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The binary of gender-based spaces in schools: A heterotopia study in Yogyakarta

Sasiana Gilar Apriantika[1,2*], Muhamad Supraja[1], Fina Itriyati[1]

[1]Departement of Sociology, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Jl. Socio-Justisia No.2 Bulaksumur Yogyakarta, Indonesia 55281
[2]Departement of Sociology Education, Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta, Jl. Karangmalang, Yogyakarta Indonesia 55281

*Corresponding author
E-mail address: sasiana.gilar.a@mail.ugm.ac.id
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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
Keywords: school heterotopia spatial polarization gender spaces	This study aims to explore how schools legitimize public as gender based power spaces. This research uses a qualitative approach, especially case study method. This research uses the theory of the heterotopia concept by Michel Foucault. Research findings indicate that there is gender-based spatial polarization, particularly in engaging in activities outside class hours. The hall, aisle, and canteen are predominantly occupied by male students, while the classrooms are mostly occupied by female students. Masculinity as a gender role taught to male students makes them more familiar with activities and relationships in public spaces. The traits of dominance and bravery make male students more comfortable socializing in their surroundings, allowing them to enjoy their breaktime in the hall and corridor. Meanwhile, femininity as a gender role taught to female students, makes them more at ease spending their break time in the classroom, because the classroom is the only space they posses personally. So, the responsibility of caring for and maintaining the classroom is also more heavily borne by female student. Schools legitimize space as a landscape that forms a binary relationship between private and public spaces. This polarization also emphasizes how schools serve as a platform to prevent individuals from becoming deviant and crisis actors.

Introduction

One of the purposes of education is as a means to empower individuals to become active subjects in the transformation process in society, with the long-term goal of developing knowledge and understanding of human rights and basic values to strengthen democratic culture (Idris et al., 2012). Realizing this democratic culture cannot be separated from the roles of educational institutions to develop the values of equality, including gender equality. The implementation of gender equality in education is important because education needs to be a critical area towards social transformation (Wisarja & Sudarsana, 2017). The implementation of gender equality in education should be understood as the right to education (access and participation), as well as rights within education (environment, educational processes and outcomes) that can lead to meaningful education and broader gender justice (Subrahmanian, 2005). Efforts to promote gender equality are manifested in various fields, such as equality in learning, curricula that consider aspects of gender equality, and school culture to drive gender mainstreaming in educational institutions.

In fact, the purpose of implementing gender equality in education faces many challenges, both in terms of execution and the subject involved. This condition not only appears at the national level, but also at the international level as stated by Cunningham et al., (2022), that in the mid-20th century there was a slow increase in gender-based education statistics. Schools, as one of educational institution provide an arena and space to construct gender inequality (Trautner et al., 2022). Several previous studies have discussed how schools reproduce gender-based inequalities, ranging from the curriculum, learning process, to school culture. At the curriculum level, the production of textbooks and teaching materials often reflects a rigid division of gender roles, with women in the domestic spheres and men in public ones. Some textbooks shows that an image of a pilot is always male as the profession of a pilot is said to require skills and strength that are only possessed by man (Efendy, 2014). Another study conducted by Koseoglu et al., (2020) explains that education provides different access to educational resources and different opportunities for women. In addition to the curriculum and differences in learning opportunities, gender inequality also emerges in school culture, where the placement and access to facilities often support gender disparities. One of them is the separation of stairs for male and female students at the public school in Jakarta (Idhom, 2018).

This gender-based separation of space has become a phenomenon that indicates that gender differences in schools do not only manifest in the implementation of learning and the educational documents used directly by students and teachers as implementers of education. However, it is also manifested in school habits that are even unconsciously recognized as a form of gender difference reproduction. This phenomenon is also reinforced by Prioletta (2020) which found that male students often dominate the play environment, including spaces that are typically associated with femininity, where female students spend a lot of their play time. Thus, the public spaces in schools, such as playground, classrooms, and meeting rooms, are not free from gender segregation which is often regarded as a natural phenomenon.

