anni's voice on international publication, has been used to oppress certain female Indonesian Muslim academic groups.

Anni narrates a long story that she is already managing thesis supervision by email, so she does not spend much time with the students. Her supervised students can send their chapter by email or even post if they want, and when she finishes commenting, they set up a supervisory meeting. She also has someone (a student) to help folding the laundry, but she herself should pick up her teenage daughter from school because that is the only time she could spend with her, otherwise she never talks to her daughter in a day. The daughter now has a relationship with a boy, which is worrying Anni very much.

Senior academic women like Anni generally do not speak out about their own issues, nor do they seek out one another for support and political action. In their mind, they should look strong, in order to inspire younger academic women that they are the ones who encourage and insist to open the doors to academia, which affords an opportunity for the next generation of women to surpass more easily. Therefore, Bronstein (2001) claims that ageism is a feminist issue. As Anni is senior and is an older academic, I then ask her about her aspiration in becoming a Professor. Generally, academic women of her age are very close to the Professor position. She really wants to, "I am keen to achieve a Professor level, but my kids should…". She halts her sentence, her uncertainty is overwhelming. My understanding of her unspoken word is "there is no such value being a Professor if her children are neglected."

I can only create a voice like a whisper "oh," "oh ya" to respond this certain story. I perceive an awkward feeling in my throat because I do not respond her properly. But I keep in my mind that Mohanty, Russo and Torres (1991) respect the unique experiences of women residing in postcolonial nations. Anni has unique experience which might be different from general women who claim that motherhood is not compatible with academia. For Anni, being a Professor is possible, but being Professor while her kids are ignored/not well-taken care is impossible. Anni chooses to fit between personal values and institutional promotion criteria. Mohanty disapproves of Western feminism regarding all women as a homogeneous group without having any sense of difference referring to experience and circumstance. It leads me to remembering postcolonial feminism which argues that women are subalternised by social, cultural or economic structure across the world. Women in non-Western society demand insights into differences, and they wish for global liberation (Mishra, 2013).

In Anni's words and narratives, I hear echoes of emotional and physical exhaustion. Basically, with Anni, I cannot decide where her narrative starts or ends. I can just listen, and by the end of the talk, I can produce a topic by using an analytic way. I can conclude her narrative after I listen to her simply opening and closing talk from my recorder device. For example, when she tells me about how her mom worried about her, and suggesting she get married first then study abroad in the 1990s, but her grandma encouraged her to go study rather than worrying about marriage. Anni describes how at the time society regarded a single woman, an academic, with an overseas Master's degree, challenged marriage. Basically, her story about this, does not have connection with topics I ask, but later when I read her transcription carefully, I agree with Riessman (1993, p. 58) that not all narratives are so clearly bounded in the beginning. As an interpreter, I am challenged by Anni's story, then I realise that all stories can be bounded one by one in transcribing process in the end.

Conclusion: Reflections on experiences of women within neoliberal management

"I do not have time to read, therefore, I do not have time to write proposal" (Anni, 2016)

The November rain in Banjarmasin is mostly accompanied by sudden and swift storms. The sky is grey, as the clouds gather and dance. It is only 10AM but when I look around through my garage, darkness is everywhere. The day looks sad, a type of mourning in the morning when it should be bright and cheerful with birds' songs. Through my newly painted window, all the wooden houses hanging on the wetland look gloomy and it seems that the dwellers have abandoned them. The paint peels, weathered because of the everyday sunshine peaks above the horizon, dashes in dry hot season. This is typical of Banjar houses, one thing that I observe just lately. Vaguely, under my house, some frogs sing without rhyme competing with windy noise from the open rice field across the street from my house. The aroma of rain still clings to my ceiling, when I put my stuff to my turquoise Kipling

bag – persuading me to lay back to my bed. But I should leave this as I am ready for finishing the analysis of the female academics' stories today. I venture out into the intermittent rain.

As I reach my table in my university, my eyes turn towards story files and I realise that the gloom today reflects all stories that have been told to me. All of their stories start with the implementation of neoliberal management in Indonesian universities under MoRA and the impact felt in everyday life. I will never forget about the dispute when academics should press the fingerprint machine. They are heavily monitored, which in my opinion, does not have correlation with their core jobs. Female academics are grappling with growing external pressures and measurement units which often ignore their principal work and professional roles. It seems in my campus, academics' destiny lies in the hand of the fingerprint machine and measurement indexes, like the way we take for granted the air we breathe.

I look outside, and still the drizzle sprinkles its splash to the air. I look back to the files.

Female academics also have an excessive teaching load as an impact of department enlargement derived from institute status changes to university status. With the recent presence of graduate studies in my university, female academics have more administrative responsibility and classes to teach, not only weekdays but also on weekends. The weekend service held to meet the need of people who work on weekdays and pursue Master's and PhD at the weekend.

Some of my female colleagues experience heavy thesis supervision because of administrative disorder at department level. It is lucky enough if they could say NO to more supervision. For some female academics who work in a department, they have more huge responsibility with students who did not receive proper supervision previously, then they have to take over the task.

Female academic narrators fail to compete in winning national research grants as they already have administrative burden demands to be completed. Administration increases as most academic jobs are now monitored online, and submitting portfolios, creating accounts or filling forms is compulsory. Similarly to publication, they cannot publish in an internal journal because limited time availability to read and write. Some of them have been disadvantaged by the obligation to publish articles in the English language with international journal reputation, which for us, English is a foreign language. Publication requirements are hard to fulfil.

I feel nausea remembering all their stories. But I cannot stop reading.

Since Indonesian academics have to perform community service as a part of *tridharma perguruan tinggi*, most of those women have experienced dealing with "compulsory" free service to students. It

becomes compulsory as more students choose to come to them, then those women feel obliged to do so. All those problems experienced by those women certainly were a surprise to learn. I was shocked to listen to their story about how excessive their "additional" tasks which hinder them from accomplishing "core tasks." Certainly when the neoliberal system exists, it creates more burden for female faculty members.

Throughout the stories of women's experiences in an Indonesian neoliberal university, I want to show how painful experiences can be to survive in higher education. They endure huge mental and physical pain in order to achieve academic goal set by "other," alias, new managerialism? No wonder when they hold such status, professoriate level and university leadership is empty of women. Both positions require certain level academic levels (Lecturer, Senior Lecturer, Associate Professor and Professor) and the academic level promotion could only be achieved by publication and research. Focusing on both research and publication are the most significant symbols and indicators of success in the neoliberal university.

The stories of Amalia, Diana, and Anni have an important role in revealing how women in Indonesian higher education encounter issues in their career development. The management just plunges these woman's marginalized status and do not help them to have chance to pursue career development. As new managerialism is not neutral gender, the masculine workplace plays a role in restricting female academics' autonomy. I wonder again how such stories happen and arrive back home late and tired. My car light shines on the darkness of the swamp around my house. I need to have dinner and take a rest. As the night falls, my bed calls me and I have an hour's rest before I make myself ready for the next set of female academics' stories titled "Sadness and secrets we do not tell."

Chapter 8

Underrepresentation experiences and feelings:
The secrets and sadness we do not tell

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I have shared my restorying about female academics' experiences under new managerialism within our university. In this chapter, I would present my restorying about female academics' unpleasant feelings and experiences when they climb to the academic higher ranks.

In my collaboration process with female academics, I feel welcome. Even though I have easy access to stories of female academics I worked with, it does not mean all the storytelling process is without problem. My problem is dealing with the absence of some female academics' sad stories. Their absence perhaps derived from their silence. Borrowing from Gill (2009), feminist researchers may experience silence and secrecy when collecting data. In explaining secrecy and silence terms, perhaps I would say that secrecy and absence in my project is when the story of some female academics is missing, or never has been told. As a partial insider, it will not necessarily give me a direct route to knowing (Narayan, 1993) as I also bear an "outsider within" position (Collins, 1986). Tension in my narrative project is when female academics and I agreed to starting to work together but they are silent. Indeed, making collaboration with female faculty members on feminist research creates new tension-filled experiences.

I have divided the silence and secrecy in my research into two categories. *First,* secrecy and silence in my project is about a complete refusal of some female academics to share their stories with me. To explain this category, there are 4 female academics who did not agree to participate in the storytelling project.

Second, secrecy and silence is also about the stories told by some female academics, but the stories do not provide themes I look for. The stories are short, these females answer by saying "Yes" or "No," or even "I do not have idea." It seems they are apprehensive about revealing experiences I asked about. Somehow I see that they have those stories, but are scared of the dangers of presuming to know, speak for, or advocate for others? There are three female academics who answered my question shortly in the interview. My assumptions are that they have a reluctance to share a sad story about struggling in a male-dominant university and experience to tell me. I experience what feminist

research methodology calls "tension" involved in coming to know the narratives; female academics' experiences.

In the below stories, however, are some narratives of how female academics express the disempowered feeling in academe. They are so brave to "speak themselves," understand of their situatedness. This sharing makes their experiences visible within a postcolonial context. Their stories confirm an acknowledgement that they have to work harder and seek negotiation in order to demonstrate their value.

Stories

Amalia

During my encounter with Amalia, a senior female academic who has her doctorate and is an Associate Professor, she discusses how the "male gaze" has intruded into her academic career.

I keep in my mind what Mulvey (1989) tells me. The "male gaze" or accurately described as a heterosexual, masculine gaze refers to the sexual politics of the gaze; "look steadily and intently, especially in admiration, surprise, or thought" and suggests a sexualised way of looking that empowers men and objectifies women. In the male gaze, a woman is related to seeing or sight positioned as an object of heterosexual male desire. Women's feelings and thoughts are ignored as theirs are being compiled by male desire. Mulvey puts a key idea of feminism in her film theory.

Amalia starts her story.

   "Before having my PhD, male colleagues looked at me physically," she says. She is apparently aware of the sexual pleasure involved in looking. She can still be objectified and sexualised despite keeping her body covered. As Mulvey (1989) argues, the most popular gaze is in ways to satisfy masculine fantasies.

   "Could you please enlighten me?" I ask her. "Does it mean men look at women and women have to watch themselves being looked at?"

