

Gender mainstreaming in the policy of Islamic boarding school education: A systematic literature review

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Article Information	Abstract:
Submitted: 2024-11-03 Revised: 2025-06-09 Published: 2025-06-23	Although Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) are formally recognized within the national education system, the Pesantren Law lacks a specific gender-responsive legal framework. Consequently, male domination, policies without measurable indicators, and low gender literacy continue to perpetuate systemic inequality. This study analyzes the structural, cultural, and regulatory barriers to gender mainstreaming in pesantren, including male domination, normative policies, low gender literacy, the absence of a gender-responsive legal framework in the Pesantren Law, and weak monitoring mechanisms. This study employed a qualitative approach using a systematic literature review (SLR) method based on data from Publish or Perish, ERIC, and Google Scholar databases from 2013–2023. Thematic analysis was conducted using NVivo, while the PRISMA framework ensured validity and reliability. This study identified three findings: (1) gender mainstreaming in pesantren is hindered by male domination, normative policies, low literacy, and no gender framework in the Pesantren Law; (2) the Law lacks indicators and monitoring, so male domination in leadership and curriculum persists; (3) male leadership and conservative interpretations impede equality, demanding curriculum reform, inclusive policies, and women's empowerment. This study concludes that gender mainstreaming in pesantren remains stagnant due to male domination, policies lacking measurable indicators, and weak regulatory frameworks, thereby making structural reform an urgent necessity. This study contributes to expanding the theory of power relations in education while offering substantive and accountable gender policy reforms in pesantren.
Keywords: Gender Mainstreaming; Islamic Boarding School Education; Education Policy.	



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INTRODUCTION

Pesantren, as the oldest and most influential Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia, continue to face unequal power relations and institutionalized gender bias (Aşlamacı & Kaymakcan, 2016; Afwadzi et al., 2024). Gender policy implementation remains largely administrative and has not transformed institutional culture (Muhia & Abuaya, 2024; Almugren et al., 2024). Women's leadership is still limited, gender-integrated curricula remain rare (Massouti et al., 2024), and patriarchal interpretations of classical Islamic texts reinforce gender inequality (Shah & Lashari, 2023; Erwani & Siregar, 2024). Gender mainstreaming is regarded as an important strategy for promoting equality in education (Verge, 2021; Kataeva et al., 2024), supported by Presidential Instruction No. 9/2000 (Syukri, 2023). Khalifa and Scarparo (2021) proposed gender audits, gender-responsive budgeting, staff training, and complaint mechanisms as strategic measures. Therefore, structural and cultural transformation through curriculum reform, strengthening women's leadership, reinterpretation of gender-just Islamic teachings, and measurable policies is urgently needed to achieve gender equality in *pesantren*.

Previous studies have extensively examined gender issues in Islamic educational institutions. Rashdi (2024) and Mohd Nor et al. (2024) investigated strategies to address inequalities in access to education. Kusmana (2019) examined women's participation in leadership within Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia and Saudi Arabia. Muluk (2014) and Alshdiefat et al. (2024) identified gender disparities in educational participation within Islamic higher education institutions and ma'had aly. Srimulyani (2007) and Cardozo et al. (2022) documented the challenges faced by women in *pesantren*. Meanwhile, Guerrero & Puerta (2023) and Akinola & Naidoo (2024) highlighted gender mainstreaming efforts aimed at expanding educational access. Therefore, Previous studies focused on educational access and women's participation from descriptive-cultural perspectives, overlooking structural policy barriers. This study's novelty lies in three systemic findings: male domination in institutional structures, normative policies without measurable indicators, absence of a gender framework in the *Pesantren Law*, and weakened transformative capacity due to missing monitoring mechanisms and operational indicators.

