

Doing Gender: Voices from Within

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We learn how to read people's gender by learning which traits culturally signify each gender and by learning rules that enable us to classify individuals with a wide range of gender presentations into distinct and specific gender categories. Markers such as our appearances, mannerisms, and ways of speaking are constantly being read as part of our gender display. We do gender consciously and unconsciously. In this paper, I explore Malaysian students' voices of what it means to be gendered and what cultural practices are imbued with gender identities. First hand insights into the way in which gender realities are played are gathered through focus group discussions and elaborate narrative essays. On the one hand, the focus group discussions provide a public "unofficial" forum for the young people's presentation of selves and gender practices. On the other, the narrative essays provide insights into "official" documentation of their social constructions of gender. By looking at these two forms of data, I show the slippages between the projections of "conscious" and "unconscious" versions of gender identities.

Introduction

This paper is a result of my interaction with final year literature students who took a course on Gender Identities. At the beginning of the course, before they were introduced to theories on gender construction, I wanted to explore their perceptions of gender based on two kinds of approaches – focus group discussions and narrative writing on their gender construction. Because these students were familiar with me since I had taught them in a number of courses, and also due to the fact that they are "knowing" subjects, I made the assumptions that these young men and women were enlightened subjects who are astute about gender constructions.

The purpose of focus groups is to promote disclosure among participants. It is important to allow individuals to express their perceptions, attitudes, and point of view about a specific topic in a friendly, relaxed, and comfortable atmosphere. Focus groups allow comments, explanations and shared experiences. Focus group research involves organized discussion with a selected group of individuals to gain information about their views and experiences of a topic. Focus group interviewing is particularly suited for obtaining several perspectives about the same topic. The benefits of focus group research include gaining insights into people's shared understandings of everyday life and the ways in which individuals are influenced by others in a group situation. Interaction of participants adds richness to the data that may be missed in individual interviews.

Narrative writing provides an insight into the gendering processes of the young people on the threshold of joining the workforce. These students will soon leave the university and begin their lives as working adults and prospective husbands, wives, fathers and mothers. How they have been socialized as women and men, and how the courses at the university will influence their gendered practices will inform the ways in which they educate their children under their care. By making them narrate how they acquire and display traits, attitudes, and behaviours consistent with their gender identity, I obtain baseline data of their own gender assumptions. This article, then, seeks to analyse the ways in which young men and women manage their own gender identities through the ways in which they discuss issues and write about their own gender formation. To follow ethical procedures in research, the names used in this article are not the real names of the students.

Women in Malaysia

As a multi-racial country, Malaysian women are not homogeneous, having their own religious beliefs, customs and practices. As Cecelia Ng, Maznah Mohamad and Tan Beng Hui (2006; 140) argue, Malaysian women are constrained by the Asian discourse which has been used to promote a very strict prescription of female behaviour and roles. Ruzy Suliza Hashim's (2003) study of

Malay women in Malay court narratives show them to be at the margins of court politics. The marginalisation and muteness of women betray male ideals concerning women and their place in society: what is asked of them and what is withheld from them; under what favourable circumstances they may achieve and contribute to society; what types of female behaviour fall outside the prescribed limits of gender. Women who work in support of patriarchal ideals and then return to their prescribed roles are privileged whereas those who rebel against stipulated norms are constructed as “not normal, dangerous, and certainly not sexually appealing” (Ruzy Suliza Hashim 2003: 229). Inherent within the discourse is the symbolic notions of women as upholding the nation and honour, vital in their roles as keeping together the family unit. While they are allowed, and in most instances, encouraged – to go out of their homes to work in the public sphere whenever the need arises, they are also expected to give up their jobs and prioritise the interests of their family. If they put their own self interests before the family, “the disintegration of the family unit is blamed on their assertiveness in the public sphere and their neglect of domestic roles” (Ng, Mohamad and Tan, 2006:141). In a study conducted on professional Malay women, Roziah Omar (2003: 128) confirms the patriarchal nature of Malaysian society. Among the respondents interviewed, one of them said: “I am a wife and mother at home. My position as an accountant is left behind as I enter the driveway.” Roziah surmises that:

Because of the stereotyping of roles that is embodied in the Malay culture and Islam, educated urban women believe strongly that it is their duty to supervise the running of the household, managing the children, cooking and cleaning.