Male colleagues in our university, according to Amalia, tend to sexualise women for a male lecturers, even male administrative staff. In academia, Amalia agrees with Mulvey who wrote, women are characterised by their "to-be-looked-at-ness." Woman is "spectacle", and man is "the bearer of the look" (Mulvey, 1989, p. 19).

   "They did not respect me and treated me like a child." She tries to define the situation appropriately.

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I am not surprised that she mentions this topic, as I see that she is physically attractive. She has small eyes, round and bright. She always wears gorgeous eyeglasses that I predict have a high price. Her skin has a healthy look, and she has dimples on her cheeks when she smiles. Moreover, she has a slim figure and her dress matches with her head cover.

"Relationship with male colleagues? Uhh sometimes it is not too comfortable. Anyway I am not very comfortable". I can hear in her voice that she is irritated. There is a long pause and I wonder if she will explain her feelings in more detail.

Rushing in, I ask her, "What do you mean by that?"

"People do sometimes look over women physically. They think of us women as something bad."

"Are they still doing that after your PhD?"

"I struggle with the proof now, still. After holding this doctorate degree, the underestimated behavior is lessen. This seriously happened." White (2001) is correct in saying that in academia, women who do not have doctorates generally have greater difficulty than women who have doctorates, not only in gaining promotion but also in knowing how to behave in everyday situations in academia, especially with colleagues of the opposite sex. However, I am aware that at most Indonesian universities, a doctoral degree is now an essential qualification for tenured or higher academic positions.

She explains, "They underrate me like a child." She repeats the last words to give emphasis. "Like a child." Then, "Like a young girl, no one likes it when I speak." I watch her pink lips, her right hand is moving up and down, it seems she is agitated and is perhaps trying to distribute her extra energy.

"Then I realized I should not speak much anyway because if I speak, I will keep being treated like that." Her experience shows how our male colleagues dominate in our university and in Indonesian higher education generally. It is clear that with males dominating in Indonesian academia, females are marginalised. It has been reported in the literature about academic women who get interrupted by men when speaking (Fotaki, 2013). Amalia mumbles that in the end, she overcame the problem by producing lots of work – work and more work.

"There is no other way to get around it." I reply raising my voice at her as a kind of supporting response.

As my thesis is driven by postcolonial feminist perspectives I am so mindful that I actually work in a university where stereotypic representations are common and often concrete, especially on issues of otherness in academia. I have found in female academics' case that the "more different" are female

academics, the more they were perceived as a threat to the existing power structure (which is masculine) and those invested in maintaining them, such as in male faculty domination. In those female academics' case, women in academia are others, on the basis of gender inequalities (Asher, 2010; Mohanty, 2003a; Mohanty, 2003b). They experience what the postcolonial feminist movement sees as "the gendered history of colonialism" and how that continues to affect the status of women today. Thus women are colonized in a twofold way by imperialism and male dominance (Loomba, 1998). The domination of the male in the depiction of the female academics' stories is largely due to hierarchical binaries. I see my postcolonial approach is a "way in" to challenge the dominant discourses across a range of academic activities.

Without being controlled, my mind wanders to my old memories of being a marginalized academic. I stay with those memories. One of them is when I was not given permission to study for a Master's degree in India or the Philippines, while a male colleague who was tenured after me was allowed to study in Malaysia. I cannot escape from these memories, but I do not want to share them with Amalia today. We are limited by the time available to us.

While listening to Amalia's story about her relationship with her male colleagues, I felt my anger increasing. However, writing Amalia's story somehow releases my pain. I agree one hundred percent with Richardson (1994, p. 965) that many female academics who listen to stories like Amalia's will recognize it as congruent with their own experiences—their untold stories.

From her story, I could see that some, especially males, may see Amalia as a "stubborn" academic. But maybe the word "sturdy" is better? Amalia never seems discouraged with problems that arise during her hard times—she could solve all problems with her determination and ability.

One example was when Amalia's promotion material was lost at the faculty. It was a very important document that would enable Amalia to climb the Associate Professorship ladder.

I inquire why the document was lost, how that could happen.

  "Because a male colleague envied me…"

A male colleague again? My forehead creases.

According to Amalia, the Associate Professor promotion documentation was submitted in 2012. Unfortunately, the document was lost for over one year. The funny thing is, it was lost in the faculty where she works. Someone else in the department told Amalia that the responsible officer was resentful because his wife could not pass the test to become a lecturer. Probably he ignored his duties and he moved from the faculty. As a result all the files were lost. In 2013 it was finally discovered

that Amalia's application had been lost or discarded. Amalia applied for her Associate Professorship once more, starting from the beginning. After resubmitting the application to the university, she was granted "IV/a." This is a civil servant rank which equals Associate Professor level.

What a painful story, but it ends up well, which I am certain derives from Amalia's patience, endurance and determination.

Besides telling me these depressing stories about her life in academia, she also has stories about her position in her family. Exhausted, she looks at me and laments:

"I am the only daughter-in-law who has become a lecturer and has a doctorate." In my opinion, she should look happy and be proud when she delivers these words, but she does not.

"What does it mean to you?" I predict she will acknowledge about a negotiation.

It is not so different from her academic life, that she also should have trouble convincing her traditional family that women can work and achieve at a high level.

"I struggle a lot. Because how many woman academics are there who can climb the academic ladder, how many? How many females have doctorates?" She complains.

Bagilhole (2007, p. 30) has discussed this situation. Women academics themselves need to make a shift to make university as a kind place for women. To deal with the core of problem, probably is applying a well-known tactic namely "adding more women in university." The strategy may have good result or bad result.

"There are cases where females with doctorates have had problems with their husbands. In this university, there are two females, you may know…maybe yes?" Amalia talks fast and unclear as she waves her hand in the air.

She makes grimace, "The latest one is Ms. X case and the other one is Ms. Y from Z faculty, both divorced."

I do not know either of them, as I am new here in this university, and they are not from our faculty. I do know that Ms. W has just filed a case against her husband. Both she and her husband are academics from my faculty. But why divorce?

"This gives a bad impression of smart women, right?" She asks for my agreement, but it sounds to me like a rhetorical question that does not need an answer. I refrain from saying anything as now she is telling me about a sorrowful experience that is obviously sensitive and difficult to tell. It is

difficult even for the listener. I am horrified to hear it. She is not alone in her anxiety and disillusionment concerning the present state of affairs in academic work.

"Later on, we need to struggle, right? We fear people think negatively of us. Their negative thoughts will demotivate us to hold a doctorate degree." I start grasping where the conversation is going, it is about (smart, educated) women academics and relationship with their spouse; can those women maintain "a good relationship"?

Finally, she concludes, "I understand that, indeed sometimes we get stuck in one place, however, we must go forward. The important thing is not to harm anyone else, just go straight. It is the one thing that we should try to maintain."

At this point I still can't see the correlation between her struggles as a PhD holder and her domestic life. Suddenly she breaks the silence and seems she reads my mind.

"Support is of primary importance."

I try to console her by replying, "It is."

"From my own family, there is not any problem in terms of support. All my siblings have undergraduate degrees, and my sister is now pursuing her master's degree. Both my parents have died. No problem." It is a good start I guess, telling me about her family.

"While from my husband's family, none of my sisters-in-law work." She looks at the watch on her left wrist.

"However, my nieces work. None of their mothers ever worked. My oldest sister-in-law is the same age as my mother, and my husband is the youngest son. There has been a lot of struggle in this family. So, it is necessary...necessary...sometimes to give them an understanding with deeds, not just words. For example, I have to show them that everything runs well at home even though I am working."

She goes on, with non-stop sentences, "What I am doing means it is more challenging. It is hard. I am the only daughter-in-law who works and has a doctorate. If I were to stay at home and not work, it would not be enough to fulfil my life. Being an academic is my destiny. Yes."

She continues, "To get support we have to continually negotiate, then we should show people that we are good first and then eventually people will trust in us. Yes? We need to fight. Being a working woman is very foreign to those women. They are very traditional women who value most the woman who sits at home." Amalia shakes her head and clucks her tongue in disapproval.

I am surprised when Amalia says, "Even my own husband still thinks that men should work and be the bread winner. I think that is rather selfish."

I feel relieved when hearing that Amalia disagrees with the idea of the man as the bread winner. In this case Amalia is going against the mainstream current. I am sure the majority of *Banjarese* men and women still think the way her husband thinks. That is why most males feel that they do not have any responsibilities for housework and childcare during their working life. It is generally felt that females should continue to have these responsibilities, even if they have another career. When this is the case, these responsibilities may affect the woman's career. All these responsibilities may increase the woman's stress level and this stress may impact on their career success.

When her anger subsides, she advises, "Besides family support, women also need great communication skills. That communication is important and I also continue to respect my husband, become his company to work on...always be beside him, that is what matters."

In summary, Amalia wants to tell me that it is hard to be woman academic with a PhD degree. She struggles to negotiate her position within a traditional family. She always has to strive to "look good" so that people will accept her the way she is.

Here, I remember Collins' theory of power and intersectionality. According to Collins, (2009a, p. 292) there is power that as something that isn't possessed but instead is "an intangible entity that circulates within a particular matrix of domination and to which individuals stand in varying relationships." The power should be seen as dialectic, and she points out that "interpersonal" domain of power operates in social interaction. Amalia has a position as the only woman in her family who achieves the highest social position, however she (still) experiences oppression in the micro-level, day-to-day interactions and relationships in her family. It is through these everyday relationships and interactions that oppression is both perpetuated and challenged (Collins, 2009a, pp. 306-7). An oppressor in one interaction may be a victim in another.

Dian

Dian, a senior female academic who held the highest position at my faculty as Vice Dean, now has a position as a Vice Rector. Her new position is giving a sense of pride for women in my faculty, it is rare for women to have that position.

She has a long and multiple stories to tell regarding relationship with male colleagues, when I interviewed her. The first one is that she had an argument with a male colleague.

"There are two male lecturers who do not respect me."

"What did actually they do to you?" She can see that I am so curious.

Dian contiues, "Mr. A said I am bla bla bla….He always protests to me. He is angry.

I protest him back, so basically we protest each other.

I said, 'that it is your right that you like this'. I am angry when saying that.

To face him, I always direct, why he does that. I 'shoot' him, I immediately argue with him, *what do you want?*."

