

Access to Education for Hindu Women Amidst the Patriarchal Culture of the Balinese Tribal Community on the Island of Lombok, Indonesia

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Abstract

This research explores and explores the low access to education for Hindu women amidst the patriarchal culture of the Balinese tribal community on the island of Lombok, Indonesia. A very strong patriarchal system limits women's roles in various aspects of life, including access to education, the economy, and participation in decision making, at important Hindu religious events. The research was conducted in West Lombok in the Balinese tribal community. The method used is a qualitative phenomenological method with observation, interview and documentation techniques for data collection. The main problem explored is how access to education for Hindu women is in the midst of a society that is very strong in its patriarchal culture. Education is identified as the main key in changing social phenomena, especially the marginalization of women's access to education in a patriarchal culture. Women who receive an education have the potential to break free from traditional limitations, build careers, and support community development. The importance of empowering women through education as an investment in sustainable development is expected to contribute to the local economy and improve family welfare. The results of this research show that resistance to social change regarding equality between men and women, especially regarding women's access to education in a patriarchal culture, is still quite strong, so that change still requires full support from the government and community organizations, as well as community leaders. This research concludes that access to education for Hindu women is still subordinate to that of men. Achieving justice and equality in access to education requires a holistic approach that involves collaboration between government, non-government organizations, and local communities, as well as community leaders. Increasing women's access to education is not only important, it is also a necessity to achieve sustainable social and economic development in advancing civilization.

Keywords: Access to Education; Hindu Women; Patriarchal Culture; Balinese Tribal Society

Abstrak

Penelitian ini menggali dan menelusuri tentang rendahnya akses pendidikan perempuan Hindu ditengah budaya patriarkhi masyarakat suku Bali di Pulau Lombok, Indonesia. Sistem patriarkhi yang sangat kuat membatasi peran perempuan dalam berbagai aspek kehidupan, termasuk akses pendidikan, ekonomi, dan partisipasi dalam pengambilan keputusan, pada acara – acara keagamaan Hindu yang penting. Penelitian dilakukan di Lombok Barat pada komunitas Suku Bali. Metode yang digunakan ialah metode kualitatif fenomenologi dengan teknik observasi, wawancara, dan dokumentasi untuk pengumpulan data. Masalah utama yang ditelusuri ialah tentang bagaimana akses pendidikan bagi perempuan Hindu ditengah budaya masyarakat yang sangat kuat dengan budaya patriarkhinya. Pendidikan diidentifikasi sebagai kunci utama dalam mengubah fenomena sosial, khususnya terpinggirkannya akses pendidikan perempuan dalam budaya patriarkhi. Perempuan yang mendapat pendidikan memiliki potensi untuk

membebaskan diri dari keterbatasan tradisional, membangun karier, dan mendukung pengembangan komunitas. Pentingnya pemberdayaan perempuan melalui pendidikan sebagai investasi dalam pembangunan berkelanjutan, diharapkan memberikan kontribusi pada perekonomian lokal dan meningkatkan kesejahteraan keluarga. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa, resistensi terhadap perubahan sosial perihal kesetaraan laki-laki dan perempuan terutama berkaitan dengan akses pendidikan perempuan dalam budaya patriarkhi masih cukup kuat, sehingga untuk perubahan masih memerlukan dukungan penuh dari pemerintah dan organisasi masyarakat, serta tokoh-tokoh masyarakat. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa akses pendidikan bagi perempuan Hindu masih menjadi subordinat dibandingkan laki-laki. Untuk mencapai keadilan dan kesetaraan dalam akses pendidikan memerlukan pendekatan holistik yang melibatkan kolaborasi antara pemerintah, lembaga non-pemerintah, dan masyarakat lokal, serta tokoh-tokoh masyarakat. Peningkatan akses pendidikan perempuan bukan hanya penting, juga suatu keharusan untuk mencapai pembangunan sosial dan ekonomi yang berkelanjutan dalam memajukan peradaban.