Even though Malay women have stepped out into the public domain, they are still bound by traditions to abide by the stereotypes of gender roles. Khoo Gaik Kheng’s (2006) work on the representations of the modern Malay woman of the 1990s which include female characters in films and Malaysian literary texts shows the cultural tensions about gender and sexuality. Framed within the discourses of modernity and Islam, Malay women must eschew their desires and sexuality and must return to Islamic ideals of morality and propriety.

In the sociopolitical scene, sexist views about Malaysian women occasionally show misogynistic attitudes. As recently as February 2009, women members of the Malaysian parliament submitted

a memorandum to complain of sexist remarks of male members. Amongst the public views about women include these remarks:

- An ethnic Indian leader and former minister S. Samy Vellu, who once said: 'A woman 50 years ago, she looks beautiful, but today she won't look so beautiful.' He also said: 'Toilets are like new brides after they are completed. After some time, they get a bit spoiled. Even if you do not use them frequently, you need someone to clean them every 25 minutes.'
- Abdul Fatah Harun, who represents the Islamist party PAS, had once claimed that most single mothers were divorced as they were 'gatal' (flirtatious) and therefore would not be pitied by society. 'Sometimes, for reasons of entrapment, she lodges a report that she had been raped. If she is a virgin, it would have been OK, we can find out. But if she is not, how can we prove it was rape or otherwise?' MP Badruddin Amiruddin was quoted as saying in the memorandum. Amiruddin also used the phrase 'like a menopausal woman' in references to the debate of another male MP.
- MPs Idris Haron, Mohammed Hayati Othman and Salahuddin Ayub claimed the sexy uniforms of female Malaysia Airlines System cabin staff would arouse male passengers. (<http://www.malaysianews.net/story/470495>)
- Bung Mokhtar and Mohd Said Yusuf made an unwarranted sexist remark against a female MP, Fong Po Kuan at the recent Dewan Rakyat sitting. The MPs were debating on the lack of maintenance that resulted in leaks in the Parliament building after heavy downpours when Radin and Mohd Said were alleged to have said "where is the leak, the member for Batu Gajah also leaks once a month". (Bernama)

These public outbursts show the manner in which Malaysian women are degraded in formal situations. While reprimands are made in the sittings and in the media, perceptions of women and their biological attributes and insecurities about female sexuality continue to be used as comic relief.

Unconscious Gendering

The focus group discussion allows me into an ambience of lightheartedness to a degree that the students felt that they could be honest with their articulations of gender. A number of devices are

used to gauge their perceptions of gender including questions related to characteristics of one's ideal man/woman, reactions to pictures, advertisements, and newspaper reports. By asking them questions of what are their predispositions towards what they conceive to be an ideal man or woman, most of their answers relate to either physical features or personal attributes. Male students state that they desire women who are beautiful, but these women must not earn more money or more intelligent than they are. When asked further why it would be a problem if a prospective partner earns more money, a male student, Ahmad, offers this explanation, "She will want to control me. She will be the boss of the house. A man should lead, never a woman." Female students, on the other hand, privilege personal attributes and desire men who are intelligent, thoughtful, and pious. As one female student said, "He must be able to manage the household, loves me, and can guide me in religious matters." While what these students say seem to be generalizations, their views highlight the ways in which their thinking about gender, despite them being knowing subjects, as confined within the Asian and Islamic world view of gender relations where men are accorded prestige, honour and power.

Reactions to two different pictures, one, a young woman with an older man, and two, a middle-aged woman with a young man, drew many comments. While the female students understandably felt irritated that their male counterparts laughed at the association of old woman/young man, they felt that they would not be comfortable in such a situation. Again, the women argued that at such an advanced age, love would be the furthest from their minds. At that age, they feel that they would be looking for spirituality rather than "rolling in the hay". The male students, however, felt encouraged that such an old man is still able to attract a young, good looking woman. Their divergent responses show that women are constructed to ignore and abandon their female sexuality in old age, while the men are energized by their sexual virility.

A third mechanism which was used to gauge their gender constructions was a task that required them to describe an advertisement for a product. Students were free to choose any products they desired and to show how the advertisements achieve their target of appropriate clients in the market. Many of them brought advertisements of domestic products such as rice cookers, washing liquids, and microwave ovens and unveiled the techniques that matched these goods with women. Women characters feature in the advertisements and taglines are directed for them.