I sigh heavily. This incident is experienced by Dian because gender power imbalance exists in the workplace. I know that Dian faces hierarchical relations between men and women and in the organisation, which are becoming critical issues.

"Finally we settled. Now he respects me, saying to our colleagues, "*Bu* Dian is not grudging, she is a good person."

"When did it happen?"

"That argument happened when I became the head of the department. And after that he is good to me."

Unfortunately, Dian does not tell me what the real problem is. Perhaps it is about department policy, and the man is not satisfied by the policy. I have the assumption she is afraid that the untold story becomes a public consumption. It is not clear to me, however I can take the gist that she should be brave to argue with men and the men will respect her.

"There is another one, Mr. B, also protests to me.

He said I am like this and like that…

To him I said like this, "I am okay... it is okay ... please you write what you complain about, I will pass it to the Senate. What you complain about is good, but I cannot decide myself.

You do not have the right to talk it here and there, talking something that is not proper!"".

She is a half yelling when reveals the incident.

"Well ... I went to where the roots are. That will make him always silent. I always do that."

When Dian enters position of power that were previously occupied by men, it is easily predicted that more dramatic events will come up. Men still tend to consider women leaders as having different and inferior qualities, and men are likely to give challenges to those women.

"However, as a head of a department I reward him with kindness and I help him twice. Once is to get TESOL participants. Second, secretly, I recommend him to get a scholarship when he was about to study Master to America. I was interviewed by phone by a scholarship officer, asking how his personality. I said that he is a good person, though he is not the best lecturer at the interview."

"You are so amazing person, *Bu.*" Without shame, I express admiration for her.

"It is very nice now, with him I am normal and he is amazingly good. His wife came here for visit. I gave gifts to her." She smiles widely.

I think it took a while before she is was accepted and respected within the department. She is so capable in solving a problem, showing her power as a female leader, this will inspire us who are in lower positions.

Her experience goes more. Still, she has a problem with another male colleague, and she wins!

"I am against polygamy. I was against a male colleague who is polygamous and nominated himself as a leader in this faculty."

"How do you oppose him and voice your objection this time?" My tone wants to find out more.

"I have been a senate member several times here. I always voice my aspiration as a woman. There is a male colleague, Mr. C who nominates himself to be the head of this department. Unfortunately he has two wives, while he is a civil servant academic." Dian answers me confidently, with her sharp voice.

When we get into here, I know exactly who Mr. C is. There is no one of university staff here who shows blatantly that he is polygamous, except him. Even our students can see clearly as sometimes he brings the wives to university.

As Dian continues, I feel the tension of our feeling is increasing, "I see the rules from civil servants men are not allowed to have two wives."

"Looking at the condition, what have you done so far? I saw both wives in our *Dharma Wanita* meeting, which I think it is not proper to bring them in an academic area." I deliver my disagreement on the topic of bringing wives to the meeting, explicitly.

Dharma Wanita (literally means women's duties) is a community organization for the wives of Indonesian Civil Servants (Nurmila, 2009). The activities engage in are education, economic and socio-cultural. The purpose of the *Dharma Wanita* organization is to realize the welfare of civil servants members and family through improving the quality of member resources to support the achievement of national goals based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

However, the role as wives of government officials will lead them to the current patriarchal identity. This because the existence of women in that organisation is based on husband's name and status (Suryakusuma, 1996). *Dharma Wanita* activities are often seen only *arisan*[26], comparative studies, promotion of household products and beauty seminars.

From a feminist's perspective, the *Dharma Wanita* only represents the support function of housewives to the role of working husbands. Husbands get the wages materially and considered as a measuring point in the fulfillment of family needs. The presumption of the privilege of men as the supreme authority as a breadwinner is what causes the absence of women's work and identity (Sears, 1996). Women in the organization are confined in the burden of patriarchal identity as women's mastery and dominance is still strongly influenced by their domestic role. Suryakusuma (1996, p. 101) claims *Dharma Wanita* as one New Order ideology surrounding gender under the Soeharto regime.

Vigorously, she replies, "I always raise my hand. The fact that he is a future leader. And all the students knew he has two wives. Later there is a concern that he will influence other friends, or even students."

"Yeah, it is not a good precedent!" I grunt as I also become more emotional as I am also an opponent of polygamy.

As the head of Center for Gender Studies in 2000, I had a duty giving a speech in gender seminars. One day I was a speaker of polygamy topic. Beside me, there was a male colleague who was proponent of polygamy, while I was the opponent. There was a long debate whether polygamy should be accepted or banned. He used Qur'anic verses to support his view, and I did the same, but using women's reading and Islamic feminism perspective (van Doorn-Harder, 2012). I remember how my feeling was when delivering speech, it perhaps was just like the way Dian did to Mr. C.

I add more,"I think he feels threatened to see women in positions of power".

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[26] Generally the ***arisan*** is a social gathering in Indonesian culture that takes place at a fixed interval time, with event a form of rotating savings and credit. It is a form of Microfinance.

"Finally several times he fails to be the head of this department. He make complaint several times. He raises rumors, saying: 'His failure is because of me and Ms S. (another female academic who supports Dian)'. I really…really voice the rules of civil servants should not marry two women."

It is clear that she wants to deliver a message to me by emphasizing: "If there is a male civil servant who has two wives, do not choose him as a leader. I think if the husband is a good man in the household, then his wife is only one, he will be good too...when leads anything".

Listening (then later writing) Dian's stories really creates tension. As what is more pathetic than denial or hesitation from male colleagues? She perceives that she is treated less favourably by their male colleagues. Her experiences are sensitive cases that, if they are revealed, it might endanger her life? My empathy appears suddenly. I try to imagine my own-self to Dian's position and understand her feeling when she is faced up with the dilemmatic issues.

In doing outsider-within, Dian does not only reveal uncovered experiences where previously untouched and so secretive, such as the issue of polygamy, unhealthy male-female relationship, but she also presents concrete areas of social relations where Indonesian women build and circulate on self-definitions and self-valuations (Collins, 1986, p. 524) which are extremely important to solve the oppression they experience concurrently. Or explicitly, it is perseverance!

The emotional strain that I experience does not stop here. After bad experiences in academia, the next one is her sorrow story of her personal life, affected by her academic life. She commences the story from being appointed civil servant in Jakarta and moves to Banjarmasin. The transition felt very hard for her, as she recalls, "I studied Master's while taking care of three small babies and being a department secretary, and my husband was away. Previously I have worked for nine years in the Ministry of Information as a civil servant. I already mastered the administration stuff during that time. After moving to Banjarmasin as an academic, I was given permission to study my Master. But I had to study it in Java."

At that time, there was no English department offered in universities in Banjarmasin. As I know there were only two big universities here. I have a lot of friends from Kalimantan when I did my Bachelor and Master degree in Yogyakarta. According to them, the quality of education is better in Java. Further, the cost of living in Java is so affordable compared to Kalimantan.

Only the hum of the air conditioner sounds between us in Vice Dean room.

"My Master degree had to be linear with Bachelor which is English. In addition, I was recommended to take English major, because English lecturers were very few."

I break the continuity, "So you were studying English major in Java? Was it in Malang?" Malang looks the favorite destination to pursue further study for *Banjarese.* Some of my *Banjarese* students continued Master study there.

"I was told by the Rector, for commencing study Master soon. I said it is impossible to study in Java right now, because I just moved here, just three days after delivering baby."

Again, I remember Richardson (1997), once the untold stories of female are revealed, other females will notice they have similar ones. I was just 3 weeks into my maternity leave, when I got a call from Mr. M, the head of my department back to my hometown, to teach classes. I wonder why he did not understand that I was not on duty for two months? He was not happy at all with my on leave.

"Then I negotiated to study Master with Indonesian language major here in Banjarmasin. I was still excited to pursue my further degree."

The next plot is so surprising!

"The rector agreed, 'okay, but if you study Indonesian language in Banjarmasin, you do not get a fund help'. Tears in my eyes".

Oh just because she could not go to Java and study English major, she did not get the financial assistance? Sad! It is just like my own story that my Rector did not grant me a permission to study abroad in my first years as academic. Dian and I share similar problem regarding studying Master. My heart pounds. My hands cool.

Now I only can hear clockwise on the wall. I try to ease my emotional burden by looking at the window. It is dark outside. I can see the cloud grins, welcoming the wind that will make it rain. A heavy rain probably.

"I replied to him, Okay, no problem, the important thing is I can still study, and get together with my family." What a wise decision but indeed hurt!

Dian tends to harmonize dilemma raised between family commitment and career, especially giving the fact that the leaders in our university itself usually perform aggressive manners. The leaders are goal oriented, "competitive, efficient, but rarely as supportive, kind, and caring" (Acker, 1992, p. 568).

Her voice is hoarse, increasingly weakened.

With a tone of regret Dian adds, "I said, if I knew I would move here Banjarmasin, I would study my Master in Jakarta before. But because in that year I did not have time to think, oh I just wanted to back to my hometown here."

While she takes a long deep breath, I raise my eyebrows to maintain my focus of listening.

"Finally after giving birth, when my third baby was 3 months, I studied Master in one university in Banjarmasin, yeah with three month old baby while studying".

"Were you free from administrative works?"

"While doing my Master, I was placed in English department." Her answer means she was not free from the task.

"Oh ya?"

"Although I study Master in Bahasa Indonesia, I continue to advance this faculty, especially English department. At that time, the chair of English department was Mr. A, and his secretary was Mr. H. There, I worked maximally, because I had promised that I was given permission to study Master in Indonesian Language, instead of English, I still had to commit to the English language path."

It is true. Even though her PhD is not English (I heard it is Indonesian Language major), she pays a lot of attention to the English department. One of her dedications was being the head of English department, which ends in 2017. She moves up to Vice Rector after a highly competitive election against male competitors. I congratulate her on the day of inauguration. She is with her husband when we meet on the wooden stair. She smiles and says thank you.

I feel relieved after her voice is back into normal. There is a feeling of relief, after she could accept all unpleasant conditions.

"In the next year of studying master, I was appointed to be a secretary in this department. My domestic tasks did not change, still, I took care of my children alone. I had two housemaids as I had already three babies."

