

Analyzing Gender Injustice in Indonesia: Legal and Civic Education Perspectives

Muh. Amar^{1*}, Andi Kasmawati², Mustaring², Bakhtiar², Najamuddin², Ahmadin²

^{1,2}State University of Makassar (Jl. A. P. Pettarani, 90222, Makassar, Indonesia)

*Corresponding author: 24000230141@student.unm.ac.id

ABSTRACT

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Gender injustice in Indonesia is a structural social problem and is legitimized by cultural norms and legal systems that have not fully sided with equality between women and men. This research aims to analyze the problem of gender inequality that occurs systemically despite the existence of a legal framework that supports justice, as well as examine how legal and civic education can contribute to social transformation towards a more gender-just society. The focus of the study includes three things: (1) the concept of gender and forms of gender injustice which include marginalization, subordination, stereotypes, gender-based violence, and double burden; (2) gender justice in the legal system and the challenges of its enforcement in Indonesia; and (3) the role and barriers of legal and citizenship education in encouraging citizens' critical awareness of gender justice issues. This study uses a normative legal method with a descriptive-analytical approach, which focuses on legal regulations related to gender justice, protection of women's rights, and analysis of the role of legal education and citizenship in fighting for gender justice. The results of the study show that although Indonesia has ratified various national and international legal instruments that regulate gender justice, implementation on the ground is still hampered by patriarchal culture, low gender-based legal literacy, and structural bias in law enforcement institutions. On the other hand, legal and civic education has strategic potential as a means of social change, but until now it has not been optimal in integrating gender perspectives substantively in curriculum, pedagogy, and institutional practices. Therefore, education reform that is more progressive and responsive to gender issues is needed as part of efforts to build citizens who are inclusive, critical, and uphold the values of justice.



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INTRODUCTION

The Indonesian Constitution expressly rejects all forms of gender-based discrimination. Article 28I paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution states that "Everyone has the right to be free from discriminatory treatment on any basis and has the right to be protected from discriminatory treatment". This is the juridical basis that unequal treatment of individuals, including gender, is a form of human rights violation (Lailam & Andrianti, 2022). Human rights are a fundamental right inherent in every individual from birth, to guarantee dignity, freedom, and justice without discrimination (Itasari, 2020). The fulfillment of human rights, including the issue of gender justice, is the main responsibility of the state as a stakeholder (*Duty Bearer*), which is carried out through legal instruments and policies (Ngondi & Mukaindo, 2024). The state is obliged to carry out four main functions, namely: to respect, to protect, to fulfill, and to promote the rights of citizens in a fair and equal manner (Saputra, 2021).

Indonesia's commitment to the elimination of gender-based discrimination is reflected in the ratification Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) through Law Number 7 of 1984 concerning the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, which requires the state to take concrete steps in eliminating all forms of discrimination against women in all aspects of life. As implemented at the national level, there are various regulations, namely Law Number 23 of 2004 concerning the Elimination of Domestic Violence and Law Number 12 of 2022 concerning the Crime of Sexual Violence which explicitly recognizes gender-based violence as a human rights violation that must be handled legally (Hapriyanto & Syamsiah, 2024; March, 2024).

At the global level, Indonesia has also demonstrated its commitment through the adoption of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), where Goal 5 explicitly targets "achieving gender justice and empowering all women and girls." This commitment is strengthened through national policies through Presidential Regulation Number 59 of 2017, and clarified in the latest national development direction through the Asta Cita of the Prabowo-Gibran Government. In particular, the 4th Asta Cita emphasized the importance of developing human resources, science, technology, education, health, as well as gender justice and strengthening the role of women.

However, discrimination against gender is still a problem in Indonesia. In this context, discrimination often stems from a misunderstanding of the concept of gender itself, which is often equated with gender. In fact, theoretically, gender refers to the naturally inherent biological characteristics of males and females related to reproductive organs, chromosomes, and hormones (Mauvais-Jarvis et al., 2017). Meanwhile, gender is a social and cultural construct that shapes the roles, behaviors, and identities attached to individuals based on their gender (Rosyidah & Nurwati, 2019). The concept of gender develops through the process of socialization and habituation in society, so that it can differ from one culture to another, and is dynamic and can change over time.

When society rigidly sets certain roles for men and women, unbalanced power relations begin to form. Men tend to be placed as the dominant party in the public sphere, while women are limited in their role in the domestic sphere (Ete et al., 2023). This has a wide impact on access to education, employment, political representation, and even legal protection (Fauziah et al., 2023; Valentina et al., 2022). In its development, this inequality gives rise to various forms of gender injustice such as marginalization, subordination, stereotype, violence, and double burden is unbalanced where women are often victims due to strong traditions and beliefs that place women as the main responsible for household affairs (Faqih, 1996). This condition shows that gender injustice is still deeply rooted in the traditions and social structure of Indonesian society.

