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**Moms' War and the Misconception about
"Ryosai Kenbo" and "Kyoiku-Mama":
Case of Educated Middle-Class Women in Indonesia**

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Abstract

Due to the rapid growth of internet users in Indonesia, mothers, who are socially connected through social media, have been involved in an ongoing debate topic: the ideal mother: stay-at-home moms versus working moms. Participants use religious dogma, a theory of parenting from psychology, philosophy of education and even sociology in the debate. One of the more popular models proposed is the positive image of "ryosai kenbo" and "kyoiku-mama", two Japanese styles of motherhood and child rearing, which are virally spread by social media. Through in-depth interviews with married women (aged 20s -40s) who live in urban areas and are university graduates, this research was aimed to find out the various perceptions of the ideal concept of motherhood and child rearing standards among educated middle-class women, which were represented in the so-called moms' war conducted over social media. Based on subsequent analysis, the researcher found that (1) the moms' war on the social media showed the transition of motherhood style and changes in child rearing standards in Indonesia, (2) the misconception of *ryosai kenbo* and *kyoiku-mama* in Indonesia was caused by inadequate information about the history of Japanese family sociology, especially the social welfare system and sexual division-of-labor in the Japanese workplace, and (3) the Indonesian urban family model had changed from the extended to nuclear family, resulting in captivation by the ideology of child-centeredness that frequently happens in the middle-class family.

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1. Introduction

In the 2010s, social networking users in Indonesia were shaken by a meme satirizing a working mom using a babysitting service to take care her child while she was working outside. The meme was of a picture of a child asking his/her mother whether she would trust other people to take care of her jewelry. The mother of course answered “NO”-followed by another question by the child: “Then why do you trust a nanny to take care of me?” In short, the meme was trying to compare how a mother treats her most valuable things differently, in this case, a child and jewelry.

Another meme gave an example of two men discussing their wives’ activities. The first man had a wife that quit working to be a stay-at-home mom while the other’s wife continued her career. The question that was posed was: “Isn’t it a waste to have a highly educated wife who just stays at home?” The second man replied with a question of his own: “Isn’t it a waste to let your child be raised by a poorly educated maid?” The meme tried to suggest the importance of early education for a child.

There are many debate topics that are brought up in the world of parenting, for instance: which is better--using disposable diapers or cloth diapers? Exclusively breast milk or formula? The age when a child should start to read and to write, etc. Among these topics, the concept of the ideal mother has become the most popular in the debate. That is to say, the comparison between working moms and stay-at-home moms.

It is a fairly recent development that the parenting world debate uses memes and other information that are virally spread in social media. And these viral concepts are so scientifically framed that people are easily convinced. Proponents use various social theories (especially psychological and child education theories) as well as religious dogma. Other participants, including motivational experts and religious leaders added various other interpretations of this topic, especially one involving sexual division-of-labor from social and religious points of view. Interestingly, they also brought forward various social phenomena and motherhood philosophies from developed countries to promote a positive image of stay-at-home moms (*ryosai kenbo* and *kyoiku-mama*, Japanese styles of motherhood and child rearing).

When and why did working moms versus stay-at-home moms start to be debated? In fact, historically Indonesian and Southeast Asian peoples belong to “dual earner” societies (Reid, 1993). Women living in rural areas probably will not seriously debate this topic since most of them have always been asked to participate in managing the farmland. Basically, the debate about motherhood philosophies and child rearing standards that has gone viral in social media is found principally in urban populations with adequate digital literacy. This phenomenon needs to be further explored in order to capture the social transition that has occurred in society.

1.1. Objectives of the Study

This paper sought to determine the various perceptions of the ideal concept of motherhood and child rearing standards among educated middle-class women, which

were represented in the so-called moms' war conducted over social media. Three questions were asked.

1. What is the ideal conception of motherhood described on social media and how do urban women respond to it?
2. How are *ryosai kenbo* and *kyoiku-mama* interpreted in the Indonesian moms war?
3. How can this phenomenon be captured and explained from a sociological point of view?

1.2. Method

This was a qualitative study using in-depth interviews as a method of collecting data. The participants involved in this study were 35 married women (aged 20-40 years old). All participants had at least a diploma degree and lived in urban areas. The interviews were done from August 2014 until May 2015. Afterwards the information collected was confirmed through email or social media interaction.