She takes the tissue on the table and wipes her tears. I want to gently touch her shoulders, there is little power that I want to spread. She keeps her head down when continues.

"My first baby was so little, when I got other younger ones. I was back and forth, juggling with motherhood, working as an academic, being a secretary in the department and studying. My husband

came and gone to Jakarta as he worked in Jakarta. Especially my life become harder when he got three month scholarships to Australia. I took care of my children while studying. It indeed hurt me".

Her miserable story does not quit here. Dian describes how the circumstance badly affects her health condition.

"Those three months really became my hardest times. I was tired".

Her head is down for seconds. She is twisting the tip of the shirt on her lap. She lifts her chin, looking at me, "I should be hospitalised as I had less blood. My Hb (haemoglobin) was only four. But I had to be healthy, because I had multi tasks while husband was not around. My baby was just three month old, I cried a lot."

"But you have made it, haven't you?" My voice sounds vague, competing with her low voice.

As inspired by Black feminism (Collins, 1986) Dian uses all resources available to her, her roles as mother and academic, her patience in her hard times, her honest told-live experiences, to be self-defined and self-valuating and to encourage others to deny objectification, then Dian's everyday behaviour is a form of activism. Society views female academics as fully human and as subjects, then they become activists, it does not matter how small percentage of their activism may be. By placing subjectivity to those female academics, society return activism to themselves as well.

"I had to go through everything, I had spirit, then after that I lived, lived it all, and I made programs for my departments". Her hands clenched.

I look outside through the window decorated with White tassel. It rains. It is November rain. The rain will always remind me of the twilight in Kudus, my hometown. Every rainfall that drops is very meaningful for me. The rain will always be a memory for me. With the rain today, all memories are united. Through the rain I can have (beautiful and) sad memories like they have been through together.

When I leave her room, I start smell of the soil mingles with the rain water which creates a distinctive aroma. The caress of the cold began to feel.

Anni

I meet Anni in the middle of her busy schedule. It is a good achievement that I can meet her and make her agrees to share her wonderful experiences with me. She is the head of a department in the Postgraduate School. She is happy to start our collaboration by telling her life just before her academic

appointment. Anni had not married yet till her 30s. She raises a question,"Do you know what did people comment?"

I shake my head.

"So I heard people say, if a man married to Anni, would Anni make him tea? Would she cook for him or not?"

Her inspiration hits me so, I manage it with asking her to tell me more about her cultural society in that moment.

She looks at my face closely.

"So the image of people about me, -a woman who just pursued Master degree from Canada, not married in my 30s-, is like that. They are still imprisoned that women should serve men by making them tea and cook them food. And because I am a highly overseas educated woman, people doubt me that I would do those services."

It is a sad story basically, but suddenly both of us giggling under the freshly fragrant air conditioner – feeling the freakiness of people in the past. A shot of sunlight peeks through tree branches, leaves and finally through White window drapery next to us.

"People then assumed thereof I did not marry yet that moment".

"Wow…Interesting! How was your family response toward it?" I feel excited.

"My mother, on one side was worried when I went home from Canada and still single, however on the other side she was proud of me, her daughter became a lecturer."

Ah? It reminds me of my parents for a while. The shadows of my parents struck my mind.

"You know what, right I was back from Canada, there were only two female academics who held Masters, Ms. MU and me, in this university."

It is worth noting that the majority of men at this department have been employed since the university was an institute.

"Thus some colleagues started gossiping me that I have not married yet at the late age of 29. Some said, 'Anni, you are so picky!'"

Picky in terms of choosing a husband? Hmmm….I agree that we have to be picky women.

"I replied to the people, 'I must choose, I say…'". Anni's breathe is coming in gasps. "Or there was also like this: 'Anni, you are so picky,' then my reply was, 'give me the man…, where is the man who wanted to marry me?' I said angrily"

She is furious with these people.

So, the local culture in the 1990s was people made gossip if there is a woman of thirty who does not get married yet. It was a hard time for Anni, as she was in dilemma; she wanted to have a career as academic, but…at the same time people surrounding her seemed to be questioning her single status. She spotted that there was one man who did not dare to propose her as he had a lower level education. That might be the real and an honest answer why the man was backing away!

I take into account that Prabasmoro (2000) writes how people reaction to a woman who had not married yet at twenty five. Anni experiences the oppressive stereotypes that she had to go through – hostile questions thrown to her whether she would get married. The fact that she had not found the right man that she liked, made people agitated, not Anni. Indeed, she was accused that she was a picky woman, where at that time "a women were not supposed to choose'" (Prabasmoro, 2000, p. 133).

"My society has defined me that I should have a man. That was the background when I first stepped in to academia world."

When finally she got married, the cultural problem she encountered did not stop. Anni's husband, also an academic in our university – who is originally from Sumatera Island – has done something 'against' *Banjarese* local culture, and Anni was the one blamed by her male colleague.

"Husband and I had an agreement that our baby did not need to go to childcare. We took turns taking care it. If I were teaching, he was the one who took care our baby. You know, it was a baby, so he carried it around here and there under an umbrella, changed pampers. In his office drawer there were pampers, and clothes... Well one day the baby was crying. From D faculty – he knew where I taught – he brought our baby to me wearing the sling, 'the *jarit*'[27], while holding up an umbrella, which is not so common here".

We both share laughter very loudly.

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[27] Sometimes called *jarik*, or *selendang*. It is a long shawl to carry a baby, made of *batik* material.

Anni's voice is rising, "Yes, do not you ever see the gentlemen here carrying baby with *jarik*. Oh... there was a male colleague who had comment, his voice is a warning me, "Anni, how could you…your husband! You let your husband doing that in campus!""

"I remember his face and his tone which were expressing something too much." Anni gulps, her face is red.

"Yes, I was the one that blamed, not my husband."

As an outsider here, in Banjarmasin, I could understand if the husband did something "different" and it regards something "unusual." I myself did the same here as a Javanese, but what I and her husband have done were not something illegal or breaking the law. It is just not common anyway…

"And that was the first one."

"Means you have another similar story?" I guess with the hope that she has the story.

As McNamara (2009, p. 173) underlines that women have been accustomed to having far greater energy to have responsibility than males in family. Therefore, women as mothers have also experienced blame for both their own and their spouse's behaviours. Their behaviours as mothers "have been criticised for," and Anni has indeed blamed herself for perceived failure to perform domestic tasks capably.

Anni as a mother has even been criticised for paying less attention to her baby and her partner by her male colleagues. She was seen having negative impact upon her effectiveness as female academic who is also a mother. Here, her story about being mother who is an academic, makes different as she is an expert at keeping secrets and then telling her stories. What she shares with me is about Banjarese women's wisdom and knowledge which might be not heard and is ignored.

Throwing her head back, she comes forth with great emphasis.

"The second blame was when I have taught until the afternoon. Well, my husband, rode *angkot*[28] going home brought our baby, got home. We did not ride motorcycles that time, still using public transportation, there is no fly over yet."

She describes our transport system and the main street in front of our university.

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[28] Indonesian public transport

"When I got home, I told my husband, 'There was a gentleman criticized me talking about you bring our baby on *angkot*. Do you know what he told me?'. 'Anni ...?????. You are too much'. The gentleman screamed of seeing my husband brought our baby riding *angkot* with jarik".

"Hahahaha…." A loud laughter breaks out between us.

"My husband replied calmly, 'it is my baby, my own baby. It is up to me. If it is weeping I am the only one who is in a hassle. Yeah, it keeps crying, so I bring it to her mama to breastfeed it, then when she is calm, I bring her home. Funny isn' it?"

Her story is so funny that entertains us in that afternoon. We really enjoy that moment. I should acknowledge that she is very skillful in wrapping a problem into a funny story.

However the next story is dissimilar to the previous ones. This is about when she joined a methodology training in Jakarta for two months. Her pregnancy was seen as a hindrance for advancement.

"Nuril, one senior female academics, who also the wife of our Rector, offered me to attend a methodology training for two months in Jakarta."

"It is a good opportunity then," I reply.

The silence shatters all around us.

"I told Nuril, if I join this two month-training I have to take my child with me, as my husband soon departed to England. Further, meanwhile I am pregnant again."

I can feel what she thinks, it must be harder to take decision to join the training, with such conditions.

"But Nuril insisted, 'Accept it Anni, please. I am the one who proposed your name. It has been the men who keep going to training for so long. So you must go with your pregnancy. If you refuse to go, I do not have any more bargains. Beforehand, women have been offered to go, but always refused. If you reject this opportunity, I have not got the price anymore, I cannot make a bargain again. This chance has been given, because I ask!'. Nuril's voice was demanding and I agreed with her about women's low participation."

The way Nuril promoted Anni because I know that Nuril (who was the head of Center for Gender Study when I was the center head too, in my previous campus) has understood well that women do not usually have informal networks of support. Nuril finds the women blocked from advancement opportunities or promotions which are more likely to be based on trust than on performance (Glazer & Raymo, 1999, p. 150). Further, Nuril experienced that women are often "ignored" and "excluded"

from informal networks and from having access to relevant opportunity networks within the organisation.

Therefore she "forced" Anni to take the chance.

It was eerily quiet before Anni continues: "I replied to Nuril, 'but then how to take care of my first child?'

Nuril replied, "There were a lot of people to take care your child, everywhere," she tried to convince me.

Oh…I know that I should sacrifice my money to do that. Right, okay.

Further I could not refuse it when my husband said, 'So do you want to take the opportunity or no?' He loved to give me support by joining me for a month in Jakarta, then he would go to England.

Finally I went to Jakarta. In the first month, my child was raised by my husband while I was in the training. In the second month, we put our child in a childcare."

"I believe you face something unusual here?" I hear my own voice is full of judgmental.

"Exactly." She answers shortly, and goes on more slowly.

"Actually, the requested requirement for the training program was only a health certificate, not a pregnancy certificate. My sad story started here. By the time when the committees found out I was pregnant, I was not allowed to collect data in the field with other members. I was told to input data only."

"Oh," I shout low.

"My pregnancy impacts to the next training, which I always see it requires that attendees are not in a state of pregnancy." I can see and feel she is frustrated, angry because of not being able to do something.