This study aims to identify and analyze the structural, cultural, and regulatory barriers to gender mainstreaming in *pesantren*, including male-dominated leadership, normative policies without measurable indicators, low levels of gender literacy, the absence of a specific legal framework within the *Pesantren Law*, and weak policy monitoring mechanisms that contribute to the stagnation of gender equality. Furthermore, this study addresses the following questions: why do existing policies lose their transformative capacity, why are monitoring mechanisms and operational indicators absent, and how do male leadership structures and conservative interpretations continue to perpetuate gender inequality? Based on these questions, this study contributes theoretically by reinforcing the argument that resistance to gender equality is not merely ideological but is also structurally engineered through loosely formulated policies lacking accountability. Practically, this research offers concrete policy recommendations for curriculum reform and the development of inclusive leadership within *pesantren* institutions.

This study is grounded in the argument that gender mainstreaming in *pesantren* educational policies in Indonesia has experienced systemic failure. Although the *Pesantren Law* formally recognizes *pesantren* as part of the national education system, the regulation does not contain explicit provisions regarding gender equality, operational indicators, or monitoring mechanisms. Consequently, leadership structures and curricula remain male-dominated, gender-responsive practices largely depend on individual initiatives, and the

gender literacy of pesantren leaders and students remains considerably low. This study argues that, without binding technical regulations, the transformation toward gender-equitable pesantren institutions is unlikely to be achieved. Therefore, policy revision, gender literacy certification, and the systematic affirmation of women's leadership are urgently required.

METHOD

Research Approach

This study employed a qualitative approach using the Systematic Literature Review (SLR) method. According to Anam et al. (2019), SLR is a systematic method for collecting, critically evaluating, integrating, and presenting findings from various studies. Popenoe et al. (2021) argued that this method is suitable for research requiring comprehensive and systematic data, while Purssell and McCrae (2020) emphasized that SLR provides an ideal framework for synthesizing complex literature.

Data Sources

The data were obtained from primary and secondary sources, including research articles and books (Snyder, 2019). The literature was selected from reputable databases such as Publish or Perish, ERIC, and Google Scholar published between 2013 and 2023, complemented by relevant textbooks. The main topics included gender mainstreaming, gender equality in policy, pesantren education, and its implementation.

Data Analysis Sub-Stages

The analysis process was conducted through five sub-stages. First, the formulation of the research problem (Bingham, 2023). Second, a comprehensive search for relevant scientific articles was carried out (Chigbu et al., 2023). Third, the literature was screened to ensure topic relevance. Fourth, categorization and coding instruments were developed, followed by systematic analysis and interpretation (Xiao & Watson, 2019). Fifth, conclusions were drawn based on the synthesis of the findings. Page et al. (2021) highlighted the use of the PRISMA framework to ensure rigor and transparency throughout the review process.

Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

Inclusion criteria comprised scholarly works on gender mainstreaming in pesantren education, published 2013-2023 in peer-reviewed journals or indexed proceedings, in Indonesian or English (Patino & Ferreira, 2018). Exclusion criteria included studies unrelated to gender mainstreaming or pesantren, without full-text access, irrelevant to Indonesia, or with methodological weaknesses (Yazdani et al., 2020). Data extraction gathered methodologies, findings, and key variables (Varajão et al., 2022). Data were coded into thematic categories women's roles, policy implementation, institutional challenges and analyzed using narrative thematic analysis with NVivo or ATLAS.ti (Zamawe, 2015).

Validity and Reliability

This study employed the PRISMA flow diagram to systematically document each stage of the review process, as recommended by Park et al. (2022). The quality of the selected studies was evaluated using the CASP or EPHPP assessment instruments. Frampton et al. (2017) emphasized that the involvement of more than one reviewer minimizes potential bias, while detailed documentation of the inclusion and exclusion rationale strengthens the credibility and transparency of the review process. The findings of the study are presented in two main sections: the results section, which focuses on patterns of gender mainstreaming

policy implementation, and the discussion section, which elaborates on interpretations, challenges, and policy recommendations.