The locations chosen were four big cities that were considered representative of the diversity of urban areas in Indonesia: Jakarta (including JaBoDeTaBek areas), Bandung, Yogyakarta, and Surabaya (including Sidoarjo and Gresik). In the preliminary study, blog writers focusing on child rearing and day care from the four cities were more active than those in other cities in Indonesia.

2. Looking for the Ideal Mother Concept through the Indonesian *Moms' War*

As has already been mentioned, the most trending debate topic in social media has been working moms versus stay-at-home moms. That topic was discussed even more after a religious leader (namely Felix Siauw) and a motivator (Mario Teguh), a net celebrity, updated Facebook their status and tweeted about the topic.

In a random search of the moms' war topic on Twitter on March 10 2011, a woman tweeted "A stay-at-home mom is sometimes jealous of working mothers, but a working mother, in her heart, wants to be a stay-at-home mom who can control her child's development." Or another tweet in 2012: "Working moms grumble in their hearts! Missing their children and feeling like they are not taking care of their children has become their daily diet."

The debate about working moms vs stay-at-home moms does not stop on Twitter and Facebook. On 'Kaskus', the largest internet community in Indonesia, a poll was conducted of men in February 2013; its principal query was "If you are married, do you prefer your wife to be a stay-at-home-mom?" As much as 74% of male respondents answered 'yes' to this question.

Various reasons were voiced, including the importance of continuing R.A. Kartini's advocacy of women's emancipation by supporting working moms, while those who preferred stay-at-home moms argued that getting wives to stay at home was part of a man's pride and that the old paradigm of stay-at-home moms badly needed to be reinforced. Some even claimed that Japan's economic sector had been devastated as the result of Japanese women becoming infatuated by western feminism and starting to work outside like men. This example indicates that Indonesian people do not understand the 1997 and 2008 Financial Crisis very well and blame women for its impact on Asia.

2.1 "Part Time Mom" vs "Full Time Mom"

The Moms' War then escalated when Felix Siauw issued a tweet on May 28 2013 "if a woman spends only three hours for her child and eight hours to work, which one is better for them, to be called as a mother or a worker?" The next two days in May, 2013, Felix Siauw posted 44 points about the importance of being a stay-at-home mom on Facebook; the points were his father's advice before he converted to Islam. The moral lesson of this post was that being a stay-at-home mom was a noble job for a woman. It is not only a teaching in Islam, but is also an ideal in Chinese-Christian families. From the sociological point of view, this is actually surprising since Felix appears to be questioning the "dual earner" culture which is widely reported among Indonesian and Southeast Asian people. In the last point Felix added a sensitive sentence: "However it is a matter of choice, whether to be a "part-time mother" or a "stay-at-home mother". "You decide!" The status was liked by 27,000 accounts, commented 3,000 times and shared 24,000 times.

Felix' over-simplification of the issue--how perfect being a stay-at-home mom was and how being a working mom meant being a part-time mom, a victim of emancipation-- made the working moms' faction quite irritated. From all the comments about full-time moms vs part-time moms on Felix's status, we can distinguish three categories: (1) Pro: Those who are proud to be stay-at-home moms since it reduces many worries that mothers usually have, (2) Con: Those who work do not neglect their children and believe that their religion does not forbid women to work, (3) Indecisive: working moms confused about resigning or continuing to work.

2.2 "The Rib Ain't The Backbone"

On March 15, 2014, almost a year after the Felix Siauw fuss, a famous Indonesian motivation expert conducted a poll on his official Facebook account, Mario Teguh Super Club, which asked: "Should a woman be the family and household manager, and should a man be the economic ability builder?" 5,054 out of 6,388 (79.12%) voters answered in the affirmative. Then, the poll result was broadcast on MTGW, a motivational TV program on the Kartini Day edition.

On April 20, 2014 (a day before the Kartini celebration), Mario Teguh posted a Facebook status: "There is no gender equality. Woman is more esteemed than man. She is the rib not the backbone". By mentioning that, Mario Teguh is emphasizing the concept behind Eve's creation from the Islamic and Christian views which maintain that Eve was created by God from Adam's rib. Therefore, a woman is meant to be loved; do not ask her to earn money and be the family backbone (breadwinner). Then, that kind of mythical point-of-view and quote became more and more popular. Based on an interview with one respondent in Yogyakarta, there were many stickers quoting that tweet found in her city (Ira, 40 y/o, former teacher in Yogyakarta).