Kata Kunci: Akses Pendidikan; Perempuan Hindu; Budaya Patriarkhi; Masyarakat Suku Bali

Introduction

Indonesia, a country rich in cultural diversity, involves people with diverse traditions and norms (Nasution et al., 2023). One ethnic group that reflects this diversity is the Balinese tribe who inhabit the island of Lombok. Even though Lombok is rich in natural beauty and cultural heritage, the Balinese people in Lombok still live in a patriarchal system that has dominated their social order for centuries.

In Balinese tribal society in Lombok, patriarchy has a strong influence in many aspects of daily life. Traditions based on a patriarchal system have become entrenched in the mindset and social norms of society (Haslan et al., 2022). Women's roles are often limited to the household and traditional activities, such as looking after children and housework. This limitation is reflected in their limited access to education, employment opportunities, and participation in social and political decision making (Triana & Krisnani, 2018). Dominant patriarchy creates significant challenges in efforts to empower Balinese women in Lombok. Existing social norms limit women's potential and hinder their development in various fields, including education, economics, and participation in decision making. These limitations have hampered the development of the potential of individuals and society as a whole (Astrina & Tanaya, 2020).

However, with the development of social change and increasing access to education, opportunities exist to bring about positive change. Education is the main key in changing society's paradigm. As women's education levels increase, they can acquire the knowledge and skills necessary to break free from traditional limitations. Apart from education, public awareness about the importance of gender equality is also growing, creating opportunities to inspire a spirit of change in society (Nurjanah, 2018). Women's empowerment is not only a right, but also an investment in sustainable development. By empowering women, the Balinese people in Lombok can experience benefits in various aspects of life (Disemadi & Prananingtyas, 2020). Empowered women have the potential to be agents of change in their families and communities. They can contribute to the local economy, improve family welfare, and support social and economic development in their region. Despite progress, there is still much work to be done. Challenges such as resistance to change from conservative circles, as well as the need for full support from the government and related institutions, are things that need to be overcome. Sustainable

social change requires a holistic approach, involving collaboration between government, non-government organizations and local communities to ensure that women's empowerment is not just a dream, but a reality that can be felt by all Balinese tribal communities in Lombok.

Method

This research uses qualitative methods, with a phenomenological approach. The phenomenological approach is a research method by analyzing empirical facts to find the meaning behind the phenomena that occur. Data collection was carried out by observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation at the research locus. In-depth interviews with several sources were obtained purposively, then data analysis was carried out using relevant theories. The resource persons in this research consisted of community leaders, religious leaders and Balinese Hindu women who experienced discrimination in access to education.

Results and Discussion

The classic problem faced by women is how to increase their status and role in society. Since ancient times, in Indonesia and in other parts of the world, women have always been seen as a weak group and placed in a lower position, as second class citizens. However, if women continue to think about these stereotypes, then rebel, and try to get their rightful place, then women, especially the Balinese tribe, must not lose energy and enthusiasm to continue fighting for their rights. Idealistically, Balinese women, wherever they are, should stop identifying themselves as a second class or marginal group (Widanti, 2020). Instead, women should take the initiative to prove that they cannot be measured based on these stereotypes. If Balinese women can demonstrate their abilities through achievements in education, roles in the household, and participation in community activities, automatically the view of society in certain traditional communities will change from "she is a woman" to "she is a competent individual".

In several Balinese families, empirical facts can be found that the Balinese people educate their children, both boys and girls, with an equal approach (Tus, 2021). However, there are differences in the provision of education at home between boys and girls. This is because daughters are seen as leaving their families to join their husband's families in the future. Therefore, providing education to girls was emphasized more strongly in the hope that they would bring good name to the family. They are taught not to embarrass the family and are expected not to be ridiculed or seen as not contributing to their presence, especially in daily activities, such as cooking and organizing things. However, it is important to note that in large ceremonies, the task of cooking is not the exclusive responsibility of women, but can also be carried out by men (Widyawati & Esther, 2023). In the Balinese community in Lombok, since childhood, parents have taught their offspring educational values, including the importance of respecting parents, elders, fellow humans and other creatures. They are also taught to serve their ancestors and worship God, which is manifested in belief in Hyang Wudu Wasa or Almighty God and his manifestations. Respect is often considered a fundamental basis for fostering positive interpersonal relationships between individuals, as well as establishing harmonious relationships with ancestral figures and the divine entity known as God, who is revered as the almighty Creator. In the practice of implementing culture based on Hindu religious teachings, women are generally actively involved in the task of making offerings to be offered to God and Sang Hyang Widi Wasa, apart from the daily responsibilities mentioned previously. When it involves religious events involving the extended family or local community, women's main task is to prepare offerings (banten), while the