Figure 1

Flow diagram PRISMA Results of Gender Mainstreaming Publication 2013-2023

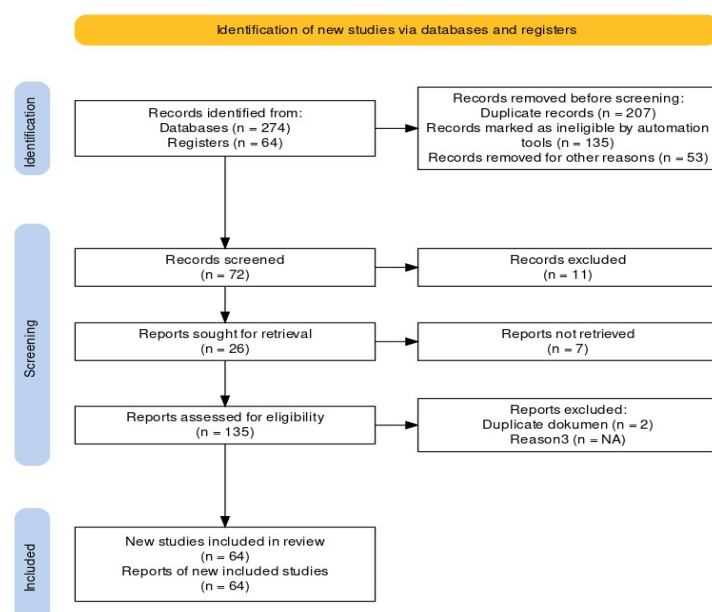


Figure 1 illustrates the PRISMA selection process. During the identification stage, a total of 274 documents related to gender mainstreaming in pesantren education were collected from Publish or Perish, ERIC, and Google Scholar. After removing 207 irrelevant or duplicate articles, 64 articles remained for further review. At the screening stage, the titles and abstracts of the articles were examined, and duplicate records were eliminated. The eligibility stage involved evaluating the articles based on the predetermined inclusion and exclusion criteria, resulting in the exclusion of studies that did not meet the required standards. The eligible articles were subsequently analyzed using content analysis techniques, and the findings were interpreted in accordance with the research questions. This process ensured that the data synthesis was conducted comprehensively and systematically.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

Gender mainstreaming in islamic boarding school education policy

Amid rising female student participation, pesantren leadership remains consistently male-dominated. Gender equality implementation is symbolic in practice and not systematically integrated into policies or operational mechanisms. Inclusive policies lack clear indicators for gender equality, strategies, or evaluation frameworks. Understanding of the distinction between biological sex and social gender remains limited. Consequently, gender-responsive practices depend on individual initiatives rather than sustainable institutional systems. Several key findings are presented as follows.

Table 1

Findings on Gender Mainstreaming Issues in Islamic Boarding Schools

Theme	Key Findings	Thematic Interpretation
Structural Gender Inequality in	Gender Inequality in Leadership Structures	Leadership structures in pesantren remain predominantly male-oriented, while women are generally positioned in administrative and supportive roles. This condition reflects the

Pesantren		limited integration of gender mainstreaming within formal institutional structures.
Symbolic Gender Mainstreaming Policies	Gender Policies Remain Normative and Symbolic	Gender-inclusive policies in pesantren are often limited to normative commitments without clear implementation mechanisms, measurable indicators, or evaluation frameworks, resulting in symbolic rather than transformative policies.
Limited Gender Literacy	Low Gender Literacy Among Caregivers and Students	Many pesantren caregivers and students still misunderstand the concept of gender equality by associating it with resistance to religious or biological norms. This indicates limited understanding of gender as a social and cultural construct.
Personality-Based Gender Practices	Gender-Responsive Practices Depend on Individual Leaders	Gender-responsive practices in several pesantren are highly dependent on the commitment of progressive leaders. Consequently, gender transformation tends to be inconsistent because it is not yet institutionalized within pesantren governance systems.
Weak Regulatory Frameworks	Absence of Specific Regulations on Gender in Pesantren Education	Existing pesantren regulations have not explicitly incorporated gender equality and protection for female students. This demonstrates the need for more comprehensive technical policies and gender mainstreaming guidelines in Islamic educational governance.