Public spaces in schools that can generally be utilized by all members of the school, including all students, tend to be used based on specific genders. This phenomenon can be observed in real time during activities at school, where the field,

which is usually located in the center of the school environment, is predominantly used by male students, whether for sports, playing basketball, or just simply chatting to pass the time during breaks. Meanwhile, female students spend more break time in the classroom, either having lunch or just chatting with other students. This phenomenon indicates that the public spaces in schools such as hall, classrooms, hallways and staircases, do not merely function as areas for student activities as they are, but also can serve as spaces of power, including gender-based spaces of power dynamics.

The condition of spatial polarization also appears in several schools in Yogyakarta. Based on Satu Data Indonesia (2023), the Special Region of Yogyakarta has the highest high school education index in Indonesia, which is 74.29%. In line with this, Awwaliyah & Arcana (2019) explain that the higher the quality of education, the smaller the gender inequality will be. However, in reality, a relatively high education index does not guarantee that schools have a high level of gender awareness, including in gender-based spatial polarization. This research focuses on the high school level, considering that students have more abstract, logical, and idealistic abilities, as well as the capacity to think concretely to solve or resolve problems verbally (Marinda, 2020), thus being able to convey concrete experiences according to data needs.

Therefore, this article aims to explore how schools legitimize public spaces into gender-based power spaces and reproduce gender differences within educational institutions. This study will use the concept of heterotopia proposed by Michel Foucault to analyze how unreal spaces (classrooms, hall, canteens, etc.) have relatively and relationally unreal (including gender-based relations) (Sitinjak & Jong, 2007).

Method

This research uses a qualitative approach, specifically the case study method. This type of research aims to uncover the underlying motives and desires through in-depth interviews for the purpose (Kothari, 2004). This research uses a case study method with the aim of exploring how physical artifacts as part of school culture serve to exercise gender-based power. The research was conducted in 6 high schools in Yogyakarta, both public schools and religious-based schools. The research was conducted over a period of 4 months, from July to October 2023.

This research explores qualitative data on how school stakeholders (students and teachers) understand and use public spaces in schools based on gender separation. The data sources used were non-participatory observation and in-depth interviews with 9 students both male and female, and 7 teachers at 6 high schools in Yogyakarta. This research has a limitation in that the schools referred to are high schools, considering that students at the high school level already have the ability to explain and grasp the abstract phenomena that arise around them, including the phenomenon of gender-based spatial power present in schools. This research uses qualitative data analysis, starting with data collection, data reduction, data analysis, and conclusion.

Results and Discussion

School culture and gender relations

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, there was a development in the study of school culture, where the term "school culture" became the dominant term to describe the overall character of a school. School culture not only encompasses certain perceptions

related to behavior but also the system of relationships within that context. The culture in schools is seen as a whole system that is interconnected and dynamic (Prissor, 1999). The school culture represents a phenomenon that can be explained, emphasizing the atmosphere of the school, the relationships within it, and the morals of the school. The school culture is built on the foundation of commitment and identification with core values, through habits and traditions, ceremonies andcelebrations that fosterasense of togetherness among students, teachers, and other school stakeholders, as well as a commitment to maintaining relationships and shared goals. The development of this school culture is important in supporting the ideals and changes of the school. According to Lee & Louis (2019), there is an empirical relationship between a strong school culture and sustainable school improvement.

Deal & Peterson (2016) divide school culture into three aspects: (1) Architecture or artifacts, which describe how the core values and beliefs of the school are reflected in its vision and mission. Architecture and artifacts can manifest in school buildings such as classrooms, libraries, restrooms, worship spaces, the layout of the grounds, and so on. The school building represents the goals and beliefs of the school. (2) The mission and rituals/habits reinforce the values and beliefs of the school, as well as the vision and mission that they aim to achieve. (3) Symbols represent cultural values and beliefs that are not visible. Symbols within an organization, institution, or society instill meanings that influence the thoughts, motivations, and behaviors of that group.

According to Ghaill (1999), schools play a significant role in shaping attributes into what is considered a true man or woman (in the society perspectives) through the formation of masculinity and femininity, and by monitoring the boundaries of what is deemed appropriate and inappropriate.