They were able to articulate that women are shown to occupy the private space, specifically the kitchen and generally the homefront. As one female student said, “how come I don’t see men in this product advertisement? If one only needs to press the button, why don’t they put men there, in the kitchen with the microwave?” Products such as cars, tools and computers feature men as the target group or as characters in the advertisements. An advertisement of a new car was shown with two models wearing skimpy dresses standing next to the car in a provocative stance. The male students in the class liked the picture, saying that it meant “if you drive a car like that, you can pick up women like that, too,” while the female students saw how women were “commodified as sexual things.” Hence, the students showed an awareness of gender (mis)conceptions. The interpretations above are derived from my focus group discussions where I conducted my fieldwork in an informal way. The interaction of participants adds richness to the data that may be missed in individual interviews. The discussions provide concentrated amounts of rich data, in the participants’ own words which allow me to understand their predispositions toward gender constructions, that is, on the whole, they are aware of sexual stereotyping. As can be seen from some of the examples above, they repel gender identities along dichotomous lines. How much of this stance is attributed to the ways in which they have been socialized in gendering can be garnered from another form of data.

Conscious Gendering

Narratives and life stories offer rich information and can open a window into the forms of social actions with their own intrinsic structural properties. By asking the students to retrieve the factors that have influenced their gender identities, I wanted to examine the young men’s and women’s gender practices. This group of people represents a microcosm of Malaysian youth community. By looking at each narrative individually, I explore the idiosyncracies and uniqueness racial routines, belief systems, and traditional practices. Collectively, their stories also express socially shared conventions which will reflect that the ways in which they perform gender may not be so different from one another even though they profess to be different in relation to ethnicity and customary practices.

A majority of the narratives provided insights into their childhood and showed how the parents are the impetus for their identification with gender. As put by Aminah- a young Muslim-Malay woman who remembers the different way in which she and her brother were brought up as distinct gendered children. She said that her parents' "advice and their ways of teaching particular things are different from those received by my brother. Indeed, the way my parents protect me is also stricter than they do to my brother because a female needs stricter and ample protection". She further continues:

my mother always put good efforts in order for me to aspire like her. Her efforts are paid off because until this day, I still idolize her and she inspires me a lot in forming my gender identity. I say so because my mother "intentionally" dressed up, touched up, and styled herself in front of me when I was small. I used to think that my mother was a queen because she loved wearing diamonds, put thin layer of make-up but still appeared endearing and flawless, and she looks beautiful in every attire she puts on. Furthermore, in everything she performs, my mother looks truly feminine and her womanly demeanour seems natural. Therefore, she inspires me to become just like her and ever since I was a toddler until I am now, I realize that I tend to imitate my mother's ways... I have been trying to look just like my mother by doing things she does, walking like her, communicating like her, and finding the similar feminine ascent that she naturally has got. This situation does contribute to the formation of my gender identity because I always feel proud to be feminine like my mother, which also means that I am proud of being a female.

As Butler (1991) has argued in "Imitation and Gender Insubordination," psychic identification plays a role in gender processes. In the case of Aminah, she places an emotional attachment wanting to be like her mother and wanting to have everything that the mother has in order to have the same "womanly demeanour."

Aminah further shows that her mother is instrumental in ascertaining that she recognises her identity in relation to her physical appearance, that is, she was made to wear superfluous feminine clothes:

... my mother dressed me up with princess-like gowns, cute dresses in pink or white, Cinderella-like flat shoes, and my hair was always with a ribbon or cute hair band on just like the Snow White Princess's hairstyle. Furthermore, my father has been very strict about keeping my hair long because to him, a girl should have long hair. That made me very girlish until I have the freedom to style my hair as I like when I reached puberty. Having long hair had helped me formed my gender identity because I was proud of it as a female and everybody even my brother used to adore my pearly black and thick straight hair at those old days.

The memory of what one wore or how the parents influenced their choices of clothing reverberates in a number of narratives. An Indian female student, Kumala, says:

I generally first learned the attitudes and behaviours regarding gender at home through my parents. They formed indications even since I was an infant. For an example, from the pictures taken when I was a baby, I noticed that my mum have bought me many clothes that were pink in colour. Compared to my brother's pictures, he had none of his clothes that were pink. ...Besides that, when it comes to dress codes, my parents and relatives used to buy for me dresses, skirts and blouses compared to my brother who was born four years after me, ...The designs on both our clothings were different. My dresses had designs of flowers, laces attached to the dresses and images of female fairy tale characters such as Snow White and Cinderella. On the other hand, my brother's t-shirts had the designs of balls, and cartoon characters such as Ninja Turtle.