organization and coordination of the ceremony, including event preparation and important decision making, is in the hands of men. In this context, participation does not only involve husband and wife couples, but also involves children who have reached adulthood.

Hindu family traditions often desire the presence of sons because they are considered *purusa*, who will help their parents when they enter old age, and are also thought to open the door to heaven for their parents after they die. Additionally, when a daughter marries, she is expected to follow her husband and become a member of the husband's family. This situation has encouraged parents to place their hopes especially on boys. However, in its development, there are still few Balinese tribal families in Lombok who are making efforts to initiate the provision of equal opportunities for girls and boys to attend formal education. In the past, there was a view in society that providing higher formal education to girls was not beneficial, because in the end they would become part of their husband's family. Instead, parents prefer to provide informal education at home, with an emphasis on the role of daughters in helping the family handle household affairs. Girls are expected to stay at home and are not allowed to leave the house outside school hours, this policy is different from boys. However, in the context of the Balinese tribe in Lombok, this perspective consistently does not assume that women have inherent weaknesses or limited abilities compared to men. In this research locus, it was found that the parents' perspective upholds the idea that men and women have different social responsibilities while maintaining equal capacities. This attitude is actively instilled among their descendants.

As in areas where patriarchal culture is dominant, women are usually placed as subordinates in relation to opportunities to obtain education. The phenomenon of gender inequality in the modern era still occurs in almost all parts of the world, so that observers, volunteers and scientists still continue to fight for gender justice for women. Empirically, facts have been found in the research locus that inequality in access to education between men and women seems to be something normal, and all components of society have accepted it as something normal. Women are naturally given second place compared to men in obtaining education, as evidenced by the low level of support given by parents to girls to go to school (Valentina et al., 2022). In an area with a strong patriarchal culture, as is the case in the research locus, regarding the fairness of women having difficulty gaining access to education, it can be discussed using Gramsci's theory of hegemony, that society has been indoctrinated with the values of patriarchal culture, so that over time society and women consider differences in treatment of their people to be normal.

The stigma of social groups that label women as saying that their duties in the family are cooking, taking care of children, washing clothes, cleaning the house, etc., (Natasha, 2013). also provides justification that women do not need to go to high school. Stigma that persists for a long time in a community will become a culture. Other stigmas include that women are weak, spoiled, whiny so it is not good for them to go far from home to pursue higher education. Labeling women as second class citizens contributes to the low level of female education in Indonesia, more specifically those found in the research locus. Apart from the various arguments used to justify the existence of dichotomies, even paradoxes between men and women in many matters, including in obtaining educational services, patriarchal cultural factors are the dominant factor. So if you want to change the phenomenon that is occurring, a paradigm shift is needed in the patriarchal culture (Mulyani, 2018). Men in a patriarchal culture are always assumed to have full authority in the family, as if everything can be resolved by themselves, whereas in reality a man in managing his household will be stronger if supported by an educated woman. Women's marginalization of school opportunities can also be caused by the

absence of social construction in society regarding gender equality. Women's awareness of the importance of obtaining education does not emerge because there is no trigger in the form of social movements that grow in society. Social construction regarding the need for justice and equality (Azizah, 2023), in the social roles between men and women can increase women's awareness to further improve their educational level.

Women also experience discrimination regarding their right to education. In a family whose economic conditions are not very good, the head of the family makes a choice for his children to continue their education. In a family where there are boys and girls, the choice to continue their education will be given to the boy. This will receive support from the family and society, which strongly adheres to patriarchal culture, even though women experience discrimination in patriarchal culture (Apriliandra & Krisnani, 2021).