The research problem raised in this study is how gender injustice continues to take place in Indonesia despite the existence of a progressive legal framework. This problem is also related to the weak implementation of the law and the lack of integration of gender justice values in the

education system, especially legal and civic education. Therefore, it is important to examine the role of education in shaping citizens' critical awareness of systemic gender inequality.

Academically, this theme has become a widespread concern in recent years. Various studies show that education plays a big role in shaping gender awareness (Hooks, 1994; Fredman, 2016; Natalis, 2020). However, most studies still focus on normative approaches, not many have explored the critical integration of gender perspectives in legal and civics education in Indonesia. This is a research gap that aims to be answered in this study, namely by examining gender injustice from a structural perspective and looking at how legal and civic education can play a role as a social transformation strategy. Thus, this study offers novelty in linking criticism of gender inequality with social justice-based civic education reform.

Education has great transformative potential in shaping the gender consciousness of citizens. Through the educational process, the values of justice, equality, and respect for human dignity can be internalized from an early age. In this context, legal and citizenship education plays an important role in shaping citizens who not only formally understand their rights and obligations, but also have a critical awareness of social inequality, including the issue of gender injustice. Education must encourage alignment with the values of justice so that every individual has an equal opportunity to develop their potential, without discrimination (Saing et al., 2023). This idea is in line with the bell hooks view (1994), which emphasizes that education is the practice of freedom. As an intersectional feminist, hooks emphasizes the importance of understanding how race, gender, and class interact with each other. Therefore, integrating gender perspectives in legal and civic education is an important strategy to build citizens who are more critical and active in fighting for democratic and human rights values. Without a commitment to gender justice, education has the potential to become an engine for reproducing eternal injustice in society.

METHOD

The method used in this study is the normative legal method, which is a legal research approach that places law as a written norm contained in laws and regulations (Scott, 2005). This research focuses on the study of legal regulations related to gender justice issues, protection of women's rights, and strengthening the role of citizens through legal and citizenship education. This type of research is descriptive-analytical, namely describing the problem of gender injustice systematically and analyzing it based on applicable legal norms and relevant scientific literature. The approaches used include a statutory approach to examine legal instruments and a *conceptual approach* to understand the concepts of gender justice in the context of legal and civic education.

The data sources in this study consist of primary legal materials, secondary legal materials, and tertiary legal materials. The data were analyzed qualitatively to reveal the relationship between legal norms, conditions of gender inequality, and the strategic role of education in overcoming these problems. The data was analyzed qualitatively by interpreting and constructing the meaning of the legal texts and socio-legal theories used. The analysis was carried out by linking legal norms, empirical findings, and the concept of gender justice as the basis for evaluating the effectiveness of the law in overcoming gender inequality. To ensure the validity of the data, theoretical triangulation and literature comparison techniques are used, namely by comparing various theories and findings from different scientific sources to obtain the validity of the argument and strengthen the results of the analysis.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Gender and Forms of Gender Injustice in Indonesia

Gender is a social concept that refers to the roles, responsibilities, behaviors, and expectations that society attaches to individuals based on their gender (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004; West & Zimmerman, 1987). In contrast to biological sex, such as differences in

chromosomes, hormones, or reproductive organs, gender is formed through a socialization process that takes place in a certain cultural space and time, so it is not fixed or universal (Deltourbe et al., 2022; Marmoah, 2017). In Indonesia, gender roles are heavily influenced by religious and customary values, such as the view that men should be the head of the household, while women are responsible for domestic work. These norms form a social structure that places men in a dominant position in the public space, while women are constructed to play a passive role.

Feminist thought views gender as a social construct that is not determined by nature or biology, but rather shaped by the social and cultural structure of society itself (Suharnanik, 2023). This is in line with Simone de Beauvoir's view (1956) which states that women are not born as women, but become women through the process of internalizing social values that are inherited from generation to generation. Beauvoir asserts that despite the biological differences between men and women, the meaning of women's gender is shaped by social norms and conditions that place women as "the other" in relation to men as the main norm or standard.