Clothing is here seen as an artefact which accentuates one's gender identity. We use dress, consciously or unconsciously, as one of the ways in which we project ourselves, the self we wish to present to the world, the group with which we desire to be associated. It is a strong and visible part of our need to assert identity. What we wear on our bodies becomes part of the transactional relationship we have with the world. Clothes function as a sheath which shows the purest kind of egocentric territoriality. Hence, inescapably, clothes are an everyday part of the creation of an image and a gender identity.

We are all familiar with the dress codes required by certain situations; clothes may enable a person to look like an executive during the week and a party-goer at weekends – and the two sets of clothes are seldom interchangeable, although there may be single items which are. Similarly, in Western culture, many items of clothing have become “unisex” but there are few “insiders” who, if questioned, would not be able to identify which items could not be worn by the opposite sex, particularly female items which are not available to men, although it is interesting to speculate how intelligible these notions would be to an “outsider,” or indeed how easy it would be to explain such shifting, personal and unwritten codes. As one male Indian student, Siva, remembers:

When I was about six, I remembered where we as whole family went out for Deepavali shopping. My mom bought me and my sister two pairs of cloths, a normal Jippa (male cultural dress) and a shirt for me where as for my sister a very grand Punjabi suit (female informal cultural dress) and skirt. I created a scene the whole day is because I wanted a dress which would be as extra ordinary and equally grand as my sister’s. According to my mother I did not even want to leave the shop and cried all the way home.

Clothes exemplify the performative way of creating identity. Siva was not allowed to have his way. His mother here plays a role in ascertaining the rigid gender identities by not entertaining his demands. It is clear here that clothing is crucial to identity. We use clothes as visual markers to identify ourselves to others and this also works in reverse. The person must signal that he is male, hence the self-identity must be displayed obviously, immediately and consistently.

Religion

Undoubtedly, religion plays a major role in instituting gender identities. Every religion has clear rules about physical characteristics and sex roles of each gender. In Malaysia, where laws prohibit same-sex marriage and homosexuality, proper identification of gender identities is learnt through religious teachings as indicated in the response below:

After I finish my elementary level my parents send me to a religious girl school in Klang. This is the next factor that comes along in influencing me in forming my gender which is a religious factor. In here, my teachers taught me how to be a good Muslimah. She said wearing a hijab is the requirement that Muslims, both male and female, dress and behave modestly. The most important Quran verse relating to hijab is surah 24:31, which says, "And tell the believing women to lower their gaze and guard their private parts and not to display their adornment except that which ordinarily appears thereof and to draw their head covers over their chests and not to display their adornment except to their [muhrim]...". She also added, woman should act and dress in a way that does not draw sexual attention to her when she is in the presence of someone of the opposite sex. Some Islamic scholars specify which areas of the body must be covered; most of these require that everything besides the face and hands be covered. This is the time when I learn to dress myself up properly and wearing my first scarf. I begin to limit my connection with boys and started to be friends with girls to adhere to my religious beliefs.

Julia's awareness of veiling and social interactions with the opposite sex as required in Islam becomes one of the guiding factors in the formation of her gender identity. By veiling, she is aware of her sexual space. By being modest with her choice of clothes, again she is being conscious of the sexual appeal to the opposite. Finally, by distancing herself from the company of men, she is markedly aware of the limits of her social interaction as a Muslim woman.

Similarly, another Muslim respondent turns to religion as a guaranteed way to ascertain her gender identity. Jsmín says:

My religion which is Islam does not allow its believers to indulge in transsexual activities. In Islam, it is wrong and sinful if women behave as men or men behave as women. Islam does not allow gender confusion. In *Al-Quran*, "khunsa" –

people with two sex organs should decide whether they want to be male or female based on which gender they are strongly affiliated with. So for me if a person is confused about his or her gender, he/ she should seek the truth by his/her religion.