Patriarchy in school customs also includes how to establish standards and limitations on relationships between genders (for example, between girls and boys), determining what is considered appropriate and inappropriate. High school students tend to separate and group themselves based on gender, peaking in early adolescence (senior high school). The same study also highlights how athletic/sports opportunities in high school are more available to male students than to female students. In addition to gender-based categorization, schools also become an unwelcoming environment for teenagers through the coercion to instill ideologies based on binary gender and sexual identities that are deemed normally (Wilkinson & Pearson, 2009).

Gender differences in schools are manifested in the school culture, both in the form of artifacts, beliefs, and symbols. However, in this research, the discussion will focus more on the artifacts and physical facilities in schools that serve as distinguishing factors leading to gender-based differentiation. Artifacts or physical buildings of a school are not formed in a vacuum and without meaning. The library, classrooms, playground, cafeteria, and other spaces are arenas of power where habits, symbols, and school beliefs engage in a struggle and reproduce certain values that are collectively held by the school community. This aligns with the study conducted by Wilkinson & Pearson (2009), which states that the differentiation of heteronormativity in schools is created and reinforced through school culture schemes or habits that encompass the views, beliefs, experiences that are accepted, brought, and developed within the school. In line with that opinion, Rodríguez-Martínez & Calvo (2014), explain that the behavior of male and female students is also shaped by schools through hegemonic narratives of being male and female, such as sports activities as a

fundamental strategy in the construction of masculinity. As a result, physical spaces and facilities related to sports, such as fields and halls, are predominantly controlled and used by male students.

Gendering of space in school

Space does not merely mean a physical area that can be measured geometrically; it is also tied to the rituals and social and personal activities within it. Space is not only seen as an environment for social interactions but also has implications for individual identity and social differences (Shilling, 1991). In that space, social and cultural reproduction occurs, including the context of gender, so the relationship between gender and space is formed through the power dynamics between the two (Rendell, 2000). The difference of gender in space is inseparable from the presence of patriarchal and capitalist ideologies that marginalize women's relations in public spaces. This separation had even occurred during the time of Aristotle, who made a distinction between the Sphere of Production, identified as belonging to men with jobs in the city or public space, and the Sphere of Reproduction, identified as belonging to women with work located in the home/private space. The separation of public and private spaces continues in various aspects of life, including in public spaces within schools. Schools indirectly also create gender-based spatial separation by restricting the mobility and agency of female learners through spatial segregation (Massey, 2000). Space is used as a means to assert male dominance over women (Shilling, 1991). The same research mentions that male students dominate academic and science resource spaces, such as in the library and computer rooms. Space as a means of social differentiation also occurs in several schools in Yogyakarta, particularly in senior high schools.

Senior high schools, as the focus of this study, indicate that, according to rules or regulations, there are indeed no gender-based restrictions on the use and access to space in schools. Every student and other school members are free to access public spaces in the school for both academic and non-academic activities. However, in practice, it cannot be denied that freedom of access to space in schools does not provide students with equal access and opportunities to school facilities. The difference in access is related to habits and stereotypes that are still attached to the binary opposition between men and women. This is not separate from the influence of patriarchy in human life, including at the level of education and the formation of knowledge. Patriarchy becomes a system of domination enforced by violence and controlled by the power of men who dominate women, children, other men, and nature (Christ, 2016). Patriarchy dominates the formation of knowledge by using a male perspective to construct what is understood as authoritative knowledge, abstracted according to men's interests (Walby, 2014). Furthermore, Imam & Bano (2015) explain that patriarchal attitudes and structures continue to shape learning arrangements within the education system, one of which is by socializing female students to accept inequality and gender disabilities in the educational processes they undergo. That context serves as one of the backgrounds for how space (both physically and socially) in schools also has gender-based categories.

Outdoor space and domination of men's arena

Space is not only meaningful in a physical sense, but also serves as the basis for power struggles and control (Simpson, 2014). This context serves as the basis for understanding how space is not perceived as a neutral physical form, including spaces in schools. This is supported by (Shilling,

1991), which states that male students not only dominate the classroom in science but also tend to dominate space and academic resources, including libraries, throughout the school. Based on the research conducted by the author, this phenomenon tends to occur in various schools, particularly in high schools in Yogyakarta. Interestingly, the higher frequency of male students using academic, and sports spaces is considered something natural and normal. This is considered a masculine characteristic of men that is associated with outdoor and physical activities. The narrative is supported by the results of interviews with a teacher at a high school, stating:

"Students usually hang out in the canteen or in front of the classroom. Female students tend to stay inside the classroom, while male students often hang out outside the classroom, such as in the canteen, in the gazebo, or usually in the school corridor." (Interview with Teacher A, 08 September 2023).