Source: Processed by the Researcher, 2025.

Table 1 shows five forms of gender inequality in pesantren. First, leadership structures are still dominated by men. Second, gender policies are normative and symbolic, lacking clear technical implementation. Third, gender literacy among caregivers and students remains low, with equality often misunderstood as opposing religious or cultural norms. Fourth, gender-responsive practices depend heavily on progressive individual leaders rather than institutional systems. Fifth, Law No. 18/2019 on Pesantren does not explicitly regulate gender equality or the protection of female students. Therefore, specific technical regulations are still required.

Based on the findings, gender mainstreaming in pesantren continues to face structural and cultural barriers. Male dominance in leadership reflects resistance to equitable power distribution, while normative policies without measurable indicators reinforce symbolic compliance rather than effective implementation. Low levels of gender literacy further exacerbate the situation, as misconceptions about gender equality are often associated with violations of religious doctrine. Dependence on progressive individual leaders highlights the fragility of institutionalized gender equality values. The most fundamental weakness is the absence of a specific legal framework within the Pesantren Law. Without binding technical regulations, sustainable transformation toward gender-just pesantren remains difficult to achieve. Therefore, revision of Islamic education policies and systematic gender literacy training for all stakeholders in pesantren are urgently required.

Islamic boarding school education policy in Indonesia

Although pesantren have received formal recognition within the national education system, gender mainstreaming has not been adequately accommodated in their institutional regulations. This condition has resulted in strong male dominance in both leadership structures and curriculum development in pesantren. On the other hand, gender inequality remains a significant challenge in Indonesia. This situation indicates a mismatch between the state's commitment to gender equality principles through various national and international policies and the implementation of pesantren education policies, which are not yet fully gender-responsive.

Table 2*Research Findings on Gender Mainstreaming in Pesantren Education Policy*

Theme	Key Findings	Thematic Interpretation
Institutional Recognition of Pesantren	Recognition of Pesantren in the National Education System	Law No. 18 of 2019 formally recognizes pesantren within the national education system, strengthening their legitimacy and integration into national educational governance.
Weak Gender Mainstreaming Policies	Absence of Explicit Gender Mainstreaming Provisions	Gender equality principles are not explicitly integrated into pesantren regulations, resulting in limited operational mechanisms, indicators, and evaluation systems for inclusive implementation.
Structural Gender Inequality	Unequal Leadership and Curriculum Roles	Pesantren leadership and curriculum development remain predominantly male-dominated, limiting women's participation in institutional decision-making processes.
Fragmented Gender Equality Practices	Sporadic Gender Equality Initiatives	Gender-responsive practices largely depend on progressive individual leaders rather than institutionalized systems, causing inconsistent implementation across pesantren.
Need for Inclusive Educational Reform	Need for Holistic Policy Reform	Strengthening gender equality requires curriculum reform, inclusive leadership structures, and the integration of gender perspectives into pesantren educational policies.
Legal and Social Foundations of Gender Equality	National Gender Inequality and Legal Frameworks	Persistent gender inequality in Indonesia highlights the urgency of implementing gender mainstreaming policies supported by constitutional principles, CEDAW ratification, and national gender policies.

Source: Processed by the Researcher, 2025.

Table 2 shows that Law No. 18/2019 on Pesantren formally recognizes pesantren within the national education system but does not explicitly regulate gender equality. Consequently, leadership and curriculum in pesantren remain male-dominated. Gender equality initiatives are sporadic and highly dependent on the commitment of individual pesantren leaders rather than structured policies. Meanwhile, Indonesia has strong legal foundations, including Law No. 7/1984 (ratification of CEDAW) and Presidential Instruction No. 9/2000 on gender mainstreaming. However, national gender inequality remains high, indicating that gender-responsive reform of pesantren policy is urgently needed.

