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 <https://doi.org/10.55463/hkjss.issn.1021-3619.61.26>

Liberal Feminism Propaganda and Social and Political Implications in Indonesia

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Received: March 13, 2023 ▪ Reviewed: April 9, 2023

▪ Accepted: May 16, 2023 ▪ Published: June 30, 2023

Abstract:

Biologically, men and women are different. The difference refers to the natural Sex differences. However, historically, and it also seems to be still valid today, society then established and expanded the natural differences through stereotypes and certain psychological prejudices, which later on in social positions were then differentiated and separated. Differences between men and women lead to oppression, or discrimination according to the western female model. With such a view, western women demand and fight for equality to eliminate differences through the formation of the Liberal Feminism movement. This research aims to discuss liberal feminism to promote their ideas of equal rights for men and women with the freedom and happiness of individual human beings in Indonesia, which has its own ideological and historical background. The research was done with literature study and qualitative analysis. The results conclude that first, the feminist movement has pushed social structures to change, in this case, patterns of behavior and social interaction at its various levels, both individuals and communities; second, they succeeded in gaining their political position in the House of Representatives with a minimum of 30% of their representativeness; and third, the bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence (UU P-KS). This research also showed something new that feminist theory is best when it can reflect the life experiences of diverse women, when the theory can bridge the gap between thought and body, reason and emotion, thought and feeling, and their movement gained support from the origin of Indonesia as long as it conforms to the views of nation.

Keywords: liberal feminism, propaganda, social phenomena, gender equality, Indonesia.

印度尼西亚的自由女权主义宣传及其社会和政治影响

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摘要:

从生物学角度来说,男性和女性是不同的。这种差异是指自然性别的差异。然而,从历史上看,今天看来也是如此,社会通过刻板印象和一定的心理偏见,建立和扩大了天然的差异,后来在社会地位上被分化和分离。根据西方女性模式,男性和女性之间的差异会导致压迫或歧视。带着这样的观点,西方女性通过自由女权运动的形成,要求并争取平等,以消除差异。本研究旨在探讨自由女权主义在印尼宣扬男女平等、人类个体自由幸福的思想,有其自身的思想和历史背景。本研究采用文献研究和定性分析的方式进行。结果得出的结论是:首先,女权运动推动了社会结构的改变,在这种情况下,改变了各个层面(个人和社区)的行为模式和社会互动;其次,他们以至少30%的代表性成功获得了众议院的政治地位;第三,消除性暴力法案。这项研究还表明,当女权主义理论能够反映不同女性的生活经历时,当理论能够弥合思想与身体、理性与情感、思想与感觉之间的差距时,女权主义理论才是最好的,她们的运动也能从源头获得支持。只要符合印尼人民的意见就可以。

关键词: 自由女权主义、宣传、社会现象、性别平等、印度尼西亚。

1. Introduction

Biologically, men and women are different. The difference refers to natural sex differences. However, historically, and it also seems to be still valid today, society then established and expanded the natural differences through stereotypes and certain psychological prejudices, which later on in social positions were then differentiated and separated. It is believed that the physical-biological characteristics inherent in women make them look weak. It reflects the psychological characteristics of mental identity that are passive, emotional, submissive, and permissive. Otherwise, the physical-biological characteristics in men make them look much stronger. It also characterizes aggressive, rational, and dynamic mental identities. Since men are considered stronger and rational, their duties and daily work are encouraged to be outside the household environment. While women are weak and emotional, most of their activities frequently occur in the household environment. In other words, men's work is more related to productive activities. One of which is to earn a living. Meanwhile, women do consumptive tasks, processing and managing the men's work.

The flow of Liberal Feminism is rooted in the philosophy of Liberalism, which has the concept that freedom is the right of each individual, so they must be given the freedom of choice without being bridled. The root of this theory rests on freedom and equality. Initially, Liberal Feminism discussed the discrimination of women in legislation. They demanded equality in suffrage, divorce, and ownership of property.

The problem in this research is the Liberal Feminism Propaganda and its Implications for Social and Politics in Indonesia. Based on this explanation, this research is arranged under the title "Liberal Feminism Propaganda and Social Political Implications in Indonesia". The focus of this research lies on the fundamental differences between men and women and their consequences in social and political life.

2. Method

The research method used in this study is qualitative.

Qualitative research is a centralized activity that places researchers in the world. Qualitative research consists of interpretive practice materials that make the world visible. In this case, qualitative research involves a naturalistic approach to the interpretation of the world. This means that qualitative researchers learn the objects in their natural environment, strive to interpret the phenomenon from the perspective of the meanings given by the society to them.

