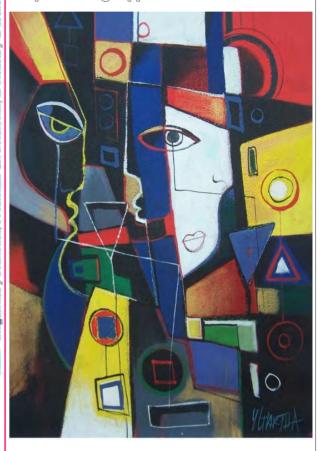opción

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Gender Segregation In Education In Multicultural Communities

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Abstract
A Single-Sex Education (SSE) policy is a form of gender segregative education that is applied in several countries in the world, including Indonesia. Like the implementation of Single-Sex Education (SSE) education, the majority of which are applied in Muslim countries, in Indonesia, especially in Surakarta, the application of the Single-Sex Education (SSE) policy occurs in private schools or in Islamic foundations. The application of gender segregative education is an effort to translate norms or values from the teachings of Islam that recognize the concept of "mahram". Differing from research with similar themes, this research is sociological in nature with an ethnomethodological research approach. This research studies the construction of reality made by the subject in the process of daily interaction of students who are subject to Single-Sex Education (SSE). Restrictions on interaction with the opposite sex results in changes in the pattern of interaction with students. As in Erving Goffman's theory, there are two models of interaction carried out by students, namely the existence of a "front stage", namely the world of social students when they are in school and the backstage is the social relations of students in society or social media. Students abiding by regulations are bound not to communicate with the opposite sex who is not a "mahram" when at school (front stage). But with this gender segregation there is created a new arena in the "backstage" they are hidden in secret interaction with the opposite sex, which can be through social media, or by meeting in person at a retail store. Gender segregative education is a challenge in its own right, especially in a multicultural society.

Keywords: Single-Sex Education (SSE), Gender segregation, Education, Multicultural Society

Segregación De Género En La Educación En Comunidades Multiculturales.

Resumen

Una política de educación para un solo sexo (ESS) es una forma de educación segregante de género que se aplica en varios países del mundo, incluida Indonesia. Al igual que la implementación de la educación de Educación para un solo sexo (SSE), la mayoría de las cuales se aplican en países musulmanes, en Indonesia, especialmente en Surakarta, la aplicación de la política de Educación para un solo sexo (SSE) ocurre en escuelas privadas o en fundaciones islámicas . La aplicación de la educación segregante de género es un esfuerzo por traducir las normas o valores de las enseñanzas del Islam que reconocen el concepto de "mahram". A diferencia de la investigación con temas similares, esta investigación es de naturaleza sociológica con un enfoque de investigación etnometodológica. Esta investigación estudia la construcción de la realidad realizada por el sujeto en el proceso de interacción diaria de los estudiantes que están sujetos a la Educación para un solo sexo (SSE). Las restricciones en la interacción con el sexo opuesto resultan en cambios en el patrón de interacción con los estudiantes. Como en la teoría de Erving Goffman, hay dos modelos de interacción llevados a cabo por los estudiantes, a saber, la existencia de un "escenario principal", a saber, el mundo de los estudiantes sociales cuando están en la escuela y el backstage son las relaciones sociales de los estudiantes en la sociedad o medios de comunicación social. Los estudiantes que cumplen con las regulaciones están obligados a no comunicarse con el sexo opuesto que no es un "mahram" cuando están en la escuela (etapa delantera). Pero con esta segregación de género, se crea una nueva arena en el "backstage", están ocultos en una interacción secreta con el sexo opuesto, que puede ser a través de las redes sociales o reuniéndose en persona en una tienda minorista. La educación segregante de género es un desafío en sí mismo, especialmente en una sociedad multicultural.

Palabras clave: Educación para un solo sexo (ESS), segregación de género, educación, sociedad multicultural

1.   INTRODUCTION

Education is a concept that is very broad in terms, types, and forms. Education can be interpreted not only as a process of the transfer of knowledge but also the transfer of culture, values, and norms. Everyone has the right to education opportunities for human capital, health, as well as the economy, and cognitive improvement (WIJAYANTI, BUDIRAHAYU, & SUSAN, 2019). Each community also has its own way of processing the transfer of knowledge, values, and norms. For example, the education model applied in Indonesia is certainly different from other countries. Likewise, some communities or certain groups have different educational patterns. One form or pattern of education applied is segregative education. Segregative education is a social reality in education that depends on the education policy applied. Some segregative education policies have included several countries, including Indonesia.