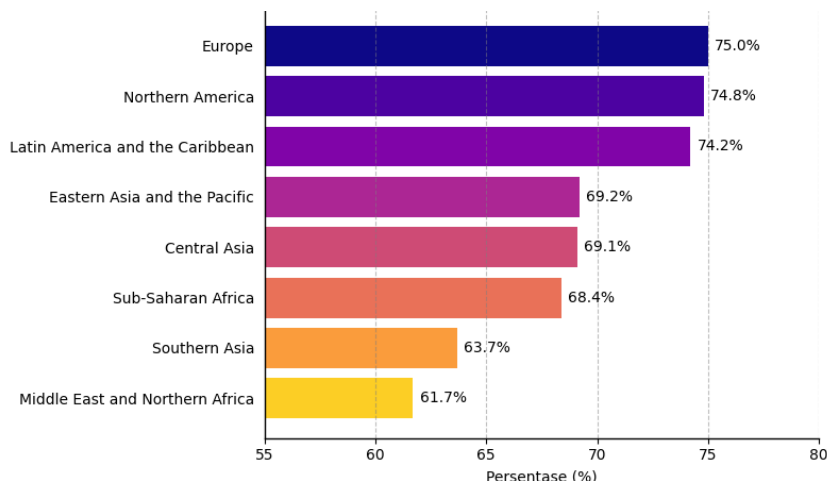
Based on the findings, there is a structural gap between the formal recognition of pesantren within the national education system and the implementation of gender equality principles. Law No. 18/2019 should serve as an entry point for gender mainstreaming; however, due to the absence of operational indicators and monitoring mechanisms, the policy lacks transformative impact. Consequently, male dominance in leadership and curriculum development persists, while women's roles remain marginalized. Existing initiatives are fragmented and heavily dependent on progressive individual leaders rather than a sustainable system. Although Indonesia has strong legal commitments through CEDAW and Presidential Instruction No. 9/2000, implementation remains weak. Therefore, holistic reform is required to integrate gender perspectives into pesantren regulations, curricula, and leadership structures to ensure equitable contributions to Islamic education.

Gender equality disparity: Highest in Europe, lowest in the middle east and North Africa

The development of global gender equality reveals significant disparities across regions, including areas historically recognized as centers of classical Islamic civilization. The Middle East and North Africa, which once produced great scholars such as Ibn Sina, now face serious challenges in achieving more equitable gender relations. In contrast, several Southeast Asian countries demonstrate relatively progressive achievements in gender

development, even surpassing some more economically advanced nations. This condition indicates that economic progress alone does not necessarily correlate with the realization of gender justice in society.

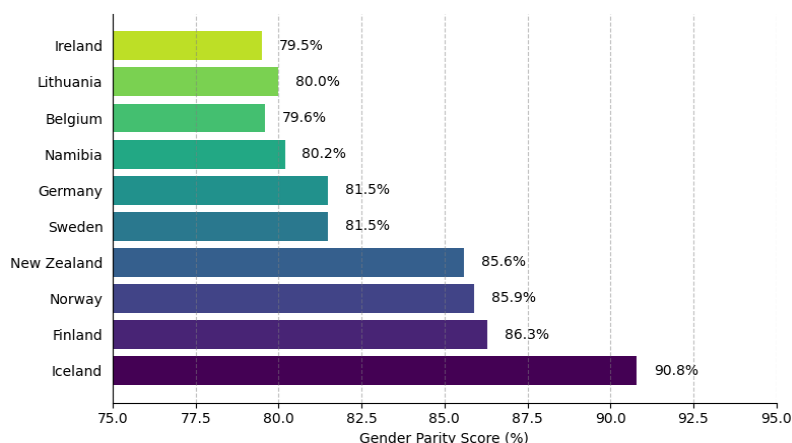
Figure 2
Male Leadership Hegemony



Source: World Economic Forum, Global Gender Gap Index, 2024.