In Indonesia, this gender construction is reflected in the policy of Law Number 16 of 2019 concerning Marriage which places the husband as the head of the family and the wife as the housewife, thereby strengthening women's domestic role and normalizing their subordination in the family realm. Although women are now increasingly involved in public spaces such as work and education, patriarchal gender constructions that have become entrenched in social systems often remain resistant to change. Judith Butler (1990) Then it introduces the concept of gender performativity, which states that gender identity is not something that is naturally inherent, but is formed through the repetition of actions, expressions, and behaviors that have been standardized by culture and social norms. In other words, women are not only assumed to have a "gentle" or "submissive" nature, but are also constantly trained to show attitudes, ways of dressing, and speaking that are in line with societal expectations. This performative repetition creates the illusion of gender stability, while opening up opportunities for resistance and change to existing norms

Gender construction is also closely related to patriarchal systems and capitalism. Sylvia Walby (1990) explains that patriarchy works through legal and economic institutions that place women in subordinate positions. This happens because social structures, including law and economics, tend to dominate men and exploit women. Walby emphasized that patriarchy is not just about the individual, but also about the social systems that broadly affect women's lives. In Indonesia, women's representation in the legislature is still low, reaching only 9%, while men dominate with 91%. Although awareness of gender justice is increasing, women's participation in politics has not changed much. To encourage women's involvement, the government implements an affirmation policy through Law Number 12 of 2003 Article 65 Paragraph 1 (Election Law), which requires a minimum of 30% female representation in legislative elections. This policy has succeeded in increasing the number of women in the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, although it has not reached the target of 30%. In the 2004-2009 period, women's representation increased to 11.8% (61 seats), then increased again in 2009-2014 to 18.1% (101 seats). However, in 2014-2019, the figure dropped slightly to 17.3% (97 seats). For the 2019-2024 period, women's representation rose again to 20.5% (118 seats). Overall, the 30% quota affirmation policy has encouraged an increase in women's representation in the House of Representatives, although it has not reached the expected proportions (Sari et al., 2025).

In the perspective of Marxist feminism, the oppression of women is not the result of deliberate individual actions, but rather is the product of systemic political, social, and economic structures. The class system in capitalism creates inequality between women and men, where the division of labor by gender reinforces gender injustice. Capitalism positions women as cheap labor and places them in the domestic sector without recognition of their contributions, thus reinforcing male dominance economically and socially. This oppression occurs not only in the

public sphere, but also in the family as an institution that reproduces the subordination of women through the patriarchal ideology inherent in the capitalist system. Marxist feminism emphasizes that women's liberation must be carried out through the struggle against the exploitative capitalist system and patriarchy that curbs the role of women (Nihayah & Suharto, 2022; Soebiyantoro & Harianto, 2015).

The intersectionality approach, as developed by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991), invites us to understand that the experience of gender injustice cannot be seen in isolation. Other social identities such as class, ethnicity, religion, and disability conditions also form multi-layered vulnerabilities. In Indonesia, women from rural areas, indigenous women, and women with disabilities often experience double or even triple discrimination, both as women, as part of a minority group, and as economically and politically marginalized citizens. Therefore, the understanding of gender needs to be studied comprehensively and reflectively, not only as a women's issue, but as part of the struggle for social justice. In the context of legal and civic education, a gender perspective must be an integral part of the learning process in order to be able to form citizens who care about inequality and stand for the values of justice.

Gender injustice in Indonesia is a complex and structural social problem. This injustice not only concerns unequal treatment between men and women, but also reflects an unfair system of power relations. According to Hasan (2019) that gender injustice basically gives birth to other unfair treatment of women as a differentiation of treatment based on gender reasons that has an impact on restricting individual roles, rights, and opportunities to develop equally, where women are currently the group that experiences the most injustice.

Gender injustice is a situation in which the relationship between men and women is unbalanced, so that one of the parties suffers a loss or even becomes a victim. Usually, this injustice arises because of the difference in roles and spaces given to each gender in a system or culture. There are several forms of gender injustice that manifest into various aspects of life (Faqih, 1996), including:

a) Marginalization

Marginalization is marginalization that causes women to have limited access to resources, decisions, or strategic spaces. Women are often placed on the margins in social, economic, and political structures. For example, in the world of work, women are more likely to work in the informal sector that does not have adequate social security or legal protection. In rural areas, women are often not involved in community decision-making, even though they make a significant contribution to the household economy. This marginalization strengthens inequality and makes it increasingly difficult for women to access their basic rights. This is reinforced by the research of Larasati & Ayu (2020) which shows that women in Indonesia experience limited access to economic resources and socio-political decision-making, which reinforces gender inequality.