2.3 Moms' War Trigger

The rise of the moms war in 2013-2015 was also triggered by numerous mass media reports such as child abuse committed by maids which were also broadcast on the official Facebook page of the Indonesian Police Force, a major alleged crime of sodomy and pedophilia in a prestigious international kindergarten in Jakarta in 2014, and a child abuse case committed by the caregiver in Pertamina day care in September 2015. These major cases which attracted public attention raised the awareness of many people; they

believed that there was something wrong with day care and child care during this time, either caused by the nanny or child care institutions.

Numerous cases of child abuse become great ammunition for the moms' war on social media. Even the "maid's day off campaign" (April, 2015) which was intended to give holiday rights to maids in Singapore was twisted by Indonesian netizens. It was used to attack working moms and be the justification for stay-at-home moms. Based on observation of social media since 2011, the moms' war has been a never-ending topic of debate. For example, on April 21, 2016, a private radio station in Jakarta named JakFm posted the tweet: "Which one are you, a stay-at-home mom or a working mom?". Once again, Kartini day, which commemorates women's emancipation, always seems to be the right moment to question both woman's nature and the ideal concept of motherhood.

3. *Ryosai Kenbo* and *Kyoiku-Mama* as the Wanted Ideal Motherhood

Religious dogma is not the only reference for the moms' war, there are also *ryosai kenbo* and *kyoiku-mama*, motherhood philosophies and parenting styles from Japan, which were virally shared through social media, blogs, and the internet community. *Ryosai kenbo* literally means a good wife and wise mother, while *kyoiku-mama* is an education mother. At face value, there is nothing wrong with this term and it is no wonder Indonesian people claim it as the secret of Japanese society's success in educating their next generation. However, the term, which is quoted carelessly, raises a huge misconception of the reality of Japanese society.

Based on available blogs and articles discussing the concept *ryosai kenbo* and *kyoiku-mama*, almost all of them refer to Daoed Joesoef's (former Minister of Education and Culture 1978-1983) article written in an opinion column published by Kompas on July 7, 2007, which was also compiled by Waruwu (2010). Daoed Joesoef expressed his admiration for the ethical and disciplined behaviors of Japanese elementary students when they lined and organized their shoes neatly in the shoe rack at school. During his visit to Japan, he asked the teacher how she disciplined the children, and the teacher said, "I do nothing, their mothers teach them discipline."

3.1 *Social Assurance behind Housewifization of Japanese Woman*

Daoed Joesoef's deep impression was supported by a paper from Tony Dickensheets (1998) entitled "The Role of Education Mother". He quoted Dickensheets' paper claiming that the miracle of Japan's economic growth since 1960 was not the result of government policy demanding 16 hours of work each day. In his opinion, Daoed Joesoef wrote:

"The key lies in the role of *kyoiku-mama* or education mama who is responsible for the children's education while the husband is working. Japanese education and the cultural system mainly rely on the woman's role in child rearing. Thus the woman has strong *ryosai kentro*² (a good wife and a wise mother) principle which determines the woman's role as the household manager and children's caregiver".

² The misspelling of "*ryosai kenbo*" (= "*ryosai kentro*") by Daoed Joesoef is followed by other writers in blogs,

It is true that *kyoiku-mama* and *ryosai kenbo* philosophies indirectly influenced Japanese economic growth after World War II, but the Dickensheets' view of the value of *kyoiku-mama* in Japan which was carelessly quoted by Daoed Joesoef is a fundamental mistake. Embroiled in political conflict, the *ryosai kenbo* philosophy actually contributes to expanding women's responsibility for household activities, leading to the domestication of women. It allows her husband able to work effectively and her children to concentrate on their lessons at school or outside courses which could last for 16 hours a day.

Unfortunately, Dickensheets does not recognize the sexual division-of-labor inherent during the era of Japan's economic glory which adhered to the concept of lifetime employment. Lifetime employment ensures a worker job promotions and salary raises, and the worker will not be fired from his job as long as he does not commit serious mistakes. This lifetime employment makes the Japanese worker willing to give over his entire day to working because the company also provides many kinds of family allowances. However, conditions are now quite different following the economic upsets of the last few decades.