In line with what Mrs. A mentioned, one male student at a high school in Yogyakarta shared his opinion:

"Usually, during free periods or breaks, it depends on where we want to hang out, sometimes in the cooperative, in the hallway, or near the stairs." (Interview with student R, 27 July 2023).

The data provided by students and teachers from the two different schools indicates that male students generally tend to spend their leisure time and socialize with their peer group in outdoor public spaces such as the cafeteria, gazebo, and school corridors. Based on this data, no informants mentioned that male students spend their leisure time in the classroom as a representation of private space in the school. The phenomenon of gender-based polarization in school spaces is a domino effect of the separate spheres paradigm of a

hierarchical opposition system that divides the realm of male production in the dominant public space and the private sector identified with women within a patriarchal and capitalist structure (Rendell, 2000). Schools as learning spaces are indeed not free from that influence. Boys who are identified as having masculine traits such as aggression, competitiveness, dominance, hierarchy, territoriality, and courage (Connell, 2005), are considered to have a close relationship with academic spaces, sports, and social relations. The gender roles taught to men, with various aspects of masculinity, make men more familiar with activities and relationships in public spaces. Aggression is part of the masculine traits that continue to be socialized within male gender roles, closely associated with activities related to sports. As a result, male students feel more familiar and tend to dominate the field, hall, building, and sports facilities compared to female students who are not socialized to have that gender role.

Furthermore, the construction of gender roles by families and society through traits of dominance and bravery makes it easier for male students to socialize in their surroundings compared to female students. Indirectly, this factor makes it easier for male students to dominate public spaces, allowing them to interact with many people, such as in the cafeteria and school corridors. The courage and assertiveness cultivated as masculine traits that male students should possess facilitate their ability to build relationships with others in the public spaces within the school. Gathering with friends from different classes and even different grades in the school corridor, playing basketball on the court located at the center of the school building, and spending break time in the cafeteria is a depiction of the dominance that male students possess but female students do not. Thus, with this characteristic, male students can use

public facilities at school without feeling embarrassed or inferior, and they dominate the public spaces at school.

The analysis aligns with the statement made by a high school student in Yogyakarta regarding the tendency of male students to use space in school, which is:

"Boys usually gather a lot in the corridors/class hallways and on the basketball court." Or usually hanging out on the stairs where people become afraid/embarrassed to walk there. (Interview with Student S, 27 July 2023).

The results of the interview explain that the dominance of male students in public spaces is not a phenomenon without consequences. The activities of male students in public school spaces such as stairways and corridors in groups have an impact on the subordination of female students in using the same public spaces. Female students feel afraid and embarrassed when passing through school corridors where many male students are hanging out or engaging in group activities. The use of public space in schools does not become an issue when every student feels free and has access to that space. According to Wahyudi & Nugroho (2022), public space is an area that can be accessed openly, utilizes public resources, has a general impact, and is used for the performance of public roles. However, in this phenomenon, female students even experience fear and shame in using school facilities that should be accessible to everyone. Thus creating polarization in public spaces in schools based on the gender roles they possess. This has not received special attention from the school because it is considered a natural occurrence; however, it actually happens due to the narrative of gender performativity that has been constructed in various social environments.

In addition to being dominant in academic spaces, boys also monopolize outdoor play areas such as playgrounds (Shilling, 1991),

or in the context of high schools, areas like halls, basketball courts, and gazebos. This aligns with research conducted by Prioletta (2020), which explains that male students dominate play areas or outdoor facilities that are typically associated with femininity, where female students spend their leisure time. Previous studies from several research and empirical data obtained in this study indicate that public spaces in schools are largely affiliated with male students because the gender roles constructed are masculinity, which is not only related to characteristics but also to where masculine values are typically placed. Mastery, aggression, courage, and self-confidence as forms of masculinity values become characteristics of the public space. Public spaces with open activities and interactions with others are considered to require skills in aggression, bravery, and self-confidence. These traits are expected to be possessed by male students, so they feel a sense of ownership and familiarity with the field, the ceremony hall, the canteen, and the school corridors. These spaces also become arenas for boys to display the masculinity that they take pride in. Sports fields will showcase strength, hanging out in the school corridor will demonstrate dominance and bravery, while the cafeteria as a hangout spot will reflect collectivity and solidarity. Thus, gender polarization is also manifested in the formation of masculinity through the use and control of space or facilities in schools. The school curriculum has successfully established masculinity as an intrinsic dimension of gender relations that is continuously reproduced by educational institutions (Sreenivas, 2023).