What she has said obscures my vision. It also hinders my breathing.

"Wow, pregnancy means obstacle to me. It is an issue. I am very sad." Clouds limp across her eyes.

Anni, with her drooping shoulders tries to explain how often women in academia encounter a kind of "mom-ism."

According to Bronstein (2001, p. 191), it is another form of stereotyping that older women academics experience. For Anni, the image delivered by the committees tended to be that she is a mom, whose priorities were her babies at home. While at the same time she was actually accomplishing all her academic tasks, and why she joins that training program is because she is an academic.

Borrowing from Bronstein (2001, p. 190) the image that was created by the committees seems to look like this: "Anni has been an excellent parent to her children, caring for them, being there whenever she was needed, taking an active interest in their schooling, as well as being an enthusiastic supporter of their sports and recreational activities." There is no image which mentions that she is an academic.

From a postcolonial feminism perspective, compromise is needed by Anni to settling a dispute and occupying outsider within builds a third space, capturing the struggle of translation and difference in contexts where cultural and linguistic practices crash. In such place, as a female academic, Anni has to negotiate complexity and struggle in masculine local cultural knowledge and linguistic registers. This crash occurs when Anni and female academics try to make sense of their own identities in relation to prevailing male gaze and existing cultural practices. Female academics' acceptance of prejudice and discrimination and use of diverse skills to overcome this complexity and struggle, is found in everyday life of our university settings. Female academic embrace assertiveness to survive in harsh environment. This is what Collins (1986, p. 518) means by "By defining and valuing assertiveness and other 'unfeminine' qualities as necessary and functional attributes for Afro-American womanhood, Black women's self evaluation challenges the content of externally defined controlling images."

Rima

Under neoliberal and managerialism regulations, a huge change has been experienced by Indonesian higher education. The university extends faculties and programs, enlarges student numbers, and expands academics' responsibilities into other roles (Ball, 2015), which means roles of academics experience changes as well.

As the growing number change of educators' roles into others are more complex such as being "course designer, marketers, technology experts and administrator" (Ferman, 2002, p. 146), academics need significantly more opportunity for development. Beside fulfilling the department's need, such as to enhance quality of teaching (Hardy, 2012), the opportunity is a vital part aimed to respond the self-need among academics, namely to maintain their high value work, required by certain standard and procedures.

To maintain their high value work, presenting a paper in a seminar, thus becomes one example.

The need of the opportunity is felt enormously by Rima who unfortunately is disappointed with her department's financial support.

She starts our lovely meeting with her experiences on attending a seminar. "Just when we want to attend a seminar, seems support from the campus I think is low."

I respond her by asking her clarification. "Is the low support only for your department?"

"I do not know, but in this (X) department we have to use our own money to present in a seminar."

I nod. I give her a chance to express her burden.

She continues as she is the wind in January.

"If you compare to colleagues in Polytechnic (one state secular university in Banjarmasin), Polytech university finances the fee if academics join international seminars. For us in this university, we own should bear the expense."

"Why?" I feel it is a stupid question.

"Because in this university, it is claimed that seminar fee is considered included in our certification salary."

"Ahh…" I groan.

Rima concludes, "So we do not have (additional) financial support." I ask her to make sure was there a change, "Does this just happen lately? I mean the way you pay yourself for seminar?"

Surprisingly her answer is like this: "There was travel service (SPPD[29]) from this university. Our department used to reimburse for accommodation and transport for TEFLIN (Teaching English as a Foreign Language in Indonesia) seminar. For the registration, we paid ourselves. The travel service was helpful."

I do not wonder if the payment is not available anymore, as the transformation in Indonesian universities affect to budget cutting (Susanti, 2011). The budget certainly has reduced the total amount expense of academics to undertake seminar.

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[29] *Surat Perintah Perjalanan Dinas.*

She relates forward, "For TEFLIN we pay about 900.000 Rupiahs. That is pretty high…". I sense a complaint in her tone.

"Yeah, it is expensive," I reply, showing a harmony and accordance in opinion or her feeling.

"As we have to pay by our own money, we overcome it by making the payment that deducted from the lumpsum money[30]." Rima lets on without hesitation.

Without skepticism and action of pausing, she narrates her jealous feeling about the difference of Polytech with our university, "The more jealous is, sometimes if you see friends who are from *Poltek[31],* could join seminar in a group…can you imagine? Not only one or two academics…but in a big group."

Rima perpetuates showing her envy of Polytech colleagues of their advantages.

"The worse is, sometimes they come to seminar as attendees only, not doing presentation, while we do presentation."

A dull quiet covers us.

The rush of traffic is still dominant across flyover, even in the lunch hours. But the rush does not decrease stillness between us.

"But we have less appreciation." Her voice is a mountain of disappointment.

"How about other departments? Do they experience the same of your department?."

I try to narrow the scope by making comparisons among internal departments, rather than looking further to other university, as I know Polytech is not under MoRA. I am sure we have some gaps in every aspect.

Rima remains in her specific position; becomes envious and she is not ashamed of her feeling. This kind of topic somehow is a sensitive one, and some people may not like to share it with me. This issue for me is like a silken web, weakens but so gentle, and at the same time isolates her for sharing.

A weird melancholy overwhelms me, I do not know why.

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[30] It is literally defined as a single complete sum of money. The money is paid daily when a lecturer joins a workshop/seminar.

[31] An Indonesian term for Polytech.

"I do not know exactly but especially compares to religious departments when joining conference such as AICIS conference (Annual International Conference on Islamic Studies), I heard academics get paid." She explains clearly.

This is definitely a great issue. Nobody speaks remarkable things; especially it is to make comparison with other advantageous departments.

She sighs. Then she adds, "But we need to confirm this with the ones joined". She is not sure about this, and she worries if her information is not accurate. She carries on, her words are as painful as opened wounds, "Because this is English department, maybe this experience will be different with lecturers from Islamic Education department".

I ask her gloomily, "Why join TEFLIN conference needs to pay while AICIS not?"

She is silent and looks at me.

"Well, I have no idea either, but one thing is TEFLIN is a non-profit international association, thus we have to pay for ourselves. Even for a small seminar outside TEFLIN".

She moves her lips like a pouting expression; her lower lip protrudes in a sulky pout. She also moves her shoulder upper.

"So our campus does not pay our seminar. I hope there is fund for professional development. We have less support in the field of professional development. It is still lacking financially. It is actually because we must finance ourselves, so we miss a lot more practices anyway."

Rima's "outsider within" status has provided a special standpoint on her with her marginality. By embracing outsider within, Collins (1986) opines that female academics have advantages such as having a helpful starting point for understanding the large area which never been investigated before. Female academics' outsider within status and the function of the standpoint, might generate. Moreover, the experience of their marginality, might develop the production of innovation.

For me, the outsider-within position needs compromise as a third space. Female academics are longing for something better than now received. They imagine that becoming an academic is not like this; experiencing harsh otherness. For female academics, university where they work has become the third space, would put their academic value "under fire" (Susanti, 2011). It is not the third space drawing that automatically we could transform into better qualified and live academics, but it is used to describe how female academics occupy a third space where there is a negotiation of identities and practices between two opposing realities in academia.

What she recounts reminds me of Gaus and Hall (2016) saying that Indonesian women academics have less opportunity to develop and experience being undervalued, which is detrimental to their career. Rima has an awareness of the impact of neoliberal policy to cut some budget for lecturers, like herself. She realises that seniority did not even have an important effect to gain respect and trust from our government. She feels undervalued as our government, through our university, has let herself to be managed like a "soldier" (Gaus & Hall, 2016, p. 676) who had to comply with their regulation but we are ignored financially. Wising up that she is an intellectual person, she believed that such budget cutting leads her to get disappointed.

Anguish of solitude pervades me. She looks very miserable when delivering the story. I thank her for her time. When we say goodbye, the hot sun greets me when I get out of the room. I cover my forehead with my hand, looking for shade. I felt dizzy. I had known sadness but never envy academics. Today, I learn a lot from Rima.

Nina

Many women in modern but male-dominated workplaces inform of hardship with relationships with male colleagues, and some give up their positions because of negative relationships. What they feel there is they are like "outsiders," and situated or move beyond the boundaries. They have to work in a male environment while they hope for equal treatment. Women academics experience problems with males in terms of questioning of and challenges to their authority (Bagilhole, 1993).

That situation was experienced by Nina who works as staff, climbs to a position as a secretary then head of the same department.

"It is fancy to meet you here," I open the conversation. It is the day when finally I can interview Nina, freshly appointed as the head of department.

We talk in her "non-fancy" office, a long narrow room with five tables and seats, two medium wooden cupboards and a large bookshelf. Her room saves me from the afternoon heat. I usually visit her room in between my teaching schedule; to say hello to her, and cool myself under the air conditioner.

"How is to best describe your relationship with (male) colleagues?" A hot and fresh question and quite direct, I guess.

Her lips tilt further.

"Well, I think there is no problem with woman colleagues. All women academics, hmm…they all support me. I guess…"

Her smile is sweet, shining her teeth. It is breathtaking when once she opens her eyeglasses and puts it back. Her eyes are brilliant in a face made up of otherwise regular features. Both are attractive.

"But when compares to male colleagues?" Her eyes change suddenly, reacting to my question.

"I feel my male friends bullied me." Her sigh sounds very loud in front me.

"This maybe because I am in this position." She looks up, dark eyes wide in a pale face.

"They got knocked out because of me here, and.... it creates several things: I feel bullied some of this time, with words, with letters and other attitudes."

She gives me an example when she received a black mail. The sender criticized the department's policy with bad words. "I feel there are hundreds of sins of this department that are addressed to Mr. F as previous this department head, but actually it is directed to me." Her voice echoes between two walls.

My fingers curl around a glass, half full of fresh water, but I do not lift it.

We look into each other's eyes for a moment.

"That has happened because what… basically who leads this campus is man. When a woman leads, I think men object, and there is a sense of dislike."

I totally agree with her that more dramatic rejection occurs when women enter positions of power that were previously reserved for men. This means men often ignore and discourage women from seeking senior managerial positions and other leadership roles within universities, by showing bad relationship to women leaders (Bagilhole, 2007).