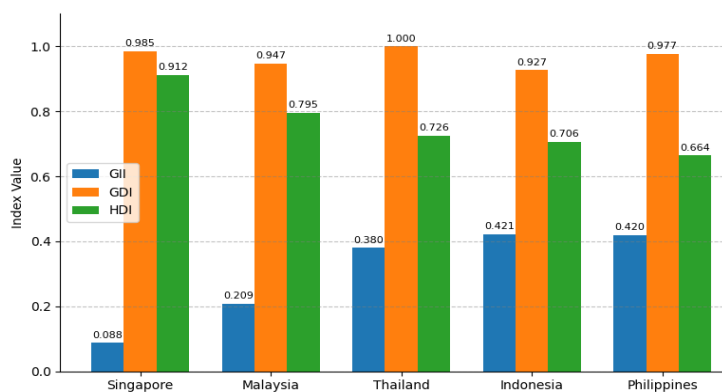
Figure 2 shows that Europe records the highest percentage at 75.0%, closely followed by North America at 74.8% and Latin America and the Caribbean at 74.2%. East Asia and the Pacific records 69.2%, with only a slight difference from Central Asia at 69.1%. Sub-Saharan Africa stands at 68.4%, while South Asia reaches 63.7%. The lowest-performing region is the Middle East and North Africa at 61.7%. The gap between the highest and lowest regions reaches 13.3 percentage points, indicating a significant interregional disparity.

Figure 3
Highest Gender Gap Data



Source: Global Gender Gap Report 2024, World Economic Forum

Figure 3 shows that in the Global Gender Gap Index 2024, Iceland ranks first with a score of 90.8%, making it the most gender-equal country in the world. Finland and Norway follow in second and third place with scores of 86.3% and 85.9%, respectively. New Zealand ranks fourth (85.6%), followed by Sweden and Germany, which both score 81.5% in fifth and sixth place. Namibia records a score of 80.2% in seventh position. Belgium (79.6%) and Lithuania (80.0%) rank eighth and ninth, respectively, while Ireland completes the top ten with a score of 79.5%.

Figure 4*GII, GDI, and HDI Data of Five ASEAN Countries, 2025*

Source: United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 2025.

Figure 4 shows that in the GII, GDI, and HDI data for 2025, Singapore records the best performance with a GII of 0.088 (very low inequality), a GDI of 0.985, and the highest HDI of 0.912. Malaysia follows with a GII of 0.209, a GDI of 0.947, and an HDI of 0.795. Thailand has a higher GII of 0.380 but achieves a perfect GDI of 1.000 and an HDI of 0.726. Indonesia and the Philippines show nearly identical GII values, at 0.421 and 0.420, respectively. However, the Philippines performs better in GDI (0.977 vs. 0.927), while Indonesia has a higher HDI (0.706 vs. 0.664). These data indicate that gender inequality remains a regional challenge, although some countries have achieved relatively high levels of gender parity.

Based on the findings, there is a sharp interregional disparity, with a 13.3-point gap between Europe (75.0%) and the Middle East and North Africa (61.7%). Male leadership hegemony within social and religious structures is a dominant factor inhibiting gender equality. Regions historically advanced in Islamic scholarship are now lagging due to rigid textual interpretations of gender relations. In contrast, Thailand achieves a perfect GDI score (1.000) without neglecting local values, demonstrating that gender equality can be achieved through pro-women policy reforms. Within ASEAN, Singapore leads across all indices, while Indonesia remains trapped in structural inequality with a GII of 0.421. The Philippines shows a higher GDI (0.977) despite a lower HDI, indicating that political commitment to women's empowerment does not always align with overall human development. Therefore, curriculum reform and inclusive leadership in pesantren and Islamic educational institutions are urgently needed.

