Az-Zahra
Journal of Gender and Family Studies

DOI: 10.15575/azzahra.v6i2.41069
ISSN: 2746-8585 (Print)
ISSN: 2746-8593(Online)

From Policy to Practice: Gender Sensitivity and Persistent Biases in Tubod, Lanao del Norte, Philippines

Jamalia A. Mahudali[1], **Khalid D. Daud**[2]*

[1]Graduate Student, Mindanao State University, Philippines, [2]Rufo dela Cruz Integrated School, Tubod, Lanao del Norte, Philippines; [2]daud.kd02@s.msumain.edu.ph

*Penulis Korespondensi

Artikel Dikirim: 03 Desember 2024
Artikel Diterima: 29 Juni 2026
Artikel Dipublikasikan: 30 Juni 2026

Abstrak: Penelitian ini mengkaji sensitivitas gender di Tubod, Lanao del Norte, Filipina, dengan penekanan pada persaingan politik, promosi karier, pendidikan, dan peran keluarga. Meskipun penelitian tingkat nasional menunjukkan adanya ketidaksetaraan gender di Filipina, informasi empiris mengenai bagaimana strategi yang sensitif gender diterapkan di berbagai bidang masih sangat terbatas. Dengan mengadopsi pendekatan pengarusutamaan gender, kami melakukan survei deskriptif menggunakan kuesioner terstruktur untuk menilai kesadaran responden terhadap isu-isu gender serta persepsi mereka mengenai keadilan di keempat bidang tersebut. Analisis mencakup statistik deskriptif dan perbandingan antar kelompok berdasarkan gender, usia, dan pendidikan. Hasil menunjukkan persepsi kesetaraan gender yang lebih tinggi dalam persaingan politik dan promosi pekerjaan, namun bidang pendidikan dan peran keluarga menunjukkan ekspektasi gender yang masih bertahan: sebagian besar responden menyatakan bahwa perempuan menghadapi hambatan pendidikan, dan beberapa lainnya mendukung norma peran keluarga tradisional yang membatasi mobilitas karier perempuan. Pola-pola spesifik bidang ini menunjukkan bahwa meskipun pemerintah daerah dan tempat kerja di Tubod telah mulai menerapkan inisiatif yang sensitif gender, norma-norma budaya yang mengakar kuat terus melanggengkan ketidaksetaraan dalam pendidikan dan keluarga. Studi ini memberikan dasar pertama di tingkat komunitas untuk Tubod, menyoroti di mana intervensi harus difokuskan — program kesadaran gender berbasis sekolah dan kampanye komunitas yang ditargetkan pada keluarga — serta memberikan saran yang disesuaikan secara lokal kepada legislator dan pendidik. Sampling kenyamanan dan desain cross-sectional merupakan keterbatasan; studi longitudinal dan sampling probabilitas harus digunakan untuk menganalisis efek kausal dari kebijakan yang sensitif gender.

Kata Kunci: Sensitivitas Gender, Kesetaraan Gender, Kompetisi Politik, Promosi Kerja, Bias Gender

Abstract: This study examines gender sensitivity in Tubod, Lanao del Norte, Philippines, with an emphasis on political competition, career promotion, education, and family roles. Although national-level research shows gender inequities in the Philippines, there is little empirical information on how gender-sensitive strategies work across several areas. Following a gender-mainstreaming approach, we conducted a descriptive survey with a structured questionnaire to assess respondents' awareness of gender issues and perceived fairness in the four areas. The analysis included descriptive statistics and group comparisons based on gender, age, and education. Results show higher perceived gender parity in political competition and job promotion, but education and family roles reveal persistent gendered expectations: most respondents said girls/women face educational barriers, and several others supported traditional family-role norms that limit women's career mobility. These domain-specific patterns indicate that while local governments and workplaces in Tubod have begun to

implement gender-sensitive initiatives, deeply rooted cultural norms continue to perpetuate inequality in schooling and the family. The study provides the first community-level baseline for Tubod, highlighting where interventions should be focused-school-based gender-awareness programs and family-targeted community campaigns and making locally tailored suggestions to legislators and educators. Convenience sampling and cross-sectional design are limitations; longitudinal and probability-sample studies should be used to examine the causal effects of gender-sensitive policy.