"The only choice is: any kind desirable criteria, is men".

Certainly Hemmings (2011) is right when she hopes through stories of feminist stories such as Nina shares, the leadership transformation in academia will happen. Hemmings points out that such stories provide high impact of a movement.

"There are some colleagues who look alright with their friendship with me, but makes me feel different way. It is implied by me then."

"Do you mean, it is like a fake friendship?" I demand her to clarify. But one thing I know for sure, she faced discrimination as a woman. And as defined by Lipton and Mackinlay (2017, p. 90) "bullying and harassment are defined by institutions and enshrined in policy, and as such institutions in their role as regulators also determine what constitutes such as discrimination."

Her gaze traces the lines of my face; I feel her look as if it is a touch.

"I have been feeling this way for years, I was vividly reminded of arguing with one male colleague. He said that I am not able to handle department tasks. How dare he said that to me!" In the White neon light, Nina's eyes looked darker and narrower than I can remember.

Back to my own story, I can remember everything about the same moment. The feeling of powerlessness in front of my male enemy. The scent of the room where we had a quarrel, and the people over the glass door who watched us; wondering what had happened between me and him. When I got out of his room, everyone could spot my red eyes. I passed them without saying a word.

The way his mouth yelled at me, was so scary. I hold a perfect picture of him in my mind, the moment he convinced me to move from the university, for good.

This story shows that some women, including Nina, eventually recognize the reality of their leadership. Something complicated happens when women lead. However the good thing is Nina is not simply fooled by the myth that individual merit secures success.

> In fact, there was a strong sense of "wanting to stand on their own feet" from most of the women academic. They very much wanted to achieve in their own right and through their ability. They may have wrongly felt that 'good work' would be enough, but also, importantly, they did not like the system. (Bagilhole & Goode, 2001, p. 169).

Drawing from Collins (1986), Nina in this story experiences outsider within; Nina has the opportunity to enter academia but the patriarchy door slammed on her. Being located between two different discourses or cultural practices can be constraining for Nina, as a female academic, to develop her career. Third space will ultimately hinder and weaken her own career development. I see in her negotiations within herself, new fragile "third space" being built in spaces in-between, in the masculine university.

Then I talk to Nina, "But it is good, if there are some women in leadership positions."

She keeps quiet as keeping a huge secret.

"A critical mass is important. But I am afraid of them being token." I talk more as she is silent.

My concern with token is looking at the appointment of Ms. F as the only woman Vice Dean. "She could be just a token in the management. The token is like a puppet or doll, because of her election process is like that (based on 'as long as there is a woman'). As long as she can show that she is capable, she is okay, but if she cannot…?". I add more.

I worry about token women as even if token women are given an opportunity to enter a leadership position, they are less likely to recruit women like them because they themselves should compete with men around them. Token women probably would keep contents and thoughts of the dominance. Shamelessly, tokens usually have desire to adjust in the dominance and will not challenge the contents and thoughts of their circle. Token will preserve practices that have been implemented. As Eddy and Ward (2015, p. 10) claim that women are living in "male enclave," so to conclude, token women are members of the males.

This time Nina expresses her disagreement with me about token by saying, "Fortunately all woman leaders here meet the criteria and works well so far." Her words lead me to think that I should agree with her about her women colleagues' ability to lead. I feel a bit ashamed as I doubted women's capacity in my university.

Based on Nina's narratives, I can conclude that Nina discusses how a "male work culture" intrudes on her department life. I understand that this happens, since a woman academic has a "subaltern" position and outline how this position is produced in academia.

In this case, I need to come back to Spivak (1988) who is apprehensive that postcolonial studies are designed to unpack male academic privileged in university. As Hickling-Hudson (2006) discusses, university is still a place of colonization. Hickling-Hudson argues that post-colonialism has a pedagogical dimension because educators need to end dehumanization and objectification and teach it to later generations. In this case, academics need to be aware of their own history of oppression.

By working with women who are academics within the institution, through this framework, my study offers voice to those women who have otherwise been silenced. By highlighting the male colonisation characteristics of my university, my study might show how to work towards neo-colonial imperatives of male domination.

It is a view echoed by Bagilhole (2007) who argues that women staff in universities still face a combination of prejudice and structural barriers.

Ayu

One reason why female academics remain in low managerial and academic positions is they receive inadequate career opportunities (which was also experienced by Rima) and prejudice which is very difficult to prove (Bagilhole, 1993). And prejudice happens, as informed by Oakley (2000) on gender imbalance in workplace, it exists because the prevalence of a stereotype which is based on gender.

My experience with Ayu about gender power imbalance in our university is revealed when she shares her story about male colleagues' relationship. Especially she mentions: got interrupted by male colleague when she was a thesis defence examiner.

We start our conversation before lunch time.

"Generally speaking, male lecturers treat me good in relation to academic duties."

Our eyes meet, and I see her eyes keep something hidden.

"Not too discriminative, though…." She looks in doubt, hesitant to tell me the truth.

I should encourage her to speak forward, "What happened?" My voice is demanding her next story parts. "Are they doing something bad to you?"

"There may be one or two male lecturers who think I am not smarter than him. That is, and that is sometimes reflected by, hmm….of his attitude or his speech."

"In what occasion they did that one to you?" This time I really need that my eyes focus on her lips and my ears focus on her voice.

She takes her deep breath.

"We were in a thesis defence as examiners. When I talked about one topic, suddenly he jumped in. Even, the way he jumped in was like just the way patronizing, so maybe..." She hangs her words just there.

I lift my eyebrows, my forehead creased.

I am waiting. She does not continue. Thus I react to her narration by explicitly mentioning a male name. "Is he Mr. R? Everyone talks about his bad habits."

In a low voice, and with her eyes move to sweep our room, she replies, "It is Mr. R."

We need to mention his name in stealthy talk as if people hear our talk now, they may not like the way we disclose him. There is a possibility to jeopardize Ayu's academic reputation that she has built with endured hard work. "In male-dominated and predominately male-lead large corporations, women's inputs and voices are often stifled" (Oakley, 2000, p. 322).

"My talk was cut, yes really, a harsh interruption. In the thesis defence, I was asking this and that to a student in accordance with my expertise, and suddenly it was cut by him."

She stops at seconds, and proceeds.

"So it is like underestimated us, right?" Her tone asks my agreement.

I nod and frowned. Certainly that is not a good impression for students about female academics who got interrupted in students' important academic time: thesis defence day.

"I think both of you have similar expertise area?" I try to recall my knowledge about him and imagine his face. A thin body with a handsome face. I rarely have a face to face involvement with him.

Ayu comments, "Our scientific field is not too much different, compared to him. My expertise is not too low. And that exactly what happened. I do not think it is just me."

"Do you mean, he did to other women here?" I am struck by this fact, to be honest.

However, it is good that Ayu discovers herself experiencing prejudice. Unfortunately, in some cases women were not aware that they suffered from prejudice. It is hoped that the increased women's awareness of the need for equality of opportunity for women and awareness that they have suffered from prejudices against women on the part of male colleagues or male higher authorities in the universities, will lead to open expressions that women have unpleasant position in higher education (Bagilhole, 1993, p. 434).

She shows an agreement by nodding her head, which is covered with an embroidered grey *jilbab* today. She wears a dress of batik *Sasirangan,* the abundant batik of South Kalimantan which has its very own style, with the motive of *Haruan* fish's teeth. *Sasirangan* attracts the eyes of foreigners due to its natural dyes, which are extremely rare these days.

She is right, as when I was about to move my table to one room shared with Mr. R several years ago, I was told by one academic, better if I do not have a table there. The academic said, he is so outraged person. Mr. R likes to talk directly, and may hurt some people if they do not know him well. The members of department X where he is affiliated, confirm he is a grumpy person.

Ayu experiences what Oakley (2000, p. 328) claim as "old boy networks maintains the status quo." Women often perceived threats by their male colleagues because the (smart) women like Ayu are seen as an advocate to change from the status quo. Why does Ayu experience prejudice? Is it because she does not hold her PhD yet, while Mr R. held it? That is what she thinks. She even suffers more from having less opportunity to develop because she does not have her PhD yet. Moreover, being a

single parent working as an academic hinders her to advance her career. She explains her suffer below:

"At the postgraduate program, seems the director gives more opportunity to develop to male colleagues."

"Only male colleagues?", I open my mouth in wide eyed surprise, in a state of being not trusting what she is saying.

"….and to female lecturers who have already doctorate, they have more to have career development."

"Oh I see," I breathe a sigh of relief, lighthearted. "So, you never have the opportunity to advance?"

"The opportunity are given to those who have the field of scholarship which is accordance with that departments in this Postgraduate program."

Someone enters the room, and I do not want to get distracted, so I move forward to her.

"It's not given to lecturers like me who have not held PhD yet."

Both of us are silent.

"Sometimes I should accept the fact that my qualification is not matching with this department l work."

As a lecturer who holds master's degree and works as a secretary in a Postgraduate department, Ayu shows her work dissatisfaction. One day a student came up to her office and asked something about the course. Unfortunately Ayu could not answer and suggested to the student to ask the head of department. According to Ayu, this is embarrassment. This incident happened because her qualification is not in that department, but in X department. She is appointed as secretary because she will do administration tasks only, so having a linear qualification is not needed. That is what her supervisor told her. But she is the one knows best what are really the negative impacts of her appointment there.

"How about the professional opportunity in the X department which matches with your educational background? Do you have some? Or the opportunity mostly goes to males?"

She looks at the ceiling, tries to remember.

"In terms of gender, it looks almost balanced."

"Really? It is such a good achievement then." I exhibit excitement. But her next word is…

"For men, they may have more time available, but for the competency, no."

"What do you mean?"

"Actually, women could be more competent, but because of their time unavailability, they are rarely sent out to join professional development programs."

"Could you elaborate, why women academics have less time availability to join the programs?"

"Women do not have time availability…I think because they always think about their family at home. For example if I was told to go for professional development for several days from the X department which fortunately matches my own expertise, still, I must consider it several times. Yeah, and I will worry about my children all the time."

In Ayu's case I should refer to Gilligan (1982) who predicts that girls are traditionally taught games which concern of feeling introduction and the acknowledgment. Based on this enculturation, Gilligan concludes as adults, women will bring different ethical values to the workplace.