Discussion

This study on gender mainstreaming in pesantren education concludes three main points. First, gender mainstreaming is hindered by male domination, normative policies, low gender literacy, and the absence of a specific gender-responsive framework within the Pesantren Law. Second, the Pesantren Law lacks transformative power due to the absence of clear indicators and monitoring mechanisms, resulting in the persistence of male dominance in leadership and curriculum. Third, male-centered leadership and conservative interpretations hinder gender equality, highlighting the need for curriculum reform, inclusive policies, and women's empowerment in pesantren. Overall, gender mainstreaming in pesantren remains constrained by structural, cultural, and regulatory issues, including male dominance, policy weaknesses, low gender literacy, and the lack of a specific legal framework. These conditions lead to stagnation in achieving gender equality, making curriculum reform, inclusive policies, and strengthening women's roles an urgent necessity.

These findings are highly relevant to Indonesia's contemporary social issues, where gender justice in religious institutions is intensely debated. Rising discrimination and violence against women in religious education confirm that pesantren are not free from power inequality (Samarakoon & Parinduri, 2015; Bøe, 2020; Van Oost et al., 2023). Gender mainstreaming in pesantren is hindered by male dominance, normative policies, low literacy, and the absence of a legal framework in the Pesantren Law (Saleh, 2025). Consequently, the law lacks transformative power due to missing indicators and monitoring mechanisms, allowing male dominance in leadership and curriculum to persist. Parents of female students have become increasingly critical regarding gender equality assurance. Syeed (2014) and Faisal et al. (2024) interprets the post-reform era as a paradox: gender equality policies coexist with the strengthening of conservative Islamic movements that reinforce traditional hierarchies. Male leadership and conservative interpretations further obstruct equality, making curriculum reform, inclusive policies, and women's empowerment in pesantren urgent priorities. Thus, the gap between public expectations and structural realities continues to widen.

Theoretically, these findings reinforce the argument that education is not a value-neutral space but an arena for the reproduction of power relations (Mifsud, 2024). Pesantren, characterized by patriarchal leadership where gender mainstreaming is hindered by male domination, normative policies, low gender literacy, and the absence of a gender-responsive Pesantren Law, become loci for the institutionalization of gender inequality (O'Mullane, 2021). The lack of technical guidelines and monitoring mechanisms causes the law to lose its transformative capacity, resulting in the persistence of male dominance in leadership and curriculum (Öztürk, 2023; Son Hing et al., 2023). This is not merely a technical deficiency but an institutional failure that sustains the status quo. Male leadership and conservative interpretations further obstruct gender equality; thus, resistance emerges not only from ideology but also from loosely designed policies lacking accountability. Efforts toward equality remain at a symbolic level, whereas curriculum reform, inclusive policies, and women's empowerment in pesantren are urgently needed.

This study provides an understanding that achieving gender justice in pesantren cannot rely solely on moral approaches or normative advocacy. The most significant barriers lie in invisible structural aspects, including the absence of measurable indicators, weak monitoring mechanisms, and low gender literacy. The three findings confirm that gender mainstreaming is hindered by male domination, normative policies, and the absence of a gender-responsive framework within the Pesantren Law; that the law loses its transformative power due to the lack of indicators and monitoring, resulting in the persistence of male dominance in leadership and curriculum; and that male leadership and conservative interpretations obstruct gender equality (Salim et al., 2025). Gupta et al. (2023) emphasize the integration of gender at all stages of policy-making. Individual commitment from progressive leaders (Susilo & Dalimunthe, 2019) is insufficient without binding regulatory systems and accountability. Therefore, curriculum reform, inclusive policies, and women's empowerment in pesantren are urgently required.