Marginalization of access to education for women occurs at all levels of education, which is triggered by socio-cultural factors in society. At increasingly higher levels of education, the gap between men and women actually widens (Roziqin, 2020). The patriarchal culture that underlies these various inequalities can be analyzed from a rational choice perspective. When a head of household has to choose in a situation where conditions do not allow him to pay for education, the choice is based on patriarchal culture. The marginalization of women is actually coherent with gender inequality (Hyronimus, 2023). In the field of education, if a nation marginalizes its women, it means that the state deprives women of their right to exist, and even loses the opportunity to grow.

The paternalistic culture and patriarchal ideology adopted by society limits women's access to education. This also contributes to the low quality of women. Including the people of Dusun Lilin West Lombok, whose kinship system adheres to a patrilineal system. The patrilineal kinship system is a family system that attracts the male lineage. Where this system encourages the attachment of patriarchal culture. The patriarchal culture that is still inherent in society means that awareness of the importance of education is very low, especially for girls, whose priority in accessing education is boys. In addition, families that adhere to a patriarchal system provide boys with higher education opportunities than girls.

The lack of access to education for girls that occurs especially in the Dusun Lilin community is caused by a patriarchal culture which in relation to access to education for boys is prioritized over girls, therefore many adult women in Dusun Lilin who have reached the age of more than 50 years experience illiterate or unable to read and write. There are many obstacles for women in accessing education, this situation cannot be separated from the patriarchal culture in society which prioritizes boys in all fields, but with the advent of the 4.0 era there have been many changes in insight about the importance of education for women, so awareness is starting to emerge. Women's communities demand their rights to continue their education. Parents transmit to their daughters the values of devotion to their husband's family and belief in the law of karma that governs the fate of all individuals. When a girl marries, she is expected to accept all events with fortitude as a manifestation of the law of karma that governs human life. The concept of family is considered the main foundation that must be respected above all else. Actions such as divorce, for example, are considered behavior that destroys the reputation of the girl's family of origin. Girls are taught to respect the dignity of themselves and their families. Parents teach these values by encouraging daughters to help their parents work, with the intention that when they marry, they will not bring shame to their families.

In Balinese culture, when a woman marries, she is encouraged not to solely depend on her husband for the family's financial needs. Instead, she is expected to actively

help her husband in supporting their family financially. This understanding is based on the belief that all types of work are noble, as long as the work does not violate applicable societal norms. It is important for Balinese women to choose jobs that suit their abilities and skills. This understanding encourages many Balinese women to work diligently. They don't just do it because of pressure from their husbands or their husbands' families. Instead, their motivation comes from a sense of self-worth as women who do not want to rely solely on their husband's income. They also feel they have a responsibility to participate in earning a living for their family. Although there are some who choose to work for personal career development, to fill their time, or to gain independence from the family environment, the majority of Balinese women who work do so with strong determination and enthusiasm because they value their personal dignity and financial obligations to their families.

In Balinese tribal culture, girls who come from Hindu families have received guidance that teaches important values such as The principles included in this context include the preservation of self-respect and dignity within the family unit, commitment to fulfilling family responsibilities, recognition of the law of karma, and the understanding of individual obligations in life. Within the framework of Balinese culture, women are respected and recognized through a process of independence, while still upholding aesthetic principles and fulfilling family obligations. Girls are not taught to see men as rivals in life's journey. Children can observe harmony in their parents' lives, where each individual holds his or her responsibilities in the household and society. This is a social reality that has existed for centuries in cultured Balinese tribal society. Generally, society's view states that if a wife works, the time that can be allocated to caring for children and taking care of the household will decrease. It is feared that this situation could cause family problems due to the increased workload on women. However, another point of view argues that if a woman already has a job outside the home, the tasks that men must do at home will increase. This phenomenon was observed at the research location, where there was a practice where a husband was responsible for cooking food for his family after completing his work in the rice fields, because his wife was involved in selling at the market until the afternoon. In this context, there is a "shifting of the burden" of housework from the wife to the husband.