"As I am alone taking care of my children, so as much as possible I will refuse to go if the opportunity can still be rejected." I hear her voice spring out in the middle of the voice of people talking in this room.

It creates a dilemma for Ayu, on one side she wants to be given the opportunity, but when it comes to her, she chooses not to participate, as she has to deal with her children stuff, alone. Actually her dilemma started long time ago, when she decided to move from Java to Banjarmasin. Subsequently, all dilemmas haunt her along in her academic journey.

In 2001 she graduated her Bachelor degree from Java. In 2003-2004 she was awarded a scholarship and continued her Master's degree to Australia. Back home in 2005 she started to become a lecturer in a private university in Java. She thinks that when she became a lecturer in Java, it was not a professional one.

In mid-July 2008 she moved to Banjarmasin as a civil servant lecturer with a high level of struggle and adaptation. As actually, according to Ayu, culturally, Java and Banjarmasin are quite different, so the adaptation process was also quite heavy. She needs about a year or two year to adapt.

She say, "Hmm, for early life as lecturer in Java, I think life in Java for lecturers, was more encouraged to develop themselves. Yes."

She starts comparing the different life between in Java and South Kalimantan.

"While when fitting here with conditions is very much different. In the first year we must involve in administration tasks. I was not fully become a lecturer, so I did not engage in academic life such as supervising, or guiding teaching apprenticeship, etc. My role was very limited. For that adaptation is very challenging and it is different culture 'that to read is difficult'".

"What else do you notice?"

"Hhmmm… with facility, it is also different."

I conclude her story by saying, "So the beginning is hard because of the difference from Java to Kalimantan?"

I totally agree with her about the difficulties she experienced. I am also a Javanese moving to South Kalimantan, and find the job as an academic here feels different. I heavily notice that facilities to support our academic job is limited. I have a small example about thesis defence, that the special room to defence was not maintained well. Also, the room for academics was very minimal.

The way Ayu shares her story to me, is guided by postcolonial feminism scholarship which offers insights that help us to understand the world around us (Mohanty, 2003b). The rich scholarship is generated when we could stitch together various perspectives successfully. As a researcher deals with postcolonial feminist, I have to push myself to create and communicate knowledge to correct last discrimination and continue this further.

To solve the problem, based on the stories, Ayu experiences a compromise by occupying in a third space where there is a negotiation of identity and practices between two opposing worlds. Here two opposing worlds includes sexual and linguistic diversity, perhaps also the difference of the academic activity and roles. Ayu's story discusses female academics' and my own experiences guided by postcolonial feminism. It concerns a representation, subalternity, and reflexivity to speak about the intersections of gender, ethnicity, and class (Collins, 2003), as Ayu is Javanese who moves to Kalimantan, and does not hold a PhD degree yet. My thesis vision is driven by post-colonial and feminist perspectives, which also focus on addressing issues of marginality, resistance, voice, agency and social transformation. These specialties wander through these intersections and discuss the implications of these identities for power and positionality in the field, in textual representations, and give voice.

Ayu's voice spreads around our room, "But perhaps in the beginning of my appointment I was still single, so I could handle it for the academic jobs."

As she finishes her narration for today, my head gets dizzy. It happens all the time when my female colleagues share their stories about the uncomfortable experiences with male colleagues. Most of them have a strong opinion that they receive the treatment just because they are women, though I agree with Bagilhole (1993) that prejudice sometimes is hard to prove.

Conclusion: Reflection on underrepresentation experiences and feelings

In reflecting working with female academics, I need to relax myself. Even though I feel it is urgent to put it on an agenda about a better contemporary working place in the academy for women; a place where women are respected and there is no prejudice over them.

I drink my plain coffee, under the shade of my wild bush artificial roof in my backyard. I put off my eyeglasses and finish reading the compilation of misery stories in my university.

I am grateful that female academics shared those unpleasing stories with me, even though I need more detail and broader than that. There are 6 female academics who told their experiences of having bad treatment from male colleagues, and bad experiences as academics in general. These stories, I believe, have never been revealed before. For me, these stories raise two questions, how could the prejudiced environment be eliminated? And, how to improve female academics' representation, as numbers of female academics leaders experience the leaky pipeline?

Ill treatment in the workplace is informed here. Such unfair distinctions are experienced subjectively and the way how my female colleagues make sense of their poor treatment. These stories reveal the voice of female academics, and the ways in which they navigate their low representation in leadership positions and academic levels. Through these stories, they might propose possible ways of changing the treatment.

The stories are not representative of all women academics in my university, however, they have disclosed a small amount of sadness and secrets that would be unknown to many female academics and so can be identified easily as noticeably reasonable. It is the interpretation of this information.

I look at the Mohanty's book on the table.

I might not solve their problems instantly. However, once stories are told, I may disseminate those stories through my presenting papers at conferences or publishing in a journal. People would pay attention and be aware that women academics from Indonesia have own their stories, which might be different from female academics around the world. Their stories might advocate the acknowledgement of all gendered voices of Islamic female academics. The female academics' stories

would theorise and understand every female academic's experiences in Indonesian Islamic higher education, even perhaps worldwide? These stories add to what feminists have been identified, namely institutional factors in universities such as policy and culture, are as resources of a patriarchy system and the resource of women's unequal treatment in higher education. A long time ago, Mohanty (2003) started to pay attention and work for freedom in terms of the social, cultural, economic and religious identities of these women.

Women in postcolonial countries like Indonesia experience structural and colonial policies that exclude them from various opportunities. Such colonial policies legalise social and institutional roles in which women are not given the opportunity to take positions as leaders; these roles are given to men. This application of colonial legacy has real impacts on equal opportunity based on gender. Further, in colonial ways of thinking about gender, women's function and roles are restricted to care for and protect society, and in the university context, women are obliged to provide pastoral care to students. Colonial inheritance also looks at women as "a good lady" and women drown in the male dominant. That is why women in academe are less valued as they have to go to male's standard. This has a really serious impact on opportunities to continue women's career development.

Postcolonial feminist theory blended with those women's stories allow Muslim academics to appraise humans' rights, gender equality and women's rights. Such rights are not privileged to Western secular culture, but are important global issues that Muslim academic feminists struggle for. Thus, Muslim academic feminists strongly argue that they support gender equality globally. Experience of Indonesian female Muslim academics contributes to theories that address women's experience in postcolonial regions.

Finally, postcolonial feminist frameworks have helped me to analyse Islamic Indonesian female academics' experiences of career obstacle in Indonesian higher education settings.

Chapter 9

Reflections on storying female academics

Introduction

From where I sit in my office, I can see the heavy rain through my office big glass window. Some drops pop on the glass, creating dots and when the wind wipes them, it becomes a small water flow. I adjust my seat and lean forward into my PC monitor. I read interesting stories shared by female academics with me—mostly sad narratives— about their experiences as women changing workplace in Indonesian Islamic higher education. Female academics today faced a variety of challenges, ranging in experience depending on whether they occupy a lower status such as *calon pegawai negeri sipil* or *pengawai negeri sipil* tenured positions. They also encountered challenges when applying for promotion to a higher academic level and when performing positions of leadership. This research explored how theories of management and gender informed our understandings of the progress of Indonesian female academics' career development. Changing conditions have occurred in ISIHEI as a response to the transformation of some local institutes into more comprehensive universities. Under these broader circumstances, this research explored how career advancement is experienced by female academics in one state Islamic Indonesian university under increasingly neoliberal and managerial conditions.

In this story, female academics shared with me their experiences of enacting responsibilities: teaching, research and community services. Taking a feminist perspective, I was concerned to explore how women experience academic and how they might speak about their experiences in higher education from a feminist position, and following this, attempt to construct this shared research story using a feminist approach. The "feminist" stance I have taken is significant to me. As an Indonesian academic who speaks on women's issues, people often ask me: are you a feminist?

I myself had many stories to tell and therefore, began this thesis with a sharing of my own journey as a woman through the Indonesian Islamic higher education system. Like many of the women I worked within this in this research project, I too experienced dissatisfaction as I attempted to climb the academic career ladder; and, I too encountered inequality based on gender differences. These challenges are ongoing and compounded in the current neo-liberal university environment which employs new managerialism, and heavily influences the career development of academic women. An important aim of this thesis then was to contribute to what we think and know about the life of women

in academia, and more specifically, share the stories of women rarely heard—Indonesian Muslim female academics.

Living neo-liberal and new managerialist policies as Indonesian female academics

In Indonesia, there is a need for the emergence of policy to transform institutes into universities, because of more intensified global demands and challenges toward education in Indonesia (Luckens-Bull, 2013). This transformation cannot be separated from efforts to respond to trends in the market. When I began writing this thesis, the institutional status of Institute and College was seen as no longer being able to accommodate the development, needs and expectations of stakeholders (Azra, 2008). Institutional transformation from State Colleges or Institutions to becoming State Universities was seen as a strategic step in order to achieve the ideals of Islamic higher education within a changing global community. The way ISIHEI responded to the change was to apply private sector values—marketization and professionalism are two new managerialism concepts which have exerted considerable influence upon the public universities.

New managerialism is a living policy, implemented in order to meet the global market competition, and currently experienced as management control by Indonesian female academics in my university. Its principles are associated with the deployment of performance indicators and league tables, target-setting, and efficiency practices—including such micro-practices as monitoring attendance through the use of fingerprint scanning machines which record the beginning and the end of an employee's working day. In this thesis, I have positioned this policy as explicitly masculinist in so far as certain practices and values privilege male managers while negatively affecting the way women manage their traditional tasks.

Thinking and telling narratives as a postcolonial feminist

As my study is about Indonesian Muslim female academics, postcolonial feminism provided a suitable theoretical framework to consider the gendered history of colonialism and how that continues to affect the status of Indonesian women academics today. Postcolonial feminism promised that women's differences across the globe are acknowledged. The door was actually opened because of postcolonial feminism scholarship. However, for female academics, new managerialism slammed the door in front of their face, even new managerialism put more glue on it. Female academics' steps stuck on floor. There was also a wall, but it was made of glass, so those women experienced hindrances to moving forward.