Segregation means separation. This understanding, according to Bevir et al. (MASHURI; 2013) states that "segregation in the simplest terms means separation". The term segregation is widely recognized in the context of studies about segregation based on ethnicity or race. In other contexts, the term segregation is also one of the major areas in the study of gender, people with a physical handicap (disability), vulnerable groups, and relationships between group majority-minority. Segregation studies found in various fields of study are mostly associated with the discourse of inequity, inequality, and the existence of disadvantaged groups. In the study of education, the term segregation also occurs in the discourse of inequality in accepting access to education and gender discourse.

Gender discourse in education is one of the concerns of the international community (BARONE, 2011; CHARLES, MARIA; BRADLEY, 2002; DIDONATO & STROUGH, 2013; KULIS, 1997; MEHTA, HOJJAT, SMITH, & AYOTTE, 2017; SARA & KATHARINE, 2006; WISELY, 2003).   For example, Goal 2 of the EFA states that girls, in particular, should have access to free, compulsory, and quality primary education. All of Goal 5 is specifically dedicated to gender equality in education (WISEMAN; 2008). Gender discourse in the world of education is one application of a system of class separation, known as Single-Sex Public Education (SSPE). The application of Single-Sex Public Education (SSPE) is a form of segregation of gender. In the Western part of the world, which is relatively liberal as in the United States, there are still more than 550 schools that implement a popular sex segregation system using the term

Single-Sex Public Education (SSPE). As seen from his presentation from several countries, gender segregative education is mostly found in Arabic countries. This is due to the application of gender segregation education in line with religious values. The following are presentation data of countries that apply gender segregative education that researchers take from Trends in the International Mathematics and Science Survey in Wiseman (2008):

Table 1. Percentage of schools with gender-segregated education

Country	Gender Segregated Schools
No Gender Segregation in Schools	
Botswana	0,00%
Cyprus	0,00%
Italy	0,00%
Norway	0,00%
Significantly, Below the International Mean	
USA	0,43%
Indonesia	0,67%
South Africa	1,96%
Japan	2,05%
Not Significantly, Different International Mean	
Malaysia	14,67%
Singapore	16,46%
England	18,39%
International Mean	18,94%
Significantly Above the International Mean	
New Zealand	30,77%
Iran	98,34%
Saudi Arabia	100%

As seen from the data, 0.67% of education in Indonesia applies segregative gender education. The percentage is still not classified as significant, compared to other Islamic countries such as Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Iran, etc. This percentage is also not significant when compared to Indonesia as the largest Islamic community in the world.

The application of gender segregation in religious-based schools is associ-

ated with the separation between male and female students in the learning process or residence (dormitory). The separation between male and female students is carried out to facilitate supervision and educate the relationship between men and women according to the guidance of Islamic teachings (SUDRADJAT & TRIYOGA; 2016). As in Muafiah's research (2018), he saw the reality of gender segregation in Islamic boarding schools through the eyes of Single-Sex Education (SSE). Research from others describes a refreshed implementation of gender-segregated education related to education policy and school management, which is Mu'tamaroh (2018), and Thoriquttyas & Rohmawati (2018). Other research is related to the segregation of political policy in the world of education in Indonesia during the Dutch colonial period (MASHURI, 2013), and many more studies in Indonesia regarding the segregation of gender in the education process with various perspectives and approaches. In contrast to its predecessor studies, in this article, the researcher takes a more micro viewpoint with a sociological approach that is looking at the everyday subject or actor, the students. Although sociologically many studies have discussed gender issues (BRIDGES, 2011; BROOKS, BRADLEY;JARMAN, JENNIFER;-BLACKBURN, 2003; DAVID, JOAN, & VANNEMAN, 2003; DIDO-NATO & STROUGH, 2013; MANDEL, HADAS;SEMYONOV, 2005; MEHTA ET AL., 2017; NOLLERT & GASSER, 2017), this study looks at the phenomenon of gender in a more micro manner because it uses an ethnomethodological approach. Besides, researchers also draw on the relationship between the application of segregative education and multicultural community relations.