Interestingly, she notes the existence of people who are born with two sexual organs, but according to her understanding, the biological characteristics do not make a person's gender ambivalent. Jasmin argues, therefore, that one's gender identity should be unmistakable, and should the person be confused, his or her religion should be the first site of inquiry to clear any doubt.

Sexual Awareness and Sexual Danger

It is inevitable that most respondents spoke of their changing bodily characteristics as part of their understanding of their gender identities. While the male Muslim respondents wrote about their circumcision as a rite of passage to "becoming men," the female participants wrote about other bodily transformations:

When I have my first menstruation, the biological factor takes over. This is the turning point in changing me from a "boyish" like girl to a woman. I wonder what really happened to me. Am I sick? Am I going to die? Where does this red blood come from? So I told my mother what happen and she have this kind of expression that saying "you are not sick you just grown up" that kind of expression. So, my mother explained it to me and gives me an hour and a half to talk about menstruation and adulthood as well as responsibility. At this point, I started to feel different about myself that my physical appearance seems to change as well. My breasts are no longer flat it grew bigger like it is swollen and my hair seems to grow longer in my private area. The worst thing happened is to my face who once is clear with nothing and now it's have a parasite called pimples. All of these biological changes make me aware of my appearance. I now neatly take care of my face and body by using a lot of health product to maintain my beautiful face.

The body changes are drastic, and as expressed by Sheila above, can be a quite frightening experience. Bodily changes also comes with another caution from well-meaning mothers, as articulated below by Suzana:

When I was about two years old, my parents taught the correct manner that should be taken care of when I am in a public place. For an instance, in the toilet, I was told to squat down when I am urinating. Besides that, I remembered my mother advising me not to show my private part to a stranger especially to men. When I was in primary school, my mother told me about puberty. She told me that, puberty in girls is the time she changes from a girl into a young woman, who is able to become pregnant and become a mother. ...Starting about two years before menarche or my first menstruation, the nipples on my breasts start to bud and my breasts began growing.

It would seem that sexual awareness and sexual danger are being seen as an entity. The memory of being a sexual victim is ingrained in her psyche. The caution serves to teach her to guard her honour, but the absence of advice against similar sexual harassment in the narratives of young men is also telling. When boys experience bodily changes, they are not warned against sexual misconduct. Because women's sexual transgressions have obvious repercussions, the narratives of women convey this fear to guard themselves as soon as they mature into sexual beings.

Family and Traditions

The family would be the first site where children learn of their gender identities. Apart from the instances mentioned above where parents consciously choose their children's clothings as the marker of appropriate gender demarcation, families also do gender in many other ways. The story below shows an example of talk-story where Mariam learns what is appropriate for women in her native culture:

Another example that influenced the formation of my gender identity in term of culture is the story behind the Harvest Festival or *Tadau Kaamatan* which we may call it in Kadazan tongue. As a child before I go to bed, my father would come up with the stories of a young and beautiful girl called *Huminodun*, who

willingly accepts her fate and offers to be sacrificed. Although it is an extremely painful decision, her father *Kinohoingan* and her mother, *Umunsumundu* agree to her request. In the end of the story, peace, harmony and prosperity are restored in the land. The pain of the parent is abated when the Harvest Festival is celebrated every year. My father also said that Mount Kinabalu is respected as the resting place of the soul of *Huminodun*. Now I realized that it is only a myth but it does have moral values which my father tries to instill within me. Also, the story is a legend in our culture so I personally think it must not be forgotten. Culture, therefore has become the important element to the formation of my gender identity as nowadays I still learn and appreciate more about my culture and I hope to taught the same things to my children.

The family scripts the formation of their children identities by the stories they tell, behaviours they allow, toys they buy or choose as shown in another narrative presented below:

My parents help me to understand and build up the characteristic on me by teaching how to be a boy example playing ball rather than playing a Barbie doll toy whereas girls have been thought to prefer quieter activities such as greater reliance on fantasy and imagined situations example watching snow white and the 7 dwarf. Addition, parent's role in forming my gender has a great impact to my life as well as religion aspect in been added to form my gender. In religious aspect male is certainly is the one that should be protector and guidance for female therefore my gender role is already being set up accordingly to the religious teaching that the Bible is the whole truth, even the part that calls men to be spiritual and relational leaders and calls women to be submissive.