This study is consistent with Rosa & Clavero (2021) and Ridwan & Susanti (2019), who highlight legal gaps and male dominance as barriers to gender equality. Schech & Mustafa (2010) emphasize ideological resistance framing gender equality as a Western agenda, while Adams et al. (2007) and Parra-Martínez et al. (2021) focus on broader systemic reforms. The novelty of this study lies in integrating three key findings: (1) gender mainstreaming is hindered by male domination, normative policies, low gender literacy, and the absence of a gender-responsive Pesantren Law; (2) the law lacks transformative power due to the

absence of indicators and monitoring, resulting in persistent male dominance in leadership and curriculum; and (3) male leadership and conservative interpretations obstruct gender equality, highlighting the urgency of curriculum reform, inclusive policies, and women's empowerment in pesantren. This study contributes to the literature by demonstrating the interaction between technical policy aspects, ideology, and leadership in perpetuating gender inequality.

Based on findings that gender mainstreaming in pesantren is hindered by male domination, normative policies, low literacy, and no gender framework in the Pesantren Law and the law's lack of transformative power due to missing indicators and monitoring six recommendations are proposed. First, the Ministry of Religious Affairs should develop Technical Guidelines for Gender Mainstreaming with measurable indicators, periodic monitoring, and sanctions. Second, a mandatory Gender Literacy Certification Program for teachers, caregivers, and administrators. Third, revision of the national pesantren curriculum to eliminate gender bias and include female scholars' history. Fourth, a 30% affirmative quota for women in pesantren leadership. Fifth, a gender discrimination reporting and complaint system. Sixth, incentives for pesantren implementing gender equality. Given that male leadership and conservative interpretations hinder equality, curriculum reform, inclusive policies, and women's empowerment must be implemented systematically.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that gender mainstreaming in pesantren education policy in Indonesia faces systemic stagnation due to three barriers. First, structural and cultural constraints: male-dominated leadership, normative policies without measurable indicators, low gender literacy, and no legal framework in the Pesantren Law. Second, institutional failure: Law No. 18/2019 lacks transformative power due to missing operational indicators and monitoring, perpetuating male dominance in leadership and curriculum. Third, ideological resistance from conservative religious interpretations and male leadership hegemony, which paradoxically strengthens in the post-reform era alongside equality policies. Consequently, equality efforts remain symbolic, and the gap between public expectations and structural realities widens. Thus, curriculum reform, inclusive policies, and women's empowerment in pesantren are urgent priorities.

This study expands the theory that education is not value-neutral but reproduces power relations. Its main contribution is demonstrating that resistance to gender equality in pesantren arises not only from ideological factors but also from loosely designed policies lacking accountability. Practically, this study proposes six policy recommendations: (1) Technical Guidelines for Gender Mainstreaming by the Ministry of Religious Affairs with measurable indicators and monitoring; (2) mandatory gender literacy certification for educators and administrators; (3) national curriculum revision to eliminate gender bias; (4) a 30% affirmative quota for women's leadership; (5) a gender discrimination complaint system; and (6) incentives for pesantren implementing substantive gender equality.

This study has several limitations. First, the scope of analysis is limited to the national policy level and does not provide an in-depth investigation of pesantren with different typologies (traditional/salaf, modern, or community-based institutions). Second, the data used are predominantly documentary and secondary in nature, thus not capturing the lived experiences of female students or the resistance of local actors. Third, this study does not quantitatively measure the effectiveness of the proposed policy interventions. Therefore, future research directions should include ethnographic case studies in selected representative pesantren, participatory action research to develop locally grounded gender

literacy models, and policy evaluation using quasi-experimental methods to assess the impact of technical guidelines and monitoring systems on actual gender equality outcomes.

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AUTHOR CONTRIBUTION STATEMENT

Asnal Mala: Conceptualization; Data Curation; Formal Analysis; Methodology; Writing Original Draft; Writing Review & Editing. **Uswatun Chasanah:** Conceptualization; Methodology; Resources; Software; Writing Review & Editing. **Siti Marpuah:** Supervision; Validation; Visualization; Writing Review & Editing.

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