2. METHOD

This research is the result of field research using a sociological approach in looking at the relationship of gender segregation in the world of education. The sociological approach is certainly different from the approach of other disciplines in recognizing the separation of gender as a causal mechanism and having an interest in systems of differentiation and stratification in society. In methodological research, it is classified in qualitative research. The approach used in this study is ethnomethodological, this is to capture the experience of the social world of the perpetrators, namely the students in the school who apply Single-Sex Education (SSE) in Surakarta City. So, the main focus of this research is to capture the construction made by the subject, which in this case is high school students who apply gender

segregative policies in daily life, especially when interaction takes place (DENZIN & LINCOLN, 2009; 388). The researcher tries to understand the intersubjective experience of the subjects he has with other people, this is almost similar to George Hebert Mead's symbolic interactionism theory. Although ethnomethodology is not a branch of interaction, it has similarities with this approach. Face to face interaction, including the core of analysis, emphasizes the importance of language and tries to explain the empirical reality of the people being studied, realizing subjective and objective aspects (PALOMA; 2010). The sample in students and alumni was also based on male and female gender categories in senior high schools that implemented gender segregation education, namely MTA High Schools in Surakarta City and Abidin AL Bilingual Boarding School in Surakarta. The number of key informants in this study was 4 informants with 5 additional informants, plus 1 focus group discussion (FGD). The data in this study were obtained through in-depth interviews on the subject of research and participatory observation by observing the process of interaction carried out by the subject both at school and in the community.

Of course, the collected data must be valid data, the data generated in this study was validated using the triangulation method. The estimation method used in this study is the estimation between researchers (DENZIN & LINCOLN; 2009). Triangulation between researchers is done by using more than one researcher, both in terms of data collection and analysis. The focus of this research is how to uncover the meaning of the process, arena, performance performed by the subject (students from segregative gender schools) so that the theoretical analysis used is the dramaturgy theory by Erving Goffman (PALOMA, 2010; SUSILO, 2016).

3.   RESULT AND DISCUSSION

3.1.   Gender and Segregation

Based on data from Kemendibud (2018) processed by researchers, there are 431 primary and secondary schools in Surakarta City, both public and private. Of these, there are 176 schools, or 40.86%, which are religion-based schools. Some faith-based schools, especially Islamic foundations, implement policies of Single-Sex Education (SSE) or gender-segregated education. The schools include MTA Surakarta High School, Diponegoro Islamic High School, Abidin AL High School Bilingual Boarding School

Surakarta, and several schools which are Islamic boarding schools. The application of education policies to separate gender between men and women is based on the values of truth contained in religious teachings.

One case of a school in the city of Surakarta that applies Single-Sex Education (SSE) or gender segregative education is MTA Surakarta High School, which is a school funded under the Al Qur'an Council of Interpretation (MTA) Foundation. This school has the concept of Islamic Boarding School (IBS) by having a dormitory for its students. The hostel distinguishes between male and female students. The dormitory for male students is located about 300 meters from the MTA High School building to the east. The three-story men's dormitory building (Astra) with 80 rooms has a capacity of 400 students. While the girls' dormitory consists of 4 dormitories, this hostel is located about 100 meters west of the school building. The available female dormitory has a capacity of 500 students. In addition to the separate dormitory, the school also applies a segregative gender education system by separating learning classes from male and female students, even though one building is separated from classrooms and there are different entry points for male and female students.

There are two types of students in MTA Surakarta High School based on their residential system, namely students who live in dormitories and those who do not, or in other words santri who stay in dormitories are called santri mukim while santri who do not live in dormitories are called santri kalong. Students who live in dormitories are responsible for participating in boarding activities in addition to activities at school. The hostel activities are of course under the guidance of clerics or caregivers. While students who do not live in dormitories in this school are permitted, there are maximum conditions for the distance between their house and school of no more than ten kilometers.

The process of education in SMA MTA Surakarta is conducted separately between men and women. Separation is assumed to facilitate the supervision and teaching norms of interaction between men and women according to the teachings of Islam. Some of the rules or norms applied by schools prohibit intentional eye contact, communication, and particularly having a special relationship between men and women who are not Muslim. It also sets the procedure for dressing for female students.

In addition to spatial separation, the norms of association between male and female students are also emphasized in school regulations, which are usually listed in the student manual, complete with sanctions for violating these regulations. Some of the norms and regulations that limit association between female students and men include the prohibition of visiting each other and traveling with the opposite sex (gender) , the prohibition to enter the opposite sex hostel environment (gender) , and the prohibition of receiving letters , short messages, social media and saving photos of the opposite sex who are not Muhrim. Restrictions on gender relations are strictly applied to students of this school, but more loosely to male teachers (ustadz) and female teachers (ustadzah). Male teachers may teach female students, but conversely, female teachers may not teach male students. At the time of the gender separation ceremony it was not very visible, because at the time it was mixed between male and female students but male students were in the line and the game in the back row. This is the same in the case of prayers or big events in the mosque, men are placed in the front row and women in the back row or section. This is following the teachings of gender values in Islam that places men as priests in the front and women as "makmum" behind them.