The stages of research are:

The first, we reviewed the issues of feminism and identified the main problems.

Second, we reviewed some literature of previous research.

Third, state the focus of the study and differentiation of the liberal feminism movement in Indonesia.

3. Literature Review

The Feminism paradigm is a collection of thoughts, convictions, and actions that depart from awareness, assumptions, and concern for injustice, inequality, oppression or discrimination against women, and is a movement that seeks to stop all forms of injustice and discrimination, and in subsequent developments the feminist movement also projects a vision of a just, democratic and prosperous society from the perspective of feminism. According to Mansour Fakihi (2005), in this context, feminism can be categorized as a theory of social and political change.

Based on this paradigm, a vision of a just, democratic and prosperous society can be achieved in the concept of development, which requires consideration of ethical dimensions, namely placing human values. For Gutierrez (1971), development means a combination of mental and social change that can bring about permanent accumulation on the basis of total real production. This humanistic approach tries to place development in a broader context: a historical vision that considers humans to be able to control their own destiny, which will change perspective. Meanwhile, according to Budiman et al. (1999), development consists of two main elements, the first material as capital to be developed, and the second is humanity as the initiator of the initiative and the

development resources. However, in the end, this development must be aimed at human development. Humans that are built are creative people To be a creative human being requires a happy, secure, and free condition and fear (Budiman et al., 1999). In the social sciences, gender analysis is used to examine the relationships between men and women in different societies. Gender itself is formed through a long process and is caused by various factors. For example, formed, socialized, strengthened, and constructed socially and culturally through the state, family, and even religious teachings. Gender in fact has led and gave birth to attitudes and practices that discriminate against women. These discriminatory attitudes and practices imply political relations, that is, power relations between men and women. This relation must be understood in a broad sense, namely as a relation of domination and subordination. Women in such relationships tend to be in a position of subordination. Therefore, gender is ultimately closely related to the belief process of how men and women should be expected to think and act in accordance with the social and cultural conditions in which they are located. One of the determinants of thinking and acting beliefs is the theological doctrine of religion. It is just that religion is often interpreted by its followers in such a way that it can legitimize the social structure to discriminate against women.

4. Findings

4.1. Liberal Feminism

The feminist movement is based on the injustices gained by women. The feminism is a movement that ends the injustice and oppression that occurs to women. However, the feminist movement does not always fight for women because it aims to transform an inequitable system and structure into a system that is fair to both women and men. The basic assumption of liberal feminism was initiated in the view that freedom and equality are rooted in rationality and separation between the private and public worlds (Fakih, 2005).

Liberals assume that when women are left behind or backward, it is caused by the factor of women themselves who are unable to compete and look for the cause of the traditional nature in them. For liberals, indeed development and modernization, technology and the economic system provide extensive opportunities for all, but it is only a modern, creative, rational, and efficient system that will be able to take advantage of that opportunity (Fakih, 2005).

For liberals, development, modernization, technology, and the economic system provide huge opportunities for all. However, only those who are modern, creative, rational, and efficient will be able to take advantage of this opportunity (Fakih, 2005).

4.2. Theoretical Framework

Feminism research has to pay attention to two living creatures, male and female. This research attempts to examine differences and similarities, experiences, and

interpretations of both in various contexts and types of social relations. While gender is categorized as a category of men and women biologically (gender). Sex refers to a biological notion, whereas gender has social significance. Gender studies began in 1960s. Their movements include spreading ideas, pressure, social and politics.

Women are part of the existence of the human community (*basyary*). The relation to the masculine is her as a mother, a sister, a wife, and an aunt. Social life would have never existed without women and men bearing the burden of revival together according to the law that Allah created.

During the Jahiliyyah, the condition of womanhood was greatly exiled. Their rights were deprived, and people's views of them were highly discredited. Until the time of Islam that freed them from the evil of Jahiliyyah, they returned and glorified them as human beings, children, wives, mothers, and members of the society.

In the Handbook of Qualitative Research (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994), it is explained that the scope of qualitative feminist research is as follows:

4.2.1. Subjectivity

Although many people assume that qualitative feminist research will focus on subjectivity and interpersonal relationships, this assumption reflects a critique weakness stating that qualitative research cannot solve structures or bigger issues. This is because current feminist research includes and exceeds all these levels and makes full use of qualitative methods.