In fact, not all university graduate women agreed to be stay-at-home moms as Dickensheets and Daoed Joesoef said in their papers. At that time, of course, Japanese women who really wanted to be housewives and did not want to work were not a minority. But many of them also quit from their job to be housewives due to the certain circumstances in the workplace. Until the early 90s, a company never gave a woman an important position because the assumption was a woman would get married, have children and stop working. No matter how skilled she was, she only ended as an office lady whose job was making a cup of tea.

A work environment which is dominated by men makes it hard for the women to get higher positions in an institution. This condition is called *garasu no tenjo* (glass ceiling phenomenon), an unseen obstacle which forces a woman to give up on her career. *Ryosai kenbo* philosophy which claims the woman is the one responsible for education and household activities causes a fundamental problem balancing career and family life. A woman feels guilty when she cannot meet society's standards for managing family matters as well as giving full attention to and proper education for her children. Nowadays, *ryosai kenbo* is said to be a *shigo* (dead word). Due to the political views against women involved in *ryosai kenbo* education policy in the Meiji-Taisho era, this philosophy is no longer the pride of Japan (see Koyama, 2012).

3.2 *Kyoiku-mama and Social Problems*

Dickensheets and Daoed Joesoef's second mistake is using *kyoiku-mama* terminology without investigating its definition and background before it became popular in Japanese society. A title which uses a special terminology from raw translation without knowing its proper use in Japanese society is a very serious mistake. Literally, *kyoiku-mama* means education mother and there is no negative connotation at all to it. The expression is value-free in Indonesia but not in its culture of origin.

internet community, and social media.

As for *ryosai kenbo*, some Japanese claim it as a positive value although sociologists and historians often blame it as the cause of the “care regime” in Japan which burdens the woman with responsibilities in all caring activities (rearing and educating the child and caring for the elderly). Consequently, *kyoiku-mama* can be a pejorative statement used for Japanese mothers who do everything for their children’s success at school (Honda, 2013: 462).

According to Honda Yuki (2013), *kyoiku-mama* is not a scientific term (*gakujutsu yougo*); it is just a popular expression used in Japanese society and the use of which spread during the Japan economic glory-years after WW II. Now, it is rarely used in daily communication or in mass media. A *kyoiku-mama* is different from other moms who pay attention to her children's education. There is negative element contained in the term *kyoiku-mama*. The term was firstly used in the 1960’s by “Sunday Mainichi” magazine. Then in the 60’s-70’s, it was used many times by other newspapers and mass media which made it a popular expression. One of Japan’s largest newspapers, Asahi Shinbun, decided to stop using the term *kyoiku-mama* in 1979, followed by Yomiuri Shinbun in 1980 (ibid).

In contrast to Dickensheets, Daoed Joesoef, and the opinion of many Indonesians, *kyoiku-mama* has had a bad impact on Japanese society. During those years (1960’s-80’s), many children committed suicide and left a suicide note saying something like “*okasan baka*” which means *f**** you mom*. There were also some mothers who stole examination questions from the teacher’s room. In addition, many children became spoiled brats because their mothers gave them all they wanted; they had nothing they had to do other than studying.

Japanese sociologists concluded that the *kyoiku-mama* phenomenon was caused by “*Shinchuusankaikyuu*”, the new middle class in the pre-WW II era who were willing to sacrifice anything for their children’s education. Before WW II the *kyoiku-mama* phenomenon only existed in a certain social class. However, after WW II many people started to behave like that. The worse thing was that all the attention to education was focused on academic standing (high scores, enrolling in prestigious schools, etc.) not on any ethical qualities (manners and attitude, etc.).

Compared to Honda Yuki’s research on *kyoiku-mama* (2000 & 2013) and Koyama Shizuko’s research on *ryosai kenbo* (1999 & 2013), Dickensheets’s paper contributes to the misconception of *ryosai kenbo* and *kyoiku-mama* philosophy. This misconception was also expressed by my respondent, Ira (Yogyakarta, 40 y/o). She really admires *ryosai kenbo* and *kyoiku-mama* after reading her friend’s status on Facebook who is in Japan for her doctoral study. Ira envies Japanese women who are educated but do not follow her ambition to pursue her career. She thinks Japanese woman dedicate themselves to take care of the family and especially the children's education exactly as written by Daoed Joesoef and Dickensheets. Ira and most Indonesian people who have read about the greatness of *ryosai kenbo* and *kyoiku-mama* do not know the social background behind it.