3.2.   The Arena of Student Communication between the Front and Backstage

Akmal (not his real name) is a student from one of the schools that applies gender segregative education in Surakarta City. Akmal comes from an area in West Java. Of course, with the condition of his house far from school, he must stay and settle in the dormitory. His desire to go to school at this school is open is his desire, but encouragement from parents. Akmal's parents are congregations from the school's foundation. Initially, Amal's desire was to attend a heterogeneous public school, but after consulting with her parents she then decided to follow their orders to go to school in a relatively homogeneous and segregative gender school.

In their daily lives, Amal finds it difficult to interact using Javanese, because it comes from Pasundan land (West Java). So in everyday communication he uses Indonesian. Although he could not speak Javanese, Amal mastered a few Javanese terms from his friends. Sometimes he uses English or Arabic, which is a local content from the original. On the active days of school, like Saturdays, he rarely even interacts with his gender

opponents, except with his parents who are his muhrim. This is a rule at school.

There are regulations to limit association between female students and men, with a prohibition on visiting each other and traveling with the opposite sex (gender), prohibition of entering the opposite sex (gender) environment, and prohibition of receiving letters , short messages, social media and storing photos of opponents of the type that is not a muhrim, which according to Akmal ensnares the students. Various rules make students afraid to communicate with the opposite sex. This is if there is a violation of the rules which have been subject to sanctions. The sanctions for violators of these rules vary, according to some of these sanctions reports ranging from summons to BP, the reprimand that was damaged to parents and even out of school. These rules will appear to be heavier on students who live in dormitories than students who live at home. Students who live in a dormitory certainly get more 24-hour monitoring from officers, clerics, or teachers. While students who live at home may be freer to communicate with their gender opponents outside of the school or in the community, even if the school is found to be punished with the same penalty.

One day Akmal attended a tour study program held by the school. The program was attended by male students. On one occasion Akmal met female students, perhaps the first time Akmal had met a female student or the opposite sex when he was in high school. The introduction continued with Akmal following the woman's account and then interacting through social media, Facebook. But Akmal did not dare to continue chatting with the female students, due to his fear of the rules set by the school. Moreover, Akmal is a student who lives in a dormitory. If he gets caught chatting or using social skills with the opposite sex then the media will receive sanctions from the school as his friends.

This was also experienced by Isna (not her real name) who was a female student at the same school as Akmal. One day Isna met with male students at a retail store not far from her school and then they met each other. The retail store then became a favorite place for them to meet and exchange mobile phone numbers. Jam meets directly in retail stores, and they communicate through social media. Reasons to buy something are an excuse for meeting face to face. At school, Isna is a student who is diligent and obedient to the applicable rules. But in another arena it is different from

their lives in school, considering that male and female students are separated, therefore they plan to meet with the opposite sex in a retail store or chat via social media. One day Isna was called to the school and was given sanctions and reprimanded for his actions.

The subjective experience of actors illustrates how to tie a segregative system in education to limit interaction with the opposite sex. This limitation changes the interaction pattern. The experience of research subjects prefers to use cyberspace or social media to be able to communicate with the opposite sex. This is because the virtual world has a loose nature in expression, where individuals have absolute authority. This authority is related to what he will do and with whom he communicates, which is fully determined by the individual. This absolute individual authority sometimes overrides social facts (borrowing the term Durkheim), what is meant by social facts in this study is segregative gender regulation. So that the virtual world is loose on the facts of social or existing rules.

This strategy of interacting with the opposite sex is what Erving Goffman called the front stage and the backstage. The front stage is the universe or arena where the subject carries out his role as a student with all the rules (social facts) attached to it. The front stage here is the world of students while in school. While the rear stage is a world where the subject is free to determine with whom and how he interacts. For example, with the world of social media that he has such as WA, Facebook, Line, etc. Even by secretly meeting with the opposite sex, for example, Isna met with the opposite sex friends in a retail store. From this case, there is a difference between the front stage when the subject is in school with the world in the community or the world may. In school, subjects are required to play a role as students who are obedient to existing rules but this does not happen in the social world in society or their association on social media.