As long as women are involved in the world of work, the responsibility for carrying out household work is divided among other family members who have free time. In this situation, it seems that the nuclear family has begun to adopt a pattern of mutual cooperation to handle daily tasks, especially because it is difficult to find housemaids or help from relatives. The imbalance between the high cost of living and income means that many nuclear families who are still financially unstable are forced to learn to manage their own lives without relying on help from servants. Within certain households, disparities exist where some women assume all household responsibilities, while others benefit from substantial assistance provided by household assistants, sisters, in-laws, parents, or other relatives.

Outside the family sphere, responsibilities involving dealings with the banjar or extended family are carried out exclusively by men. Women in this context have a limited role, which is limited to conveying their opinions and thoughts through their husbands, because the husband is dominant in making important decisions. Women's presence at community meetings is only permitted if they are the head of the family. However, through the implementation of the PKK (Family Welfare Empowerment) program, women are now starting to be actively involved in banjar activities, especially in gaining knowledge which is mostly related to efforts to improve family welfare.

The view of women who view men as partners or colleagues, not as opponents or competitors in achieving career success, is an important aspect in creating harmony and calm in a patriarchal culture. Women's position in their careers is not achieved solely because of the sympathy of men, but rather based on the competence abilities possessed by women themselves. With this view, an understanding is formed that development does not depend on power competition between men and women. Instead, development is guided by collaboration between men and women as equal partners. Even though it sounds like a normative ideal, in reality, this is a true picture of ideal social dynamics in Balinese tribal communities in Lombok.

Balinese-Hindu women have been involved in multiple roles since childhood, which is directed by upbringing and community culture. They carry out this double duty as a dedication to maintaining the self-respect and dignity of their family. Balinese women do not consider dual roles as a burden, but rather as a form of service that gives them a sense of calm within their family. This reduces the potential for conflict between husband and wife in carrying out their household duties. The calm created in this family environment has a positive impact that extends to society as a whole. This calm and harmonious situation really supports the smooth development process of the Balinese tribal community on Lombok Island.

Achieving gender equality at various levels of society will be realized through women gaining widespread access to formal education, on a par with men. Women's pursuit of emancipation was not only to gain sympathy, but also to obtain positions that suited their abilities and aspirations. The struggle for women's emancipation took place slowly but surely, without causing conflicts that disturbed society. Men and women who have the same position and skills have equal opportunities in terms of income. This is reflected in the professional labor sector, where men and women have equal opportunities. However, inequality is still visible in important socio-cultural activities, such as access to education, inheritance rights, and participation in decision making within the family and in society.

In the context of progress in line with men, the active role of Balinese women in the development process requires them to continue to keep up with the times by increasing their skills through formal and non-formal education. The efforts made by women not only include improving family welfare, but also efforts to improve personal welfare while still upholding the community's cultural identity. In a patriarchal culture, women still face social and cultural obstacles in achieving equality in social spaces and in the labor market (Widanti, 2020). Women's emancipation can be fully realized at all levels of society if equality in access to formal education is achieved between women and men. The success of the struggle for women's emancipation does not solely come from feelings of pity and compassion for other parties, but rather is caused by women's determination to obtain a social position and income commensurate with their abilities. Therefore, it is important for the women's emancipation movement to recognize that this struggle should not ignore the role of women as housewives, but must be able to integrate this role with efforts towards broader gender equality (Widanti, 2020).

For married women, their entire existence is devoted exclusively to their family, especially their children and husband, while unmarried women will prioritize service and support for their family, which includes their parents and siblings. Within the framework of committing to this family role, women will diligently fight for the welfare of their family, regardless of whether their husband asks or not. The wife is willing to make a real contribution in maintaining and advancing her family, either through daily household work or by helping her husband with work activities. If a woman has certain skills, she will use these talents and skills to find additional sources of income for her family.

For Balinese women, work outside the home is a form of respect for the dignity and honor of the family they come from. Balinese women are not passive individuals who only depend on their husbands, but are creative and productive individuals, ready to contribute actively in building the sustainability of their households. The existence of women who are independent in various aspects is often seen as a natural thing by society, even in a strong patriarchal culture, recognizing that women can participate in advancing their families (Niam, 2021). There are striking differences regarding women's participation in organizational and community activities. Women's involvement in these activities tends to be lower, so their opportunities to develop rational and analytical thinking skills are also limited when compared to men. It is worth noting that to become a leader, both in the context of a household and a social organization, additional skills are required which can only be obtained through experience interacting in society (Widanti, 2020).