I have learnt from postcolonial feminism that women are colonized in a twofold way by imperialism and male dominance. In my case study, female academics were colonised by patriarchal dominance and Western feminism. The women I worked with and who shared their stories with me, faced triple colonisation as they have to accept the fact that living policy, new managerialism, has made their life messier. Thus postcolonial feminism scholarship offered insights that helped us to understand the world around us. The rich scholarship was created when women could successfully stitch different perspectives together. As a "postcolonial feminist researcher" I had the obligation to generate and communicate knowledge to have a talk and rectify former injustices and inequities and encourage this further. Using postcolonial feminism, this study then aimed to reveal the voice of Indonesian Muslim female academics, and how they navigated their low representation in leadership positions and academic levels. Further, it revealed how they overcome the prejudice which comes from the opposite sex colleagues as other in academia.

Storying moments of success

In this story, I wrote stories which centre on a specific transition or career stage of new and early-career female academics. A prevailing characteristic of these narratives is that female academics had trouble in their early appointment as academics and yet succeed to secure a tenured position as *calon pegawai negeri sipil* (civil servant candidate) and adapted to new assignments as academics. Appointment as a civil servant was a very crucial stage in a woman's academic career, as it was an acknowledgment that they were officially tenured and full time. It also signaled survival as junior academics and yet as this point they often experienced feeling like a small fish in a big pond. They had made the academic journey into success when they were promoted into higher academic rank, and even for a leadership position. After moving to higher academic ranks and having leadership position female academics defined academic success for themselves, which career success outcomes were affected by their interactions with others. Their academic success could be the interaction with students and colleagues in the workplace or the interaction with their family. They had their own assessments of how well they performed the academic tasks. They called themselves successful academics when they reached a subjective and objective measurement of success. In their case, success was a complex definition. The success perspective from Indonesian women added to the composite of women's differences around the world.

Storying under neoliberal management

Besides achieving success, female academics also encountered unpleasant experiences. When those female academics needed to achieve a higher position, they experienced sticky floor. Female academics' steps were stuck on a glue floor which was sticky. They encountered a policy which made

the academia life harder. The policy changes had led to an extensive growth in the workload and to the decline of freedom and autonomy in work. They had lost academic freedom and personal autonomy. Female academics faced rising external tensions and challenges which often disregarded their primary tasks as academic. The implementation of new managerialism, directly influenced the position and experiences of female academics.

Some female academics who shared their story with me were disappointed with the budget cuts for undertaking research at faculty level. Some undertook more administrative tasks associated with such courses, including planning, reporting and engaging in rigid online evaluation processes. Female academics I currently worked with and who shared their stories with me had excessive thesis supervision, less time to read and write research proposals, and subsequent low participation in the national research grant submission processes. They felt prevented from engaging in international publications and obliged to pay more attention to the pastoral care of students. With most of our time spent on teaching and administration, the pressure to "perform" the three pillars of academic work was much harder and led to an increase in anxiety. In addition to this, time for personal life become tight—even finding time for reading books or journals was extremely difficult. At the same time they were faced with growing demands to publish more, to teach better and more classes, to supervise students more effectively and to do more community service to students, all while occupying low-level academic and leadership positions. Female academics tried to adapt and compromise, they voiced their objections, and then, suffered in silence—the implementation of new managerialist policies and practices has indeed contributed to women's low academic and managerial positions in Indonesian Islamic higher education.

Storying under masculinist academic work

Female academics experience was being positioned as "other" in academia and this translated into harsh treatment from male colleagues. The women I spoke with often felt isolated and ostracized by male colleagues. If a woman is a leader in her university, her leadership existence is questioned and even challenged by male counterparts. Female academics were bullied, expected and forced to accept disrespectful behavior from male colleagues which then works to undermines women's expertise and capabilities—it seems all the roads they had to walk were winding and the male gaze followed as they traversed this path. In addition to this, there were structural and colonial policies that denied female academics certain opportunities in Indonesian universities, like leadership and advancement opportunities. The colonial policies legalised social and institutional roles to give the opportunity as leaders only to men. This application of colonial legacy in higher education had real impacts on equal

opportunity based on gender. Moreover, in colonial policies on gender, women only had roles as mainly carer.

Theoretical contributions

In this project centered on Indonesian women academic's lived experiences, I employed feminist research in a way I hoped might be different from mainstream research. To inform Indonesian women's lived experiences, the intersection of epistemology and method with a contextually relevant methodology was needed and I worked with feminist research methodology in combination with narrative. Specifically, I drew upon conceptual insights from Patricia Hill Collins as key feminist scholars' whose work resonates in the Indonesian academic context and have 'storied' these scholars' work in relation to Rebecca Leslie Bloom's narrative accounts of practice, specifically in the Indonesian academic context.

Through combining these specific feminist research and narrative approaches, my study delivered fresh insights into the impact of significant changes in Indonesian universities, which are different in culture, value and practices from academic institutions in western settings. This included present conditions which were not coherently expressed in current academe particularly in relation to the Islamic nature of the Indonesian university context upon which I have focused. This Islamic focus magnified our understanding of the personal life of female academics in Islamic Indonesian universities. My study supplied some means to examine about possibilities to develop common academic practices.

Such an approach is a far cry from research informed by positivist epistemology which is hierarchical in power, ignores women's knowledge and focuses on men's perspectives. Positivism derives from the tradition of Western science and was derived from male domination. Positivism was focused on objectivity. The objectivity will deliver generalisation and has reified and distantiated analyses regarding women. Feminists insist that if the research is involving women but the methodological approach still adopts the mainstream science epistemology, positivism, the research is still male-oriented. This further reinforces the notion of binary between men and women. Feminist researchers argue that knowledge regarding the lives of women is achieved not through supplementing mainstream research studies by including women only, but also by paying close attention to the specificity of women's individual lived experiences. As feminist research has an orientation based on action and change, feminist research takes seriously women's experiences, perceptions and lives. As there is no single method in feminist perspectives research, to create pure knowledge production from women, feminist research method is fluid.

Practical implications

In this thesis, I provided stories from Indonesian female academics in Islamic university contexts – a group of people whose experiences are not well represented in the literature. Practical examples of how these female academics' negotiated new managerialism within universities is elaborated. I also described how female academics navigate their problems in masculine academia. Their stories served as a counter to the more dominant masculine university. Female academics' experiences in the research process was a starting point for worldwide researchers to discuss further about experiences of Non-Western female academics.

 From female academics' experiences, I offered restorying within a postcolonial feminist lens as a vehicle to better experience female Indonesian academics' experiences. The writing of restorying was as part of narrative analysis. Narrative represents different realities of female academics – realities that help give texture to their specific perspectives. By telling Indonesian female academics' story and then retelling their story, female academics were able to create a much more robust sense of self.

Furthermore, notions of success as expressed by Indonesian female academics were defined differently from female academics in western/dominant contexts. The different definition derives from different experiences associated with family, self-expectation and academic environment factor.

Also, the research revealed how female academics within ISIHE experienced the implementation of new managerialism principles, which was different from other countries. For example, to monitor academics' attendance, universities employed finger print regulation, which might not happen in other contexts.

The study also affirmed how some female academics experienced difficult conditions in academia as a result of bad behaviour on the part of male colleagues. This experience matched with worldwide experience that mostly, female academics received unpleasant treatment.

Feminist's yearning

Through these narratives, I wanted to talk to other women and hoped that in sharing their stories, I might be able to bring about positive change in women's academic life. I have yearned that in the future, the condition of women in Islamic Indonesian universities will improve, because their stories are heard. Some problems they encountered, might be solved. Their stories as basic knowledge will be acknowledged. Our collective yearning could be regarded as a sign of current tensions and dilemmas in work as we tried to find a balance between traditional academic and managerial values

and morals. However, at the end of this project, there are two questions which for me, still remain: how could an environment which marginalises women be eliminated? And, how might we improve female academics' promotion and leadership representation, as numbers of female academics leaders experienced the leaky pipeline?

At the time of writing, the Minister of MoRA inaugurated one female Head and one female Rector. This appointment was one of my yearnings that gradually became true. In total, currently there are six female Heads/Rectors at ISIHEI. When I go home to my own country, there will be more beautiful changes for female academics. Thinking of hook's (2014) yearning, there will be "norms and values that can make difference, a yearning for principled resistance and struggle that can change our desperate plight" (p. 18). For two decades I have yearned for female appointments as top leaders in universities, and that inauguration was a remarkable moment when finally, those female academics have fulfilled my yearning. To be appointed as the top leader, at least they have achieved an Associate Professor level. Though I noticed one of those female academics has a Professor level, and surprisingly I had met her in 2013 in a Center for Gender Studies national seminar. Their appointment and inauguration felt like sipping a glass of ice tea in the middle days of Australian summer. Certainly the new female academic appointment brought a feeling of expectation and desire for a certain better life in academia.

I look up to the window again. The rain has stopped. I close the stories compilation in front of me.

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Appendix

Appendix A: Letter of Ethical Approval

THE UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND
Institutional Human Research Ethics Approval

Project Title:	Storying Female Academics' Career Development in the Context of Islamic Indonesian Higher Education: A Postcolonial Feminist Analysis
Chief Investigator:	Ms Siti Muflichah
Supervisor:	A/Prof Elizabeth Mackinlay, Dr Ian Hardy
Co-Investigator(s):	None
School(s):	School of Education
Approval Number:	2016001552
Granting Agency/Degree:	PhD
Duration:	30th November 2019

Comments/Conditions:

- Gatekeeper letter, 01/09/2016
- Project Description, 11/10/2016

Note: If this approval is for amendments to an already approved protocol for which a UQ Clinical Trials Protection/Insurance Form was originally submitted, then the researchers must directly notify the UQ Insurance Office of any changes to that Form and Participant Information Sheets & Consent Forms as a result of the amendments, before action.

Name of responsible Committee:
University of Queensland Human Research Ethics Committee B
This project complies with the provisions contained in the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research* and complies with the regulations governing experimentation on humans.

Name of Ethics Committee representative:
Dr. Frederick Khafagi
Chairperson
University of Queensland Human Research Ethics Committee B
Registration: EC00457

Signature _____   Date _____   01/11/2016