Subjects, in this case, are students in a segregative gender education school, who are very careful about playing shows on the stage (school). They maximize the game by referring to the script (the rules that apply in school). Subjects will always avoid embarrassing sources or "stupid" actions in interacting in their appearance on the front stage. So that they do impression management, in this case, the impression as students who obey the rules that apply in school.

In contrast to the front stage, which is very careful in playing the role and increasing the impression, on the backstage the subject appears as he is. Subjects are no longer careful in playing roles according to existing texts or rules. This is because the backstage is separated from the audience, so the subjects appear as they are. In this case, the subject appears as when they interact on social media and meet with the opposite sex in public. They no longer have to appear by the existing text even though they also have to be careful about being observed or monitored by the school. Table 2 is a table of differences between the students backstage and front stage:

Table 2. Differences in front stage and backstage

No.	Difference	Front Stage	Back Stage
1	Circumstances	Can be manipulated, according to the text or regulations	Original according to character
2	Impression management	Need	Original and not needed
3	Subject behavior	Adjust the rules and roles that are carried out	Actions of individual subjects have full authority
4	Arena	In school	The virtual world and the wider community

Source: Processed Research Data

3.3.   Multicultural Society: A Challenge

The process of modernization continues in the 21st century mainly due to the advancement of information and communication science and technology. The development of information and communication science and technology encourages the realization of a multicultural society (TILAAR; 2004). Changes in social structure in society, ideology, rapid population migration, the existence of information technology and communication are all supported by the process of modernization and globalization. The waves of change gave birth to a multicultural society in each country with their respective peculiarities.

The multicultural virtual world gives the universe or the world its own for students. Students can get to know friends of the opposite sex through social media such as Facebook, Instagram, etc. This is something that can-

not be obtained at school. Moreover, students who are the subjects of this study are classified as generations which will not be separated from their virtual world. The virtual world has become a distinctive wave for schools that have a gender segregative system. These waves can destroy the system that exists or even strengthens, depending on how the school strategy deals with the threat of the wave. For example, what is done by the school by checking the accounts of students' social media, if violations are found, the school takes action, as do schools that implement a gender segregative system.

In the middle of a multicultural society, there is a segregative gender educational reality. The implementation of education with gender segregation is essentially driven by religious values, especially Islam. This process of segregative education occurs in religious-based schools in the form of Single-Sex Public Education (SSPE). Gender segregative education in the multicultural city of Surakarta occurs in religious-based schools or Islamic foundations such as MTA High School, Diponegoro, Al Abidin, etc. This process of gender segregative education separates classes between men and women. The biggest challenge is that schools are relatively homogeneous or come from one religion and one particular group and even one type of gender which makes students have a culture shock with heterogeneous and multicultural communities.

This gender segregative education pattern habituates students to limit their communication with the opposite sex. Subjects, in this case students, become very unfamiliar with communicating with the opposite sex. This can be proven when they communicate with the opposite sex in the community or their life after graduating from school. This limitation in interaction will affect students when they are in the midst of a heterogeneous or multicultural society. The system is allegedly gender-segregated and can cause relationships to be stiff and unnatural between men and women, so the application of gender-segregated education is a challenge in itself for a multicultural society.

4.   CONCLUSION

Gender segregation in the world of education is a phenomenon found in rural and urban environments in Indonesia. The factors that set the background are very diverse, and can be rooted in religious, cultural, social,

political and economic factors. In the case of this study, gender segregation in the world of education is based on the values contained in religion. The issue of gender segregation is important to consider in the world of education, this is because it is closely related to access to quality, equitable and sustainable education for society by not discriminating gender.

The results of this study show that in a multicultural society in Surakarta City there is gender-segregative education in schools both elementary, junior high or high school. All schools that implement this gender segregative system are certainly religion-based, especially Islam. This gender segregation occurs in the educational process, as both intracellular and extra-curricular. Separation also occurs in the lives of students in the dormitory. Segregation takes place not only physically but also in regulations to limit communication between male and female students.

Based on subject experience, segregative education implemented by the school makes him have a strategy if he wants to interact with the opposite sex. The sociological strategy carried out by this subject is what Erving Goffman calls the front stage and rear stage. The front stage is the universe or arena where the subject carries out his role as a student with all the rules (social facts) attached to it. Meanwhile, backstage is the original world of subjects with all the authority and authenticity that they do in the social media world or by meeting secretly with the opposite sex. This is because if it is known by the school they will be subject to sanctions or penalties.

5.   ACKONWLEDGEMENTS

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