4.2.2. Relationships and Interactions

Qualitative feminist research includes relationships and interpersonal interactions (relationships and interactions between men and women) or broader social relationships and interactions related to their duties and jobs.

4.2.3. Movements, Organizations and Social and Political Structures

The scope of this research includes movement, social and political organization. Movement involving race, social class, and sexual orientation that seeks to bridge between micro-interactional studies and macro-interactional research that examines the wider sociological units of society. This research refers to the analysis of the mesostructure of how society and institutional blend with human activities

4.2.4. Policy

This includes a review of the qualitative analysis of the policy. Qualitative feminist research does not have much impact on policymakers, such as research about the debate around abortion and the reasons for the emergence of premenstrual syndrome as a social problem.

Ideologically, feminism is included in religious studies on issues dealing with women. This discourse

was born based on the accusation of Islamic hegemony against Muslim women in Islamic countries as if it is intended to restrict women's dynamic space and discriminate women's positions in society, even when their aspirations and conscience are not heard (Azevy, 2019). It is very likely that feminism in Islam has the coherence of feminism that is derived from the Islamic teachings of al-Quran and Sunnah, which comprehensively presents the equality of human rights between women and men encompassing the right of worship, beliefs, potentials and education without denying the existence of tamayyuz in a common place between the two. Even the Qur'an glorifies women with the presence of a special letter among the 114 letters in it, named the An-Nisa letter.

Islam has raised the degrees of women, something that had never been given by any civilization before Islam such as Greek, Roman, Arab, Christianity and Hinduism. Even worse, European and British histories have placed women in the lowest caste in their community order. However, these things still cannot free Islam from the negative Western view of Islamic rules, which they consider rigid and ensnare women in the chain of household duties.

5. Discussion

5.1. The Propaganda of Liberal Feminism

Feminists in each country are influenced by various conditions. The equality of women and men in all aspects of life or what is called feminism now is not something new. This idea has actually existed since long ago and has been fought by either women or men since the 1550s, before the term feminism is used to refer to all attempts to oppose the patriarchy.

The term feminism was known in the 60s and in its development, feminism faced many obstacles. The emergence of the feminist movement in Western societies is inseparable from the history of Western societies that despise women's positions and the disappointment of Western societies regarding their sacred statements toward women. Until the 17th century, European society still saw women as the incarnation of shaitan, which was a tool to tempt humans, and even at the beginning of human creation, women were flawed or imperfect creatures.

Liberal feminism emerged in the mid-18th century. Liberal feminism was motivated by the condition of women during the industrial capitalism era. The feminist movement that has evolved into several forms and variations started from an assumption of injustice, oppression, and exploitation. Women struggle for equality, equality, equality, dignity, equal rights, equal opportunities and freedom to control and determine their own way of life.

The beginning of the women's movement in the world was recorded in the 1800s. At that time, women considered their backwardness being caused by the fact that most women were still illiterate, poor and unskilled. Therefore, this early female movement is

more promoting the change of social systems where women are allowed to vote in elections. The female figures were Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Marry Wollstonecraft.

When the power of industrial capitalism began to encourage productive work to move from what used to be done at home to what should be done in the factory, since then, as a consequence, women began to be abandoned. As a result, the stereotype of women as unproductive creatures was also born (Nugroho, 2011). Liberal feminism intends to free women from the role of gender, which is used as an excuse or justification to give a lower or no place at all for women either in academies, forums or markets.

In principle, the liberal feminism movement argues that there is indeed an injustice between men and women relations. In these relations, men are considered more advantaged. Therefore, to obtain advantages, women must be involved in the employment opportunities and education provided in the public domain. However, the intended emancipation did not end up rejecting their maternal nature (motherhood) and did not leave their social functions in the domestic domain either. If women work in the public sector, they do not get out of their domestic sector, because that is where the maternal nature and social role of women cannot be abandoned (Budiman, 1999; Saptari & Holzner, 1997; Kavar, 1995).

The liberal feminism movement is the oldest women's movement which has surfaced since the 19th-century. But if it is seen from its success, the success of the achievement, it is still limited up to now. Women's awareness regarding the unfair treatment of them is indeed increasing, but not much has changed in terms of fixing lameness. This is because liberal feminists are less concerned with the socio-economic and socio-political factors that become the basis and directly support the existence of the patriarchy system. During Kartini's life, the ideology of liberalism flourished in Europe and the Netherlands as part of Europe brought it to its colony, Indonesia. Therefore, it is only natural that Kartini was influenced by this liberalism reflexion. At the end of the 1970s, the issue of women had begun to enter the development agenda. But this was still the beginning of the long-term struggle for gender equality.