Under this illusion, it is clear that many Indonesian people admire and envy Japanese women who are willing to become stay-at-home-moms because of their persistency in the mentality and work ethic rather than focusing on money or luxury items. It is, in fact, dissimilar to Japanese society in the Showa era with regard to the housewives phenomenon in United States in the 70s which was more focused on material prosperity, especially in the Western-style layout of the home and modern kitchen appliances³.

³ In the 1950s black and white television, washing machine, and refrigerator were known as the “*sanshu no jingi*” or “three sacred treasures” which also means the three essential status symbols in Showa era, and

4. Ideology of Child-Centeredness of the Urban Family in Indonesia

It is an interesting phenomenon that nowadays most working moms in Japan envy the working moms in America. American working moms are able to take a business trip without worry since they hire babysitters to take care of their children. So, like the working moms in Taiwan and Singapore, they can enjoy working and still have lots of time to be with their children and family because, when they come home, their houses are neat and food is already served on the table thanks to the in-house-maid they have hired. Many Japanese working moms believe that it is too good to be true in Japan (See Sasagawa, 2015).

In contrast, among middle-class working moms in Indonesia, there is a newly developing idea that a baby should be raised and educated by his/her own mother, not by grandparents or nannies. Lots of Indonesian mothers even question the existence of day care centers since there are not many qualified day cares here. That is why it is not surprising if the *ryosai kenbo* and *kyoku-mama* philosophies are welcome and interpreted positively on social media's moms' war. It is such an irony since the philosophies are criticized seriously in their own country.

4.1 Children's Education as the main issue of the Moms' War

Based on the in-depth interviews conducted in this study, the moms' war had a negative effect on the condition of working mothers in real life. Generally, it affected their emotional state, but in many cases it was not enough to make them quit their jobs. For example, Vero (Jakarta, 30 y/o) said that she was very hesitant to leave her children. "It is unfortunate, others would like to be a civil servant but you would like to quit your job," said one of her neighbors. Hearing that, it made her reverse her decision to resign.

Another respondent, Mala (Jakarta, 40 years old) stated that she needs to work since it is impossible to meet her family's needs relying on only her husband's income in a metropolitan city. Additionally, she and her husband have postgraduate degrees, so she wants her three children to have higher educations and brilliant careers. Regarding the meme "A child is god's gift, why should we give him/her to the maid or daycare?", she responded that she chose the proper day-care carefully, we don't trust our children to be taken care of just anywhere. Mala also rejects one of the moms' war's issues regarding the doubt that working mothers could educate their children properly.

"My first and second children said that they are more proud of having a working mother rather than a stay-at-home mother. Working mothers have a larger network and links; they are also well-informed, so they can make good decisions when their children need help."

Although she is on the working-mother side, she respects women who choose to be stay-at-home moms. When she was asked about the potential of having a home business or a trending online shop, Mala chose to stick with her decision since she felt that she did not have any ability in that field. In line with Mala, Alia (31 years old), a respondent from

then replaced by 3C -Color television, Cooler, and Car in the 1970s (See Yoshimi, 1999 & 2005).

Surabaya, said that she is the 'product of a working mom' and does not feel that her mother failed to educate her since she could pursue a higher education and get a stable career.

Religious views as to the appropriateness of woman being stay-at-home mothers got various responses from Islamic and Christian figures in the social media recently. Iva (Surabaya, 40 y/o), a senior high school headmaster and a *Nahdlatul Ulama* activist, stated that, in Islam, a man is the leader of the woman but that does not mean necessarily that she could not work and should always be staying at home. Similarly, Maria (Surabaya, 40 years old) who is a Christian kindergarten and daycare headmaster said that educating and caring for the children is the mother's duty, but it does not reduce a working woman's dignity as long as she can entrust her children to the right people.

Nonetheless, many housewives believe that they are on the right side of the moms' war. Linda (Jakarta, 29 y/o) was afraid of the prevalence of child abuse cases in the mass media and social media, therefore she finally decided to quit her job and to dedicate herself as a stay-at-home mother. On the other hand, Ana (Yogyakarta, 30 y/o) quit her job because of religious reasons. She said that she was very happy and at peace after quitting her job as an engineer in a multinational company since she could concentrate on taking care of her child. She blamed herself when she was busy working in France and her child was born with autism.