Keywords: *Gender Sensitivity, Gender Equality, Political Competition, Job Promotion, Gender Bias*

1. Introduction

Gender sensitivity refers to the recognition and deliberate response to differences between genders in biological, social, and behavioural contexts. These distinctions significantly influence access to opportunities, societal roles, and individual needs. Research demonstrates that neglecting these differences perpetuates inequality and hinders societal progress (Marchlewska et al., 2019). Gender sensitivity seeks to challenge traditional stereotypes and promote inclusivity, addressing systemic inequities in key areas such as health, education, and governance.

The field of gender studies has revealed persistent disparities, including underrepresentation of women in leadership roles, enforcement of restrictive societal norms, and the prevalence of gender-based violence (Carnevale et al., 2022; Organizaton, 2024). In the Philippines, these issues are evident, particularly in political representation and educational opportunities. For example, while women are predominant in basic education teaching roles, their presence dwindles in higher education and leadership positions, reflecting enduring structural barriers (Carnevale et al., 2022).

Despite progress in promoting gender equality, controversial and diverging hypotheses persist regarding the best strategies to achieve equity. Some argue for targeted interventions, such as gender-specific training and education policies (Cichocka, 2016; Guthridge et al., 2022; Oliveira-Silva & Barbosa-Silva, 2023) , while others advocate for systemic cultural shifts to redefine gender norms (Stewart et al., 2021). These debates underline the complexity of addressing deeply rooted disparities. In this study, gender equality refers to fairness between men and women, ensuring that strategies and measures are implemented to compensate for historical and social disadvantages, thereby promoting equitable opportunities. In this study, it refers to respondents' perceptions of fairness and equal opportunities for men and women.

This study investigates the perspectives of selected residents of Tubod, Lanao del Norte, on gender sensitivity, with a particular focus on political competition, job promotion, educational equity, and gender equality. It explores how gender-sensitive practices influence

societal attitudes and institutional inclusivity. Understanding these dynamics is crucial to identifying pathways that foster equality and reduce disparities.

A descriptive survey methodology was employed, ensuring diverse yet ethical participation through convenience sampling. Data collection involved a questionnaire that gathered socio-demographic details (e.g., age, gender, educational attainment, and occupation) and insights into respondents' views on gender sensitivity across various societal domains. The data were analysed using statistical techniques to identify patterns and highlight nuanced perceptions of gender disparities.

The findings contribute to the ongoing discourse on gender equity by emphasising the role of gender-sensitive practices in shaping inclusive policies and addressing disparities. This study addresses the following research questions on the socio-demographic profile of the respondents in terms of age, gender, educational attainment, and occupation; (2) the respondents' perspectives on gender sensitivity concerning political competition, job promotion, educational competition, and gender equality; and (3) the implications of the findings on perspective on gender sensitivity in building gender equality.

This research aims to offer valuable insights for policymakers, educators, and community leaders, underscoring the importance of addressing both biological and societal dimensions of gender sensitivity. By contributing to a more comprehensive understanding of these issues, the study seeks to inform strategies that promote inclusivity, equity, and systemic change.

2. Theoretical Framework on Gender Sensitivity

The theoretical frameworks of this study attempts to explain gender sensitivity and differences within various societal contexts. Utilising the Donabedian Model, the research emphasised how structural elements, processes, and outcomes collectively shape gender sensitivity. Structures such as organisational characteristics and individual attitudes influence how care is delivered, impacting perceptions of respect and inclusivity. This aligns with Donabedian's assertion that improved processes lead to better outcomes. For instance, respondents agreed on the importance of equal rights and capacities for men and women in political competition, reflecting the mutability of gender sensitivity through conscious efforts. Political competition means the engagement of individuals in democratic processes central to governance. In this study, it pertains to the participation and involvement of both sexes in political activities and roles.

Additionally, Bobbit-Zeher's theory of gender discrimination provided a lens to understand cultural ideologies and institutional behaviors that reinforce gender disparities. The findings reveal no significant gender inequality in job promotions or workplace

assignments, indicating progress in promoting equity in professional settings. Job promotion refers to the unbiased advancement of men and women to higher ranks, roles, or positions within organizations. In this study, it examines how gender influences eligibility and outcomes in professional advancements. However, the uncertainty expressed by respondents regarding gender-neutral job assignment suggests room for improvement in eliminating biases in employment practices.