b) Subordination

Subordination is the moderation or assumption that women are considered inferior to men socially, intellectually, and in public roles. This subordination appears, for example, in the view of a society that considers that women do not need to pursue higher education because they will eventually become housewives. Even in the world of work, women often face difficulties in obtaining positions on an equal footing with men, despite having the same qualifications. The phenomenon of women's subordination that places them as second parties in education and employment was also found in the study of Panorama et al (2022), which reveals that patriarchal views and social stereotypes prevent women from obtaining equal positions with men despite having the same qualifications. Another study by Nurhakim et al (2023) adding that this subordination is rooted in socio-cultural constructions that place women in a weak and limited position in public spaces.

c) Stereotypes

Gender stereotypes or labeling are a form of injustice that is rooted in people's lives. This stereotype forms the common assumption that women are emotional, weak, and irrational creatures, while men are associated with strength, rationality, and leadership. This labeling appears in many aspects, such as mass media, educational curriculum, and even in professional environments. Women are often considered more suitable to work in domestic sectors or "soft" professions, such as kindergarten teachers or nurses, while managerial or political positions are perceived as more suitable for men. This stereotype inhibits women from actively participating in public spaces and makes them question their capacity when occupying strategic positions, even though they have competencies equal to or superior to men. S Meliala et al (2019) In her study, she stated that this gender labeling limits women to play an active role in public and professional spaces, as well as questioning their capacity in strategic positions.

d) Violence

Gender-based violence is the most extreme form of injustice that threatens the safety and dignity of women. This violence includes physical, sexual, psychological, economic, and even violence in digital form. Komnas Perempuan data shows that in recent years, the number of reports of violence against women has continued to increase, with cases of domestic violence and sexual violence dominating. Many women are reluctant to report their cases because they fear social stigma, harassment, or distrust of the legal system that is perceived as impartial. The lack of understanding of the authorities' approach to gender-based approaches, as well as the lack of legal assistance that is in favor of the victim, reinforces the cycle of violence and restricts women from a safe and dignified life. Gender-based violence is not only a violation of human rights, but also a significant impediment to women's participation in social and economic development. Nurdin's Research (2024) It also highlights the weak approach of law enforcement officials to gender-based violence cases that reinforce the cycle of violence.

e) Double Load

Another form of injustice that is often experienced by Indonesian women is the double burden. This burden refers to the demand for women to carry out two roles at once: as productive workers in public spaces and domestic housekeepers in the domestic sphere. Although data show that women's participation in the formal work sector is increasing, domestic responsibilities such as childcare, cooking, and housekeeping remain the main burden for women, in the absence of a balanced division of roles with their spouses. As a result, many women experience physical and mental exhaustion, and have limited time and energy to develop their capacity to the maximum. This also has an impact on the low level of promotion of women in the world of work because it is considered less flexible, even though the quality of work is competent. Double burdens are a direct consequence of traditional gender constructions that are firmly embedded in culture and unresponsive to social change. In the study of Mariah et al (2022) added that this double burden contributes to the low level of promotion of women in the workforce despite their competent quality of work

Gender Justice in the Legal and Law Enforcement Systems

Efforts to realize gender justice in Indonesia cannot be separated from the role of the national legal system as a normative and strategic instrument to eliminate gender-based discrimination. Various regulations have been established as proof of the state's commitment to the principles of gender justice and respect for human rights. The main regulations and legal instruments that govern gender justice in Indonesia include:

- a. 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (Articles 27 and 28I Paragraph (2))

The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia guarantees gender justice for all citizens. Article 27 paragraph (1) states that "all citizens have the same position in the law and government and are obliged to uphold the law and government without exception."

Meanwhile, Article 28I paragraph (2) emphasizes that "everyone has the right to be free from discriminatory treatment on any basis and has the right to be protected from discriminatory treatment." This provision is a strong foundation in rejecting all forms of gender injustice and protecting women's rights, both in the legal, social, and public policy systems.

b. Law Number 7 of 1984 concerning the Ratification of CEDAW

CEDAW (*Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women*) is an international convention that requires states to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women. Indonesia ratified CEDAW through Law No. 7 of 1984, which became an important milestone in the legal recognition of gender justice efforts. This ratification requires the state to adopt legislative and administrative policies and actions that support the elimination of gender discrimination in all fields.

c. Law Number 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights

This law provides that every individual, without exception, has the right to fair legal treatment and protection, including the right to be free from discriminatory treatment. In the context of gender, this law guarantees that women have the right not to be treated unfairly because of their gender, status, or social function.

d. Law Number 23 of 2002 concerning Child Protection

This law regulates the protection of the rights of children, including girls, from discrimination, violence, exploitation, and unfair treatment. Although it does not explicitly address gender justice, the Act is important in the context of preventing gender-based violence against children.