I grew in Kadazandusun environment which refer to ethnicity is also forming my gender because in my race the Kadazandusun male is a symbol of head of the family, brings income into the family, protector and responsible for any consequences for his act, example if a man should have their own land to start for the own family. So, I'm quiet alert the environment where I lived ever since I was

born forming the characteristic of me and because of that I become a male to represent my gender role in the society.

The respondent, Joe, a indigenous male Christian, has rigid ideas of what he has to do as a man. His roles as the breadwinner and protector of his family are both learnt from his tradition and his religion. In another narrative, Ahmad, describes how his father steers him to be a man:

The person that always shown me how a boy must grow up to become a man, is my father. My father was seldom around the house. He usually went out doing something but despite all that he always taught me about discipline and bravery. A boy must not be a coward and must respect the people around him. My father also taught me to become a “kampong” boy. When I was around 7 to 8 years old, my father usually brought me along with him wherever he went. His actions of doing that make me realize that a boy must not always stay inside the house like a girl. He told me that a boy must learn to explore everything surrounding him so that he could face the obstacles that lie ahead.

His assertion that he must follow his father’s advice by extending his public perimeter and engaging in activities considered as manly contribute to his formation as a man. His stereotypical idea that a man who is confined to a home is a woman is an idea he inherits from his father, and which he strongly believes in.

Peer Influence

Many of the respondents articulated that their friends also influenced their gender formation. By looking for friends who shared the same interests, girls and boys tend to reinforce one another’s gender behavior. Jane, an Indian respondent surmises:

For example, one of my female friend has been an instructor and she taught us how to put on a make up in our face, how to dress to impress, how to manage our

hair, how to match the color of our accessories with clothes and so forth of girl's thing that need to be practiced. Together we learn and behave according to the gender schema as people around us expected us to. Another instance is that I and my female friends use public figures such as Christina Aguilera and Britney Spears and mimicking their styles which are completely feminine.

Peers provide the motivation to act in conforming or non-conforming ways. As we can see from this extract, Jane “walks the talk” by following accepted conventions. Entertainment artists also imparts fashionable trends of the time, inspiring young Malaysian women to be “hip and happening” but at the same time, colluding with patriarchal concepts of youth and beauty.

Conclusion

This paper began with the quest to understand the ways in which young Malaysians “do gender.” Focus group discussions show that these young people are aware of stereotypical ideas about gender roles and behavior. They are savvy about the techniques of making women's subordination appear natural and desirable. Their narratives showed the gendering practices which they have been exposed to at home and other institutions. These practices, because they comes from parents, religion and the environment, are accepted as the way things are. Therefore, cracks exist between these two perceptions: how they have been socialized and how they would like to remedy change.

The narratives showed that gender-biased child-rearing practices within the home setting make permanent imprints of gender. At a young age, they were taught how to look physically male or female, and in many cases, their play revolves around strict gender roles where young girls mother and young boys play rough games. They were also subjected to family traditions, religious practices and peer influence that further shape their gender identities. It is little wonder then that even people in higher echelons have not moved away from labelling men and women using stock types. However, there are voices of change, as depicted in this young woman's narrative, Padma, who is a hybrid of Indian-Punjabi origin:

My mother comes from a family of six daughters and three sons. From a young age, the six daughters were the ones who were managing almost everything in the household. My mother and her sisters did everything a daughter and a son would have to do. They supported their mother financially and emotionally. After marriage, my mother continued to work as she did not want to rely completely on my father. My father on the other hand, supported her and believed that she had every right to manage the family as much as he did. This is one important lesson that I learnt from them. My parents told us without a hint of cliché, that we can do whatever boys can do as long as we believed in ourselves. They reminded us that the gender roles that have been assigned by society do not necessarily have to be the gender roles we play. As a result, my sisters and I grew up with a spoonful of femininity and a dash of masculinity, as society would put it. I believe that a girl can still be considered a feminine person even if she dresses up or behaves in a manner that society considers masculine. Talking loudly, wearing big T-shirts, jeans, and shirts do not make you a boy. What we wear and what we do should not be the measure of what we are. It is our feelings and sentiments that define who we are.

Her narrative shows the way in which her parents play a big role in negotiating a more balanced view of gender identities. When faced with a wall of gender stereotypes, perhaps the best thing is to tear it down through education so that young men and women can unlearn early childhood practices which may perpetuate subordination of women and domination of men.

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