The study also explored paradoxical practices outlined by Claringbould and Knoppers (2012), such as gender neutrality, gender normalcy, and gender passivity (Claringbould & Knoppers, 2012). These practices subtly sustain gender imbalances by ignoring or normalizing inequality. While the results indicate a general agreement among respondents on equal political rights and leadership capacities for both sexes, nuanced differences emerge. For example, men were perceived as slightly more competitive in certain areas, while women were seen as more focused on their careers.

Survey responses show that societal perceptions of gender roles remain influenced by cultural norms. For instance, while respondents agreed that women possess equal intellectual and leadership capabilities, uncertainty persisted about societal treatment and responsibilities, such as pregnancy and decision-making at home. This highlights the need for a broader societal shift to challenge entrenched norms.

Moreover, the findings suggest progress toward gender equity but underscore persistent cultural and structural barriers. Future research could further explore the intersectionality of gender, culture, and societal norms, particularly in educational and workplace settings, to develop actionable strategies for fostering inclusivity. Addressing these gaps will be essential for creating environments where men and women can achieve their full potential without bias or discrimination.

This descriptive survey examined residents' perspectives on gender sensitivity in Tubod, Lanao del Norte, and documented socio-demographic profiles (age, gender, education, occupation). Seventy participants from three barangays were identified by convenience sampling and subsequently subjected to simple random sampling; ethical procedures were observed.

Data were collected via a researcher-constructed questionnaire with two sections (demographics; Likert-type items on political competition, job promotion/position, educational competition, and gender equality), developed from relevant literature. Frequency and percentage distributions described demographics, and mean scores with standard deviations summarized perceptions.

3. Understanding Gender Sensitivity

In this study, Gender Sensitivity refers to the process of increasing awareness of the role of gender in societal and interpersonal interactions. In this study, it pertains to the respondents' perspectives and understanding of gender fairness and dynamics.

The results of this study underscore significant insights into gender sensitivity and its far-reaching implications across various sectors, including healthcare, education, and political participation. The research affirms that gender-sensitive approaches can improve access to resources and foster better outcomes, particularly in the healthcare sector. For instance, gender-sensitive healthcare practices enhance service delivery and outcomes for both men and women. These findings are consistent with (Qureshi & Shaikh, 2007) and (Vlassoff & Moreno, 2002), who emphasized the critical role of culturally aware healthcare providers in achieving positive health results.

In the context of gender roles and their influence on social and political dynamics, the study aligns with (OECD, 2017) and (Hervías Parejo & Radulović, 2023), highlighting that effectively implemented gender-sensitive policies ensure equitable access to opportunities and resources. This is particularly important in settings where societal norms hinder women's access to vital services and decision-making power. Furthermore, the study echoes concerns regarding the insufficient implementation of international gender equality agreements, reflecting systemic challenges in achieving gender parity, particularly in politics and public service. The study also explores the socioeconomic dimensions of gender sensitivity, revealing how institutional and societal barriers disproportionately disadvantage women. These findings align with (Payne, 2011) and (Organization, 2013), who stressed the need for gender mainstreaming to effectively address these disparities. Gender mainstreaming refers to integrating gender equality perspectives across all stages and levels of policies, programs, and projects. In this study, it relates to approaches and policies that address gender sensitivity based on the respondents' insights. Similarly, Selcara Jana Donna Y. Stringer noted that women in male-dominated workplaces face unique obstacles, which reflect broader societal and educational challenges that undermine their advancement (Selvarajan et al., 2015).

To foster truly gender-sensitive environments, the study emphasizes the necessity of cultural and institutional reforms. These include gender-specific medical education, policies addressing the vulnerabilities of both genders, and a more inclusive approach to political representation. The challenges of institutional resistance to gender-sensitization, particularly in healthcare and education, echo findings by H. Celik, who noted that gender issues are often deprioritized by professionals (Celik et al., 2011).