e. Law Number 23 of 2004 concerning the Elimination of Domestic Violence

This law was passed in response to the high rate of violence that occurs in the household, especially experienced by women. The Elimination of Domestic Violence Law explicitly recognizes women as a vulnerable group to domestic violence, and therefore requires special protections. This law provides a legal mechanism that allows victims to obtain protection, assistance, and physical and psychological recovery. In particular, Article 39 states that victims of domestic violence have the right to protection from various parties, including health workers, social workers, volunteers, and spiritual counselors.

f. Law Number 21 of 2007 concerning the Eradication of the Crime of Trafficking in Persons

This law is important because the majority of victims of trafficking are women and girls. This law regulates the prevention, prosecution, and rehabilitation of victims of trafficking, and requires the state to protect the rights and safety of victims.

g. Law No. 11 of 2005 concerning the Ratification of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

This law affirms that the state has a responsibility to ensure the equitable fulfillment of economic and social rights without gender discrimination. In its implementation, the *United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* emphasizes that women are often marginalized due to unequal cultural and customary practices, resulting in limited access to employment, education, and social security.

h. Law No. 12 of 2005 concerning the Ratification of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

The law emphasizes the importance of affirmative action from the state to ensure women's empowerment, and states that traditional or cultural reasons should not be used to justify violations of women's civil and political rights. This is important in the context of multicultural Indonesia, where traditional values are sometimes a barrier to gender justice.

i. Law Number 16 of 2019 concerning Amendments to Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage

The law regulates various aspects of marriage, including the equalization of the minimum age of marriage to 19 for men and women. In addition, this law also aims to ensure the protection of individual rights and promote gender justice in the marital relationship by reducing the injustices that have existed in social structures and family law.

j. Law Number 12 of 2022 concerning the Crime of Sexual Violence

The Crime of Sexual Violence Law is an important milestone in the protection of women in Indonesia by expanding the definition of sexual violence, strengthening the mechanism for handling and protecting victims, and providing a specific legal basis for punishing various forms of sexual violence that have not previously been regulated in detail in the Criminal Code.

k. Law Number 22 of 2022 concerning Corrections

The law provides special protection guarantees for female prisoners, including the right to reproductive health and the right not to be discriminated against during their sentences.

l. Presidential Regulation No. 12 of 2025 concerning the 2025–2029 National Medium-Term Development Plan

The document emphasizes that gender gaps still exist in various sectors, including access to education, employment, and politics. This Presidential Regulation is a reference in formulating affirmative policies to improve women's participation and quality of life.

m. Presidential Instruction No. 9 of 2000 concerning Gender Mainstreaming in National Development

This instruction is a strategic policy that requires all ministries and institutions in Indonesia to integrate a gender perspective in the entire process of planning, implementing, and evaluating programs and budgeting. Gender Mainstreaming in National Development is an important approach in mainstreaming gender issues in national development.

n. Presidential Decree No. 181 of 1998 concerning the Establishment of the National Commission on Anti-Violence against Women

Komnas Perempuan was formed as an independent institution tasked with monitoring, analyzing, and providing recommendations related to the protection of women's rights and the elimination of gender-based violence in Indonesia.

Although the Indonesian legal system has provided a relatively progressive normative framework for ensuring gender justice, real challenges arise at the implementation and enforcement stages. Law enforcement against gender-based violations still faces serious structural and cultural barriers. Gender justice is part of human rights that has a direct impact on the quality of life of individuals and national development (Sudirman & Susilawaty, 2022). To realize gender justice substantially, the legal system is not only required to provide fair regulations, but must also be able to adapt the implementation mechanism to the existing socio-cultural context.

One of the most significant challenges in law enforcement related to gender justice is the influence of patriarchal culture that still dominates the social order. Patriarchy places men as the center of power, both in the family, society, and the state. This is reflected in discriminatory practices such as unequal pay, limited access for women to strategic positions, and restrictions on women's participation in decision-making. Without systematic efforts to address gender-biased social norms, gender justice and the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals will be difficult to achieve. This kind of social norm is reflected in the low recognition of women's rights and abilities in various aspects of people's lives. These norms play a role in limiting women's space for movement, choices, and opportunities, through the construction of rigid social roles and expectations of what women can and cannot do. Therefore, discriminatory social norms are a fundamental obstacle in realizing gender justice and the empowerment of women and girls.