Education plays a central role in shaping women's lives because it significantly influences the quality of Human Resources (HR). The quality of a society's human resources is positively correlated with the level of education achieved by the individuals within it. From a normative perspective, government policies and programs in the education sector, from elementary to tertiary levels, are considered not to discriminate based on gender. However, in reality, there is a striking gender gap in the Balinese tribal community in Lombok which still has a strong patriarchal culture, especially at the senior secondary and tertiary education levels. To achieve gender equality and justice, it is important for society to address these disparities. One important step that can be taken is through gender education that is evenly distributed across all levels of society. In this way, social and cultural values that are detrimental or hinder women's progress can be corrected, paving the way towards the desired gender equality (Mukhlison Effendi & Sulistyorini, 2021). To support gender ideology, the New Order government revived and established several women's organizations, including Dharma Wanita, Dharma Pertiwi, and Family Welfare Development. However, the absence of autonomous women's organizations, especially in Balinese tribal communities in Lombok, has resulted in women occupying marginalized and subordinate roles in the social and cultural realm, as has also happened to women as second class citizens in the political realm under regime rule New Order (Basyit, 2017).

The government's efforts to improve the welfare of its citizens are supported by women's organizations, such as the PKK, which have implemented various community empowerment programs in the current environment, have shown their active involvement, especially in advancing women's economic empowerment, revitalizing Posyandu, and implementing family welfare initiatives. In addition, various initiatives have been undertaken, including campaigns aimed at eradicating illiteracy. Both members of this women's organization and individuals associated with it have played an important role in supporting the community empowerment agenda launched by the government. However, there is a social dynamic that attracts attention, especially in the context of the character of Balinese women who tend to lack self-confidence and are reluctant to show their true potential.

This phenomenon is still very visible among Balinese women. This shyness becomes a complex challenge, which requires an appropriate and strategic approach from civil society organizations (NGOs) and other social institutions working in the field of women's empowerment. This challenge must be overcome so that the main goal of these organizations, namely empowering women as a whole, can be achieved optimally. It cannot be denied that women's perseverance in living life is something that deserves recognition. It is very rare to find Balinese women who are unemployed or do not have a

job. At the very least, they help ease the family's economic burden through their financial contributions, both through work at home and outside the home. When we refer to careers, we cover a wide range of work that women do, both of a domestic nature and those that require them to leave the home. With increased in-depth knowledge and skills, this job can be considered a professional career that provides the same opportunities and rewards as other professions (Hidayati, 2017).

The phenomenon observed in the field confirms that Balinese women have a high willingness to take advantage of existing opportunities. If given the opportunity, they will not just let this opportunity go. This happens as long as the woman has the courage and does not overly consider the obstacles that may arise in the socio-cultural context. Those who are able to overcome these socio-cultural obstacles and view them as challenges that can be overcome, have great opportunities to develop their careers.

Conclusion

In the context of the era of globalization, women's empowerment in the Balinese tribal community in Lombok shows a complex transformation. On the one hand, there is a tendency for Balinese women to adopt modern culture, on the other hand, they also experience marginalization due to the strong influence of patriarchal culture, especially in traditional villages. In the process of adopting modern culture, Balinese women still maintain ties to existing traditions and value systems. Even though the Balinese people do not differentiate between the roles of women and men, there are recognized differences in function between the two, such as the low access to education for women. In relation to customary law in the Balinese tribal community in Lombok in terms of kinship and inheritance, it shows significant gender bias. Inheritance rights are only given to sons. To overcome gender inequality in the Balinese tribal community in Lombok, changing behavior is an important step that must be taken. This change must start from the family environment, social environment, and even the government bureaucratic environment. By empowering women holistically, both morally, psychologically, economically, educationally and politically, we can create true gender justice. Only through women's independence in all aspects of life can this ideal of gender justice be fully realized.

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