Future research should examine the effectiveness of gender-sensitization programs across diverse cultural contexts, focusing on how different groups respond to gender

mainstreaming in healthcare, education, and politics. Additional studies could investigate the intersectionality of gender with other factors such as class, race, and disability to provide a nuanced understanding of gender inequality. Targeted interventions addressing career progression barriers for women in male-dominated fields and challenging stereotypes within educational institutions also warrant further exploration.

Ultimately, the findings emphasize the urgent need for gender-sensitive policies in healthcare, politics, and education to address systemic disparities and promote social equity. These efforts are vital for creating inclusive environments that respect and empower all genders.

4. Assessing Gender Sensitivity: Findings From Tubod, Lanao del Norte

The study involved 70 respondents selected through a convenience sampling technique. Data were collected using a self-constructed questionnaire and analysed using frequency, percentage distribution, mean, and standard deviation. Key findings include:

- *Political Competition*. All respondents agreed that men and women have equal rights and capacities in politics. Women were viewed as capable of fostering peace and fairness in higher positions.
- *Job Promotion*. Respondents agreed on gender equality in promotions, but some were uncertain about gender neutrality in job assignments. Women were perceived to focus more on their careers than men, and gender discrimination was not prevalent.
- *Educational Competition*. In this study, educational competition refers to ensuring fairness between men and women in academic settings, where no biases or unequal treatment occur. In this study, it highlights intellectual engagement between men and women to achieve academic excellence on equal terms. Most respondents agreed that both sexes have intellectual abilities, though men were seen as slightly more competitive in some areas. However, uncertainty arose regarding the educational attainment of young men versus young women.
- *Gender Equality*. Opinions varied. Many were uncertain about women taking jobs from men or society treating everyone equally. However, men were seen as primary decision-makers at home, while both genders were viewed as responsible for pregnancy-related responsibilities.

Based on the key findings, the study highlights the respondents' strong belief in gender equality, while also shedding light on persistent traditional gender roles and complex perceptions regarding the roles of men and women. Moreover, the findings suggest that, although there is widespread support for equal rights and opportunities, certain challenges

still exist in fully achieving gender equality across political, professional, educational, and societal contexts.

In terms of the demographic profile, the majority of respondents (51.4%) were aged 18-20 years. The gender distribution was evenly balanced, with both male and female participants each constituting 50% of the total respondents. Regarding educational background, 45.7% of the respondents were in secondary education, while 47.1% were students, indicating a diverse mix of academic and non-academic participants.

When examining gender sensitivity in the political arena, the respondents displayed a strong consensus. All participants agreed that men and women should have equal rights in political competition, reflecting a belief in gender equality within politics. Moreover, the respondents affirmed that both genders possess equal potential for political involvement and leadership. They also recognized the significant role women can play in advancing peace agreements, emphasizing their ability to contribute to lasting peace. Furthermore, all respondents agreed that women candidates for higher political positions in the Philippines are treated fairly, suggesting that gender equality is evident in political opportunities. There was also a shared belief that both men and women possess equal capabilities in politics, reinforcing the idea that both sexes can lead and thrive in the political arena.

In terms of job promotion, respondents were unanimous in their view that gender should not affect opportunities for career advancement. However, opinions were divided regarding job assignments, with many uncertain about whether gender influences the distribution of roles. This suggests that qualifications and expertise should be prioritized when assigning tasks. On the dynamics in the workplace, respondents agreed that while men and women may have natural differences, both genders work together harmoniously and professionally. There was also a consensus that women tend to be more career-focused than men, indicating a perception that women are often more dedicated to their professional development. However, the respondents were uncertain about experiencing gender discrimination at work, implying that such discrimination was not commonly encountered among them.

In the context of educational competition, the findings showed that respondents were generally uncertain about the idea that women are less educated than men, indicating equal access to education for both genders. They also agreed that men and women engage equally in educational settings, with both genders participating actively in joint learning environments. The majority of respondents believed that men and women possess equal intellectual potential, further emphasizing the idea of gender equality in academic abilities. However, there was a consensus that men are often more competitive than women in certain contexts, though this competitiveness was not universally observed. When considering educational completion,

the respondents were unsure whether young men and women have the same likelihood of dropping out of secondary education, suggesting potential gender differences in completion rates.