5.2. Gender

Gender is the construction and social structure of various differences between the sexes that refer to social relations between women and men or a characteristic that has been determined socially and culturally.

Meanwhile, gender meaning as expressed by Mansour Fakih (2005) is a trait inherent in both men and women who are socially and culturally constructed. For example, women are known to be gentle, beautiful, emotional and motherly. Men are considered as strong, rational, manly and mighty. These traits are actually interchangeable, meaning that there are men who have emotional, gentle, and motherly qualities and there are

women who are strong, rational, and mighty. So, sex is natural and gender is non-natural. The term gender meaning can be divided into several meanings:

- 1) Gender as a foreign term with a certain meaning
- 2) Gender as a social cultural phenomenon
- 3) Gender as a social awareness
- 4) Gender as a social cultural issue
- 5) Gender as a concept for analysis; and
- 6) Gender as a perspective to see reality

Therefore, gender studies emphasize the development of masculinity (masculinity or *rujuliyah*) and femininity (femininity or *nisa'iyah*). However, sex studies focus more on the biological aspect development and chemical composition of male (maleness or *dzukuriyah*) and female aspects (femaleness or *umutshah*).

The concept of gender relations ultimately affects the complexity of gender issues in the study and practice of international relations. Manifestations of power and symbolization in international relations are not only material but also non-material, so that the significance of gender perspectives increases in understanding international politics. The power and symbolization of non-material gender relations can be the theory and paradigm discourse in written or unwritten language. Regarding this context, looking at the issue of gender relations in international relations is important because international relations as a study is responsible for the production of knowledge and discourse.

5.3. Implications of Liberal Feminism in Indonesia

During the independence and Old Order periods, the feminist movement was considered to be quite dynamic and had a high bargaining rate. However, this condition began to "collapse" since the New Order (Orba) ruled (Komara, 2019; Luthfiah, 2019). When using the traditional definition that requires a mass-based feminism movement, it is difficult to say that there was a feminist movement at that time. Especially when this traditional definition is associated with Alvarez-style restrictions that see the feminist movement as a social and political movement with members of women as the majority fighting for gender justice. Alvarez excluded women's organizations owned by the government or women's organizations owned by political parties and women's organizations under the umbrella of other organizations in his definition.

The Indonesians who tend to be consumptive, especially with new things that were previously taboo or even nonexistent, are not in accordance with the Indonesian people and their ideology. The notion of liberal feminism is not studied more in Indonesia's social domain. Many people have misinterpreted the actual meaning of liberal feminism. Wilbert Moore in Lauer defines the social change as "important change and social structure".

In the context of feminism as a concern for women's fate, the efforts undertaken by activists and women themselves have shifted the position of

women in social structures to a better position. Women have become social variables that are involved in social processes.

Meanwhile, in the context of the radical feminism movement, assuming that family is the form of oppression of individual freedom, the patterns of social interaction and social order shift.

Another implication of liberal feminism in Indonesia is the rise of socialization of feminism thoughts in the public domain with various events held. One of which is the Women's March. The Women's March is a parade that raises issues about the importance of observing women rights. The Women's March was held to give a message about the importance of women rights to the new government on their first day of work. The event first started when a group of female activists initially created a Facebook event to protest the Inauguration Day of Trump's event. Trump often harasses women, they thought.

In Indonesia, the Women's March was first held by the Jakarta Feminist Discussion Group on March 4, 2017 in Jakarta. Retno Prasetyani from the Women's March media division, she said: *"This movement aims to be a platform for community aspirations through public-friendly mass action and yet to realize gender justice, especially in terms of the fulfillment of women rights"*. Besides Jakarta, Retno said that 25 cities in Indonesia were merged into the Women's March. Among others, Surabaya, Yogyakarta, Lampung, Malang, Kupang, Bandung, Serang, Bali, Salatiga, Pontianak, Sumba, Ternate, Tondano and Pasuruan.

For approximately three years of existence, Women's March Indonesia has made achievements such as; increased public awareness about not yet achieving the fulfillment of women's rights and other minority and marginal groups. Then increased the involvement of new people in the women movement. In addition, this movement has submitted the WMJ 2018 demands to President Joko Widodo during the Kartini Day event (Vice chairperson of WMJ 2018 invited and delivered our message when meeting the President) and the postponement of the ratification of the Criminal Code or RKUHP.