Classroom and private space of women's arena

Spatial polarization in schools occurs not only among male students but is also experienced by female students. As explained in the previous point, male students largely

dominate the outdoor physical spaces related to sports and academic facilities. Female students certainly have open access to that space, but in terms of habit and intensity, they do not use public spaces much in their daily school activities. Conversely, female students tend to engage more in activities in classrooms or other private spaces. This aligns with the opinion expressed by one of the informants, who said:

> *"Boys usually hang out in front of the classroom, while girls tend to stay inside the classroom. Boys are often outside, like in the cafeteria." (Interview with Student F, 1 August 2023).*

A similar opinion about female students spending more time in the classroom was also expressed by one of the teachers at the school, namely:

> *"During break time, if it's on the field, it's usually the male students. Female students are typically in the hallway or in the classroom." (Interview with Teacher An, 08 September 2023).*

The opinions expressed by one of the students and a teacher at the high school illustrate how the habits of female students spending their break time engaging in activities inside the classroom also occur in various schools.

The classroom is a space used for the implementation of learning and is the room where students spend more time than any other spaces. The classroom is also the only space that students have personally (in the context of study groups/classes) within the school environment. Students can freely make the classroom a space of ownership, as shown by storing personal belongings on their desks, cleaning the classroom every day, and creating a comfortable environment for all activities in class. The attachment between the classroom and students in a school transforms the classroom into a private space that becomes the students' own. This

aligns with the definition of private space as a space where those within it can exercise control and use it according to their desires (Wahyudi & Nugroho, 2022). The only space or facility in the school that can be controlled and managed by students is the classroom. Thus, students have a greater responsibility to care for and maintain private spaces, compared to public spaces such as fields and halls. This is demonstrated by the existence of duty rules for cleaning classrooms every day, decorating the classrooms as beautifully and comfortably as possible, and marking ownership of desks using special attributes or symbols. Interestingly, the responsibility for caring for and maintaining the classroom is largely taken on by female students.

Female students spend more time in the classroom during both lesson times and breaks with their friends or peer groups. They tend to socialize with other female students to use the classroom as a comfortable space for their activities. This aligns with the research conducted by Smith & Andersen (2022) that students in the classroom tend to categorize themselves based on gender, resulting in same-gender social groups in the classroom as an important identity-forming factor, creating boundaries and separating themselves from male students. This makes the classroom an arena for female students to affiliate themselves with social groups of the same gender and to form a gender identity that is continuously constructed through the classroom. Female students use the classroom to share experiences, articulate, and express opinions in accordance with the gender identities they have constructed (Wagh, 2022). The attachment of female students to the classroom leads to the perception that they need to take on more responsibilities in maintaining the classroom, such as having greater responsibility for carrying out class duties, caring for the classroom through wall decorations and ornaments, as well as ensuring the operational continuity of the

class by being responsible for collecting monthly class dues.

The significant role of female students in caring for and maintaining the classroom environment does not automatically lead to female students dominating the classroom in terms of social interaction. In some cases, male students have more courage to build interactions, both with other boys and with female students. The masculine traits constructed in male students, suchascourage, aggression, instrumentalism, and the ability to dominate social relations in public spaces, are then brought into the classroom, making it easier for them to interact with both peers and teachers. Unlike female students, their dominance and access in the classroom are apparently limited to the maintenance of the space, but do not extend to the relationships within it. This is influenced by the factor of how female students are accustomed to forming relationships with their female peers in class and do not often access public spaces in school with a broader scope of social relationships. This opinion aligns with the findings of the research conducted by Mamnoun & Nfissi (2023) that male students dominate interactions in the classroom, both with their peers and in interactions with teachers, through asking more questions, engaging in intense conversations, frequently sharing jokes, as well as receiving praise and criticism from teachers.