5. Promoting Gender Sensitivity: Community Evidence and Policy Implications

Based on the above mentioned findings, on broader gender equality issues, the respondents expressed mixed views. Many were uncertain about the idea that women take jobs away from men, implying that women's entry into the workforce does not necessarily displace men. Similarly, there was uncertainty about the responsibility of women to avoid pregnancy, with participants recognising that both men and women share this responsibility. The respondents agreed that men should have the final say in household decisions, reflecting a traditional view of male authority within the family. They also agreed that women bear primary responsibility for the welfare of the baby during pregnancy, acknowledging the role of women in childbearing while emphasising the importance of support from both genders. Finally, respondents were unsure whether a society where everyone is treated equally truly exists, recognising that achieving a perfectly egalitarian society remains a challenge.

Finally, the findings highlight a strong belief in gender equality across various spheres, although traditional gender roles and certain perceptions about the roles of men and women persist in some areas. The study underscores the respondents' support for equal rights and opportunities for both genders, while also revealing the complexities and challenges that remain in achieving full gender equality in political, professional, educational, and societal contexts.

The findings indicate an ambiguous attitude toward gender equality: respondents support formal equality in political, educational, and occupational sectors while maintaining traditional expectations in household and caring domains. This pattern can be explained using socialisation and gender-role theory, which explains how culturally transmitted norms shape internalised expectations that persist even when legal rights change (Bem, 1981; Eagly, 1987); as a result, respondents may accept women's workplace participation while still viewing men as household decision-makers and women as primary carers.

Structural and materialist theories of patriarchy expand on these findings by demonstrating how unequal power relations and institutional arrangements perpetuate male authority in private realms notwithstanding formal equality in the public arena (Connell, 1987; Walby, 1990). Role congruity perspectives contribute to respondents' ambivalence toward women's occupational roles—acceptance of women's formal access to jobs coexists with concerns about fit or displacement because gender stereotypes remain salient, resulting in hesitation rather than clear endorsement (Eagly & Karau, 2002). The ambivalent sexism

concept reflects the juxtaposition of seemingly good beliefs about women's caregiving and protection with underlying inequality: benevolent sentiments (valuing women's caregiving role) can legitimise male power while limiting women's agency (Glick & Fiske, 1996).

These views indicate a distinction between symbolic equality (rights and rhetoric) and substantive equality (power distribution, decision-making, and outcomes). Practically, the findings suggest that policy should shift away from legal access and toward changing everyday practices and power dynamics—through gender-transformative socialisation programs, interventions that strengthen women's decision-making within families and communities, and measures that track substantive outcomes (promotions, household labour distribution, and decision authority).

Methodologically, further disaggregation by age, education, gender, and household role, combined with vignettes and qualitative interviews, would clarify how different groups reconcile formal egalitarian beliefs with traditional practices, allowing for more targeted interventions to close the symbolic-substantive gap.

6. Conclusion

This study reveals key trends in gender sensitivity in the realm of political, work, education, and family domains. The sample (mostly 18–20-year-olds, balanced by gender) offers a broad view of local attitudes.

Respondents believe that political chances and rights are equal, and they believe that women are capable of serving in top positions and promoting peace. Promotions and job assignments in the workplace are said to be merit-based, with collaborative settings that reduce gender bias. Though some enduring stereotypes—men as more clever, women as more dedicated—remain, intellectual capacity is seen as equal in school. Planning duties are shared in families, but males are frequently viewed as the ultimate decision-makers and women as the primary carers.

This study recommends that Tubod's local government and agencies should increase gender-sensitivity initiatives, community awareness campaigns, and social interventions to combat stereotypes and promote equal treatment. Future studies should look into how gender-role perceptions influence behaviour in professional and social settings, how women are shifting their roles in leadership, and how education can help reduce preconceptions.

7. Acknowledgement

The author extends heartfelt gratitude to the respondents, the school administration of Rufo de la Cruz Integrated School, and everyone who supported and contributed to this study. Your insights and assistance are deeply appreciated.

8. Conflicts of Interest.

The author declares no conflict of interest.