Women's March was held again on 27 April 2019 in several cities in Indonesia, one of which is Jakarta. This year, the Women's March raised the theme *#BeraniBersuara*. *"This theme was chosen because there are many challenges that must be faced when we want to express our aspirations or when survivors speak out"* Retno added. In response to the demands of this year, Retno continued to summarize several issues, including the ratification of the sexual violence elimination draft bill; the protection bill of domestic workers; the elimination or amendment of discriminatory local laws and regulations; implementation of a gender-equitable law enforcement system; enhancement of women's political representation; and the application of fair gender and inclusive social protection.

In addition to Jakarta, Surabaya held the Women's

March event on April 28, 2019. They gathered at Surabaya Bungkul Park to voice their demands. The following 13 demands will be submitted by the Women's March Surabaya:

- 1) The bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence (RUU P-KS) can be promptly ratified;
- 2) Discriminatory laws and regulations are abolished;
- 3) The law on the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers also sides with women and eradicate criminal acts of human trafficking and exploitation;
- 4) Violations of human rights and criminalization of women, marginal groups and other minorities are expected to be terminated;
- 5) Running a gender-equitable law enforcement system;
- 6) Victims of sexual violence, especially women and disabled people, can get advocacy assistance from the government;
- 7) Improved infrastructure and transportation services to be friendly to women, children and marginal groups;
- 8) Increasing the role of women in politics;
- 9) Urges the education curriculum to support gender equality in terms of mental, sexual and reproductive health;
- 10) The government has to be actively involved in efforts to eradicate the stigma of social violence and education and the law against it;
- 11) Women and marginalized groups get sexual and reproductive health rights (HKSR);
- 12) Ensuring female workers to be protected from the threat of sexual violence and that a system is in their favor;
- 13) The Surabaya government can uphold justice for women victims of agrarian conflicts and evictions.

5.4. Feminism and Social Phenomena in Indonesia

Social phenomena are an inseparable thing in the history of human life. As time goes on, social phenomena also continue to undergo dynamic changes. The role and status of women in society is one example of a dynamic social phenomenon.

In Indonesia, there are very few women with high positions, so there are not many women in decision-making positions. Because the guilt trip culture of the community states that if a woman works, she is not a good mother or wife because she works. Certainly, many women will feel overwhelmed. In this case, numerous guilt trips that give feedback such as providing the idea to quit working or just become a housewife.

However, if someone who has more positions in the job is a woman who also understands these issues and can implement policies that are friendly to working mothers, surely more women will continue to work calmly and safely. However, in general, we need more people in the community who encourage and reward women in work, instead of making guilt, they must stay at home.

The phenomenon of working mothers also raises another phenomenon called stay-at-home-dad or an exchange role in households where men usually tend to work and women tend to take care of the household. However, it is not difficult to find the phenomenon of that role exchange nowadays. Social phenomena see this as an important thing in the family, where it should not be exchanging but sharing the role and burden of household duties. Therefore, it needs to be more socialized to people that fathers who take care of their children are fine and couples who cook and clean furniture together are also a form of cooperation and solidarity in the family. It is also necessary to raise awareness among individuals, both male and female, that have unique and distinct talents to be appreciated. If a man prefers and chooses to work at home while taking care of his children, it is legal and good. Similarly, when a woman is more developed in her public career. This right is not only for women. This is the principle of justice.

In the current government, many representations of women in the political sphere have given rise to new female figures such as Sri Mulyani and Susi Pudjiastuti who have an elite and exceptional position with brilliant achievements and a feminist perspective in practical politics. In addition, some women in the People's Representative Council members who work with integrity and quality thinking, such as Rieke Diah Pitaloka, Eva Sundari, and Rahayu Saraswati Djojohadikusumo, are also examples of women representation in politics.

6. Conclusion

Between men and women there are differences existence of which is considered oppression and discrimination according to the western female model. With such a view, western women demand and fight for equality to eliminate differences through the formation of the Liberal Feminism movement as their political struggle.

Feminist theory is best when it can reflect the life experiences of diverse women, when it can bridge the gap between thought and body, reason and emotion, and thought and feeling. Liberal feminists have a major concern, which is equal rights for men and women with the freedom and happiness of individuals.

The feminist movement has encouraged social structures to change. In this case, the pattern of behavior and social interaction is at various levels; individual, community, society, culture, civilization and global. The scope of qualitative feminist research is subjectivity, relationships and interactions, policies, movements, organizations, and social structures.

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