Gender bias itself is a global phenomenon that crosses the boundaries of countries, cultures, and levels of development. Gender Social Norm Index (GSNI) is used to measure discriminatory attitudes towards women based on four main dimensions, namely political integrity, education, economic participation, and physical autonomy. The findings of the GSNI, which covers about 85 percent of the world's population, show that nearly 90 percent of women and men worldwide have a fundamental bias against women. Most of the global population still believes that men are more deserving of political leaders and business executives than women. This bias is found not only in countries with low Human Development Index (HDI), but also in countries with high HDI, demonstrating that gender bias is across regions, social classes, and cultural systems, making it a structural challenge on a global scale (UNDP, 2023).

In social reality, sexual harassment and violence can happen to anyone regardless of gender. However, data and news reports in the mass media, digital platforms, and reports of victim assistance agencies show that women are significantly more frequent victims than men. This is inseparable from the social construct that positions women as a physically weaker group and is often considered subordinate by perpetrators (Cintya et al., 2023). Although the era of globalization has encouraged the creation of gender justice and expanded women's participation in the public sphere, the power relations between men and women are still often uneven. Women's transition from the domestic to the public sphere is supposed to be a symbol of independence and justice, but in practice it can actually cause new potential vulnerabilities due to male dominance who tries to maintain their superiority, including through deviant sexual acts (Tanjung et al., 2024). In the midst of people's lives, cases of sexual violence still occur in various forms, ranging from verbal acts to severe physical violence, all of which show that the challenge of creating a safe and equal space is still immense (Pahmi et al., 2023).

Gender discrimination in the workplace reflects the weak implementation of the principle of justice in the employment sector (Agboti et al., 2024). Data shows that the male Labor Force Participation Rate reaches 84.26%, while the female Labor Force Participation Rate is only 54.52%. This means that out of every 100 male working-age populations, about 84 people are included in the labor force, while women are much lower. This inequality indicates the existence of structural and cultural barriers that limit women's access to employment opportunities, both due to gender stereotypes, double burdens, and employment policies that are not fully responsive to women's needs. This is an irony in a state of law that guarantees justice before the law but fails to implement it in the workplace.

Law has a strategic role as a means of significant social change. Referring to the views of John Rawls (1971), a legal system is said to be fair if it is able to improve social inequality and create equal opportunities for all individuals. In the context of gender justice, the law ideally serves to eliminate structural injustices that have long been embedded in the social order. Some countries such as Sweden and Iceland are concrete examples of how the principles of gender justice can be effectively integrated into the legal system and public policy. In Sweden, for example, parental leave policies are structured in such a way as to encourage men's involvement in childcare, so as to balance gender roles and reduce the burden that has been predominantly borne by women (Nordic Council of Ministers, 2020). This proves that regulations that are designed in an inclusive manner are able to encourage changes in social norms towards gender justice.

Overall, law enforcement in order to realize gender justice in Indonesia still faces serious challenges and has not achieved optimal effectiveness. The main obstacles come not only from the structural weakness of law enforcement agencies, but also from the strong influence of patriarchal culture that still dominates the social and institutional system. Gender bias that is rooted in social norms is often reflected in the response of law enforcement officials, gender-insensitive judicial processes, and a lack of partiality towards victims of gender-based violence. In addition, the low literacy of the public, including the authorities, on the principles of human

rights and gender justice also exacerbates the problem. The weak monitoring and accountability mechanisms for regulatory implementation also worsened the situation, making the law appear more of a normative formality than a tool of social transformation. Therefore, in addition to regulatory reform and institutional strengthening, a profound paradigm shift and real political commitment are needed to ensure that gender justice is not only legal rhetoric, but is manifested in the practice of living as a just and equal nation and state.

The Role and Challenges of Legal and Civic Education in Realizing Gender Justice

Gender injustice in education in Indonesia is still a serious problem that hinders the achievement of social justice and sustainable development. Legal education has a strategic position in an effort to dismantle the dominance of gender bias that has taken root in the social and legislative systems. Transformative legal curriculum does not focus only on legal texts, but also on the reality of injustice arising from the practice of law. Integration approaches such as Feminist Jurisprudence It is important to form students' critical perspectives on legal norms and structures that are still patriarchal. This approach highlights that laws are often shaped by masculine values and can perpetuate gender injustice, so there is a need for legal reform to be more responsive and reflect justice for women (Natalis, 2020). Thus, legal education must be able to strengthen the awareness that law is not a neutral entity, but a social product that can be biased, and therefore must be constantly reviewed and criticized.

Sandra Fredman (2016) mentioning the four main dimensions of gender justice in legal education: (1) eliminating direct discrimination; (2) eliminate indirect discrimination; (3) create equitable outcomes through affirmative policies; and (4) empowering vulnerable groups. This means that legal education is not enough to be just formally fair, but must actively reconstruct injustices that have taken root in society. In this context, legal education is an important instrument for empowering women through scholarship programs, skills training, and awareness campaigns. This effort not only aims to open equal access to education, but also strengthens the position of women in economic and social development in society (Heryadi et al., 2024).