Ira (Yogyakarta, 40 y/o) who quit her job as a teacher, agreed to the statement 'a woman was born as a rib bone, so do not make her the back bone of the family'. She stated that she could not stand listening to many children crying when they are in the daycare near her home every morning. From her point of view, the economic condition of working mothers is not worse than hers so she wonders why they continue their careers and leave their children in a daycare. Moreover, she thinks that the standard of wealth is relative, it depends on how we manage it.

Meanwhile, Tina (Surabaya, 33 y/o) already declared herself to be a stay-at-home mom before the moms' war occurred. She is supported by her husband who has the same perspective on it. She quit her job in a foreign company and chose to become a stay-at-home mother since she experienced having a working mom in her childhood and she felt very lonely at that time. Furthermore, she said that her mother has replaced 17 housemaids and only one of them was sincere and nice to her. Other housemaids often repeatedly pinched her younger brother, and it has made her decide to be a stay-at-home mother. Tina was traumatized by the housemaids' attitudes in her childhood experience and considered that the financial independence of her mom, aunt and other female workers around her reduces their respect toward their husbands. As stated in her religion, a man is the leader of the family; this makes her sure that she would like to be a stay-at-home mom. Similar to Ira, Tina deplors that educated women have a career outside and leave their children in the day care just because of economic considerations.

4.2 Academic Record Society and the Rising Middle Class

There are many theories of who deserves to be called middle-class, but in general this designation usually refers to people who have fixed incomes, a house, private cars, savings and good education. The distribution of middle-class people in Indonesia in 2012, according to BCG (Boston Consulting Group), was 44% of the whole population. The income limits that were used in this survey were actually too low due to the inflation rate

of Indonesia. However, if the income limits from the BCG survey were used as an indicator to categorize the participants in this study, the participants of this study were definitely middle and upper-middle class people.

Even though the exact percentage of middle class in Indonesia is still debatable, many surveys show that economic growth and consumption in Indonesia are quite high. Nielson (2016) sums up that Indonesians are the 3rd most confident consumers in the world after Indians and Filipinas. In line with the previous data, Pew Research (2014) shows that 62% of Indonesian people believe that the next generation will have a better future and financial condition. Meanwhile, Global Consumer Survey (BCG) (2012) states that 91% of Indonesian people are optimistic that their financial condition is relatively secured compared to all of the countries in the world.

Indonesia is considered an academic record society, wherein children's education is regarded as a future investment. In fact, for religious people, a child is an investment in life and in the life after. In such cases, children's education is not only for survival in the world, but also for the parents' salvation in the afterlife. The successful birth control (KB) program in Indonesia shifts the society's orientation from having dependent families to core families that want to have the best education (including religion wisdom) and health for their children. They can no longer go by the number of children for their security; as the classic proverb says, 'many children means many meals.' Nowadays they tend to focus on the quality their children experience, specifically in education, not only academically but also in their understanding of religious teaching and morals. With this issue, we can see that the ideology of child-centeredness is being adopted by Indonesian society, especially in urban areas.

5. Conclusion

Based on the explanation above, it can be assumed that the ideal mom that is visualized by the social media users and respondents is a mother who can take care of the family and educate her children. Working moms and stay-at-home mom both maintain that their decision to pursue a career or not is because they believe it is best for their kids. It is different from the statements of many working moms in the era of New Order in the "Satu Abad Kartini" - Kartini in a Century (1979) essays; nowadays the gender equality issue is not featured anymore in the choice of becoming a working mom or stay-at-home mom. The choices are usually affected by childhood experience and their understanding of the religious interpretation. It indicates the changing concept of motherhood and child education in Indonesia. A new standard of child rearing among middle-class mothers in Indonesia is illustrated by their regard for Japanese motherhood philosophy in the moms' war. The misinterpretation of the *ryosai kenbo* and *kyoiku-mama* concepts which are virally spread in the social media are basically caused by a lack of information about the history of Japanese familial sociology, especially regarding the social welfare system and sexual division-of-labor in the Japanese workplace. Dickensheets' paper entitled "The Role of Education Mama" which is quoted by Daoed Joesof in his opinion column, contributes to this misconception. As an academic record society with a continuously growing middle class, the Indonesian urban family model has changed from extended family to nuclear family and is unconsciously captivated by the ideology of child-centeredness as experienced by modern societies all over the world.

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