Schools and heterotopia space

This research utilizes the concept of space presented by Michel Foucault, where space is not merely categorized dichotomously between real space and virtual or imaginary space. The perception or horizon of human knowledge regarding the formation of real space is not only derived from an innovation but also from historical products. Space, in Foucault's view, can mean relative space, which can be used to accommodate different

or even conflicting activities, which he then refers to as Heterotopia. Heterotopia is a location where social order takes place and community policies are in effect, allowing people to relate to one another and form networks (Chowdhury, 2019). Foucault divides heterotopic spaces into two types: crisis heterotopia and deviation heterotopia. Heterotopia of crisis is a place designated for individuals in a state of crisis and is considered sacred or forbidden for them, such as nursing homes, schools, military facilities, and hospitals. The other is the heterotopia of deviation, which refers to spaces that represent individuals who engage in social deviance and thus need to be spatially isolated, examples of which include mental hospitals and prisons (Sudradjat, 2012). In modern times, space not only occupies a position as a property, but it also plays a role as a heterogeneous landscape in shaping human relationships or connections.

This concept aligns with the opinion expressed by one of the female students, namely:

> *"Well, if the boys on the stairs, usually in my grade, there is no catcalling, especially since I am a 3rd grader, which means I am a senior. But back when I was in 2nd grade, the seniors would usually call out, but it didn't lead to any lewd catcalling, it was just joking, like saying "Hey, where are you going?" (Interview with student S, 8 September 2023)*

Based on the opinion of the female student, it shows that one of the spaces that can shape gender-based human relations is the school corridor. In the school corridor, a hierarchy of relationships is formed between male students as subjects who dominate the space and female students as objects who are not accustomed to using the corridor as a place for activities. Thus, male students have more courage and confidence to "tease" female students who are passing through the school corridor. Female students do not

have an attachment to the school corridor and feel it is not their territory, so they tend to normalize the teasing from male students and consider it as something "playful." Woodzicka et al. (2020) affirm that people often hesitate to confront sexism due to fear of social consequences.

The concept of space becomes an important object in feminist studies, to examine how homes, workplaces, suburbs, schools, and other public places are influenced by gender. This indicates that our public space is governed by strong norms (Winther, 2023). Schools, as one of the public spaces, also have certain ideologies and norms that are implemented into the curriculum, school culture, and the rules that apply. Schools, through their building structures, facilities, and physical symbols, support the existence of polarization based on the gender roles held by the school, particularly among students. Public spaces in schools are not only understood as physical areas where students and teachers engage in activities, but also as social spaces for building social relationships, disseminating ideologies or values, and perpetuating power dynamics, which is then referred to as heterotopia. The classroom, as the primary space in the learning process and the site of the relationship between students and teachers, is also a location for the growth of school ideologies and habits. The classroom, which should be an arena for open interaction among students, is in fact unable to escape the discriminatory social order. Physically, the classroom becomes an arena for female students to express themselves, spend more leisure time, and take greater responsibility for maintaining the cleanliness and comfort of the space. However, in terms of networks and relationships that are built, female students do not have as much influence as the dominance of the physical classroom space. In fact, male students continue to dominate conversations, build interactions, and have

a wider network. This happens because female students tend to socialize with other female students, compared to male students. Thus, the networks and relationships formed in classroom interactions tend to be more limited compared to male students.

Furthermore, the concept of Heterotopia presented by (Foucault, 1984) also leads the author to an analysis of deviant heterotopia, which becomes the focus of the study on space. Schools serve as an example of how physical space can be used as a means to discipline individuals in their relationship with a society that is perceived to be in crisis. The crisis referred to is when individuals are deemed necessary to be adjusted to the norms and ideologies upheld by society systematically. Schools serve as an extension of the state and society to shape individuals in line with the nation's expectations, guiding them to enter educational institutions as an effort to avoid being in a state of crisis. In line with that concept, Labaree (2022) explains that state needs school to build and reinforce social coherence and share values. Therefore, in addition to teaching academic and cognitive aspects, schools also impart values and ideologies in line with the expectations of society and the state, both explicitly and implicitly. Schools become one of the important arenas for guiding individuals according to certain values and ideologies, and to prevent them from deviating from social values and norms. Thus, the spaces and facilities in the school also support the efforts to construct the ideology that is expected to grow among the school community, especially the students.