9. References

Bem, S. L. (1981). Gender Schema Theory: A Cognitive Account of Sex Typing. *Psychological Review*, *88*(4), 354–364. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.88.4.354

Carnevale, J. B., Goodwin, R., Riley Bowles, H., Overbeck, J. R., Wang, S., Huang, L., Liu, Z., Wang, L., Wang, M., Wang, Y., Yu, L., & Zyphur, M. J. (2022). Gender and Leadership: Exploring Novel Questions, Theories, and Boundary Conditions. *Academy of Management Proceedings*, *2022*(1), 14050. https://doi.org/10.5465/AMBPP.2022.14050symposium

Celik, H., Lagro-Janssen, T. A. L. M., Widdershoven, G. G. A. M., & Abma, T. A. (2011). Bringing gender sensitivity into healthcare practice: A systematic review. *Patient Education and Counseling*, *84*(2), 143–149. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pec.2010.07.016

Cichocka, A. (2016). Understanding defensive and secure in-group positivity: The role of collective narcissism. *European Review of Social Psychology*, *27*(1), 283–317.

Claringbould, I., & Knoppers, A. (2012). Paradoxical Practices of Gender in Sport-Related Organizations. *Journal of Sport Management*, *26*(5), 404–416. https://doi.org/10.1123/jsm.26.5.404

Connell, R. W. (1987). *Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics*. Stanford University Press.

Eagly, A. H. (1987). *Sex Differences in Social Behavior: A Social-Role Interpretation*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Eagly, A. H., & Karau, S. J. (2002). Role Congruity Theory of Prejudice Toward Female Leaders. *Psychological Review*, *109*(3), 573–598. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.109.3.573

Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (1996). The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory: Differentiating Hostile and Benevolent Sexism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *70*(3), 491–512. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.70.3.491

Guthridge, M., Kirkman, M., Penovic, T., & Giummarra, M. J. (2022). Promoting Gender Equality: A Systematic Review of Interventions. *Social Justice Research*, *35*(3), 318–343. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11211-022-00398-z

Hervías Parejo, V., & Radulović, B. (2023). Public Policies on Gender Equality. In D. Vujadinović, M. Fröhlich, & T. Giegerich (Eds.), *Gender-Competent Legal Education* (pp. 405–428). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-14360-1_12

Marchlewska, M., Cichocka, A., Łozowski, F., Górska, P., & Winiewski, M. (2019). In search of an imaginary enemy: Catholic collective narcissism and the endorsement of gender conspiracy beliefs. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, *159*(6), 766--779.

OECD. (2017). *Gender Equality in a Changing World Taking Stock and Moving Forward*. OECD. https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264279391-en

Oliveira-Silva, L. C., & Barbosa-Silva, L. (2023). Career Interventions for Promoting Gender Equality: Methodological Aspects. *Paidéia (Ribeirão Preto)*, *33*, e3320. https://doi.org/10.1590/1982-4327e3320

Organization, W. H. (2013). *World Health Statistics 2013*. World Health Organization.

Organizaton, W. H. (2024). *Diabetes*. World Health Organization. https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/diabetes

Payne, S. (2011). Beijing Fifteen Years On: The Persistence of Barriers to Gender Mainstreaming in Health Policy. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, *18*(4), 515–542. https://doi.org/10.1093/sp/jxr019

Qureshi, N., & Shaikh, B. T. (2007). Women's empowerment and health: The role of institutions of power in Pakistan. *Eastern Mediterranean Health Journal*, *13*(6), 1459–1465. https://doi.org/10.26719/2007.13.6.1459

Selvarajan, T. T., Slattery, J., & Stringer, D. Y. (2015). Relationship between gender and work related attitudes: A study of temporary agency employees. *Journal of Business Research*, *68*(9), 1919–1927. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2015.01.001

Stewart, R., Wright, B., Smith, L., Roberts, S., & Russell, N. (2021). Gendered stereotypes and norms: A systematic review of interventions designed to shift attitudes and behaviour. *Heliyon*, *7*(4), e06660. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2021.e06660

Vlassoff, C., & Moreno, C. G. (2002). Placing gender at the centre of health programming: Challenges and limitations. *Social Science & Medicine*, *54*(11), 1713–1723. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0277-9536(01)00339-2

Walby, S. (1990). Theorizing Patriarchy. *Sociology*, *23*(2), 213–234. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038589023002004