Meanwhile, citizenship education plays an important role in improving gender equality in Indonesia, as the materials taught in this education, such as democracy and human rights, provide a strong foundation for building awareness and understanding of gender justice. Democracy, which emphasizes the principles of freedom, participation, and justice, as well as human rights, which guarantee the rights of every individual without discrimination, are key to creating a state of law that respects the rights of all its citizens. In this context, citizenship education not only teaches theories about rights and obligations, but also equips individuals with an understanding of the importance of women's empowerment and the protection of their rights, which in turn contributes to the achievement of gender justice in society (Febrianti, 2017).

The challenges faced by legal and citizenship education in achieving gender justice in Indonesia are quite complex. The existence of a patriarchal culture that is still thick in most societies, which often affects the perspective on gender roles, both in the family, society, and the educational institution itself (Vioni & Liansah, 2023). In addition, the civic education curriculum often does not fully integrate gender justice issues in a deep and systematic way, so it does not have the maximum impact in changing traditional mindsets. In addition, inequality of access to education between genders, especially in remote areas, is also a barrier to the implementation of inclusive civic education. For this reason, there needs to be a joint effort to strengthen educational materials based on gender justice and socialize the importance of these values from an early age (A. A. Nurdin et al., 2024).

According to Suryadi and Pratitis (2001), the gender gap in education can be identified through several key issues that need serious attention, including:

- a. The gender gap is most prominent at the education levels of elementary schools, vocational high schools, and tertiary education, although at the elementary level, junior high school, and public high school conditions tend to be more balanced. However, there is a tendency that the higher the level of education, the wider the gender gap that occurs. This is generally influenced by patriarchal socio-cultural values embraced by Indonesian society, ranging from the perception of the importance of education for women, especially at the basic education level, to values related to the role of gender in society that affect the choice of majors or educational skills.
- b. Textbooks that contain gender bias, especially in subjects such as Pancasila and Citizenship Education, Indonesian, Social Sciences, Religious Education, and Physical Education, also maintain the gender gap in the long term. This condition contributes to the assumption that women are less productive as citizens, thus reinforcing harmful gender stereotypes.
- c. The low participation rate of women in education has an impact on the efficiency of the learning process. Although women have a relatively higher ability to survive and complete their studies, evidenced by lower dropout rates and repeat classes than men, their participation is still not optimal.
- d. The less strategic position of women in decision-making in the field of education causes an institutionalized gender gap in various dimensions of the education system. The attitude of education managers and implementers who are still gender-biased consistently extends the gap.
- e. There is still gender *segregation* in the selection of majors or study programs which leads to gender discrimination in employment institutions and the payroll system. This reality is influenced by family values and attitudes shaped by socio-cultural factors of society, thus causing gender bias in different social roles between men and women.

In addition, challenges in terms of educator capacity are significant obstacles in implementing education with a gender perspective. The capacity of educators is still limited in understanding and applying the concept of gender sensitivity in the learning process. Many educators are not fully able to integrate gender justice values into teaching materials, so learning still often reproduces gender stereotypes in society, both through textbooks and classroom interactions. Therefore, improving the competence of educators through systematic training on gender issues and gender-responsive learning methods is very important so that the goal of fair and equal education can be achieved in real terms in the educational environment (Ulya, 2017).

Although the term "gender justice" still sounds foreign to most people, the practice has actually been widely applied in daily life, especially in the family environment. Gender justice is reflected in the fulfillment of equal rights for boys and girls, especially in the field of education, equal distribution of domestic duties, and the freedom for children to make choices and express their opinions. In fact, in many families, both boys and girls are given space to be involved in decision-making, indicating an equal pattern of relationships. These findings indicate that gender justice values can grow and develop naturally in society, as long as they do not conflict with religious norms and upheld local values (Qomariah, 2019). Therefore, a contextual educational approach that respects cultural values is important in strengthening the understanding and practice of gender justice.

Legal education also has a great opportunity to become a driving force for legal reform through research and advocacy. One concrete form of this role is the development of a clinical legal education model, which not only provides practical experience to law students, but also directly assists women victims of violence in accessing their advocacy rights. Through models such as Live-Client Clinic and Street Law Clinic, students and educators can be involved in assisting real cases, as well as identifying various obstacles faced by victims, ranging from ignorance of rights, limited access to information, to economic and cultural constraints. Thus,

clinical legal education contributes to building social sensitivity, advocacy skills, and strengthening a sense of justice in society, so as to be able to encourage systemic changes in legal protection for vulnerable groups, especially women victims of violence (Martha, 2020). However, this kind of activity has not yet become an integral part of many law colleges. For this reason, collaboration between academics, legal practitioners, and civil society organizations is urgently needed so that the world of education is not only an ivory tower, but also active in social change.