Public spaces in schools, such as fields, canteens, halls, and pavilions, are closely associated with aggressive, brave, competitive, and instrumental masculine characteristics, which are predominantly exhibited by male students. Through these spaces, male students are directed to reproduce and maintain the masculine traits

that have been established as the primary characteristics of males by the entire socio-cultural environment. Thus, schools become a means for adolescent boys to conform to societal norms and ideologies that dictate that males must possess masculine traits, which are upheld and reproduced through activities at school, particularly in public spaces. Through activities that are linked to masculine characteristics, such as sports, contests, or competitions, as well as interactions with others, male students are encouraged to dominate and control the public spaces available in schools, such as fields, halls, canteens, and classroom corridors. This analysis is supported by the opinion expressed by student A, namely:

> *"If the extracurricular activities are predominantly for boys, they are definitely sports, like futsal which is entirely male. Until now, the girls' futsal team has not been formed. If the dance extracurricular is entirely female. Actually, the school does not have any rules to limit extracurricular participation for boys and girls, but some extracurriculars are mostly attended by male students, female students usually feel hesitant to join those activities."* (interview with student A, 27 July 2023).

Meanwhile, female students are constructed with feminine traits that are identical to domestic and private aspects, which are also manifested in their activities at school. As a result, when male students engage in activities in public spaces like the field and cafeteria, female students are not as involved in them. Female students are more often found in the classroom as a private space that is considered comfortable and part of their 'own.' Classrooms that are predominantly occupied by female students reflect how these spaces serve to legitimize feminine characteristics such as care, affection, attentiveness, and privacy (Jung, 2003). Female students are encouraged to possess and internalize these characteristics

through their 'ownership' of the classroom by taking more responsibility for its upkeep, such as cleaning the classroom more often and making the space more beautiful and comfortable. Female students are expected to be the ones who maintain and take care of the classroom, while male students only need to be its occupants. The school has symbols and signs scattered throughout the classrooms, hallways, and gathering places (Terrence & Kent, 2016). The implicit division of space illustrates how schools serve as a medium to shape boys and girls according to societal conditions and demands, ensuring that no one finds themselves in a state of crisis or deviation. In the end, gender differences create space by establishing symbolic or material boundaries as markers of the subjects who will dominate that space (Löw, 2006), including in schools. Masculinity marks activities in the canteen, field, and school corridors, while femininity becomes an absolute symbol in the classroom.

Conclusion

School can be understood as a physical and a social space in building academic values and cultural values within a society. In fact, the use of space in schools cannot be separated from the construction of ideologies and values that develop in society, including gender differences. There are power relations and socio-cultural reproduction in the use of spaces in schools, both public spaces such as fields, halls, cafeterias, and libraries, as well as private spaces such as classrooms. There is a gender differences reproduction and gender-based power relations through the division of spaces in schools unconsciously, as evidenced by the differences in where male and female students spend their leisure time. The field, cafeteria, and school corridors as public spaces in schools are predominantly occupied by male students because they represent masculine characteristics such as

aggression, competitiveness, dominance, hierarchy, territoriality, and bravery. Some of these traits continue to be socialized as male gender roles, so male students feel more familiar and tend to dominate fields, halls, buildings, and sports complexes compared to female students who are not socialized to have these gender roles. On the other hand, female students will engage more in activities in the classroom and have a strong sense of ownership, making them more responsible for maintaining and taking care of the classroom. Female students also tend to spend more of their free time in the classroom compared to other places like the field and the cafeteria. Schools are a form of how physical space can be used as a means to discipline individuals' body in their relationship with a society that is considered to be in a state of crisis. Schools become arenas to shape individuals to align with societal constructs and not be in a state of crisis, through the arrangement of space and symbols within them.

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Declaration of Ownership

This article is our original work.

Conflict of Interest

There is no conflict of interest to declare in this article.

Ethical Clearance

This study was approved by the institution.

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