On the other hand, the flow of digital information is also a new field in civic education. Platforms such as social media can be an effective tool for voicing gender justice, but they can also be a hotbed of disinformation and hate speech (Dar, 2023). The emergence of misleading content, such as the narrative that feminism damages the nation's morals, demands critical digital literacy education. Civic education must equip students with the ability to sort information, recognize biases, and maintain human values in public discourse.

Inequality in access to education is also a serious challenge, especially for women in remote areas. Structural barriers such as early marriage, poverty, and lack of educational facilities lead to low participation of women in legal and civic education. Moreover, curriculum content and the competence of educators in the regions are often unable to reach or reflect local needs related to gender issues. An inclusive and dialogical community-based approach to education is needed to empower these marginalized groups (Arifin, 2003; Ardiansyah et al., 2024).

A masculine and exclusive academic culture also strengthens women's barriers in the world of legal education. Orientation to competition, hierarchy formation, and neglect of the affective dimension in learning make the learning atmosphere unfriendly to women and gender minority groups. For example, discussions about criminal law tend to focus on retributive justice, without considering the needs of victims in a restorative approach. Therefore, there needs to be a more collaborative, inclusive, and empathetic reconstruction of academic culture.

In this context, gender mainstreaming refers to efforts to ensure that both men and women have equal opportunities in terms of access, participation, and benefits from education. This effort not only creates equity in school participation rates, but also targets structural and cultural changes that are often at the root of gender inequality, such as stereotypes of social roles, lack of representation of women in educational decision-making, and bias in curriculum and learning practices. Gender mainstreaming requires the active involvement of all stakeholders (teachers, parents, policy makers, and local communities) to build collective awareness of the importance of equitable and inclusive education. Gender-sensitive policies, teacher training, and a curriculum that is responsive to justice are important instruments in realizing a transformative education system (Savitri et al., 2024).

To realize legal and civic education that truly promotes gender justice, systemic transformation is needed that touches all aspects of education, namely (1) the curriculum must be integrative, meaning that learning materials incorporate gender perspectives in a comprehensive and contextual way, not only as an addition, but as an essential part of every subject, (2) pedagogy or teaching methods must be participatory, which actively involves students in critical discussions on gender issues, so that they not only receive information, but are also able to analyze and critique existing norms, (3) community or community involvement is essential to strengthen the relevance of education to social and cultural realities, as well as support changes in attitudes and practices outside the school environment, and (4) strong policy support from governments and educational institutions is needed to ensure the implementation of the principle of justice gender is consistent and sustainable, including the provision of resources, educator training, and effective evaluation mechanisms.

Integrating gender issues in legal and civic education is not enough just to add one topic about women in a single lecture session. What is needed is a comprehensive change through a cross-curricular approach, social action-based learning, and partnerships with various parties, both from educational institutions, civil society, and government agencies. Thus, education can

be transformed into an active space in building critical awareness, empowering individuals, and encouraging real action towards the realization of a just and gender-equal society. Education is not just a place to transfer knowledge, but an arena of collective struggle to uphold justice and humanity for all.

CONCLUSION

This research confirms that gender injustice in Indonesia is structural and institutionalized in social, cultural, economic, and legal norms. Gender is not a mere biological identity, but a social construct that produces an unequal power relationship between men and women. This inequality is manifested in the form of subordination, stereotypes, marginalization, gender-based violence, and double burdens that consistently place women in vulnerable positions in the public and private spheres.

Normatively, Indonesia has demonstrated its commitment to gender justice through its constitution, ratification of CEDAW, and a series of national regulations. However, in practice, the implementation of the law still faces serious challenges, which shows that gender equality has not been substantially integrated into the legal and law enforcement systems.

The new idea offered in this study is the need to transform legal and citizenship education as a structural strategy to instill gender justice values from an early age. Legal education does not stop at positive legal learning, but must build a critical awareness of normative and structural discrimination. Civic education also needs to be redesigned from a normative approach to reflective civic education that encourages participation, social empathy, and partiality towards vulnerable groups.

Thus, gender-responsive legal and citizenship education can be an effective instrument in eroding patriarchal norms and strengthening gender justice across the board. These efforts are not only important for the reform of the legal and social systems, but also for shaping a generation of citizens who are aware, critical, and committed to gender justice in the life of the nation and state.

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