

Intersectionality and Disability: An Analysis of Multiple Discrimination Against Women with Disabilities in Public Spaces in Surabaya.

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Abstract

This study examines the experiences of women with disabilities in accessing and interacting within public spaces in Surabaya through the lens of Feminist Disability Studies (FDS), particularly Rosemarie Garland-Thomson's concepts of misfitting and the politics of staring. A qualitative descriptive approach was employed through in-depth interviews, questionnaire responses, and field observations conducted in public transportation facilities and urban parks. The data were analyzed using thematic analysis. The findings reveal that women with disabilities experience misfitting through inaccessible infrastructures, including disrupted guiding blocks, inadequate ramps, and limited disability-friendly facilities. These barriers are reinforced by the politics of staring, where women with disabilities are frequently subjected to pity, social scrutiny, and discriminatory assumptions. The study also finds that participants experience multiple forms of discrimination arising from the intersection of disability and gender, particularly regarding autonomy, social value, safety, and access to public facilities. Despite these challenges, participants demonstrated agency and resilience by negotiating barriers, maintaining their participation in public life, and resisting exclusionary attitudes through everyday acts of "staring back." The study highlights the importance of integrating accessibility, gender sensitivity, and disability perspectives in creating more inclusive public spaces.

Keywords: Disability, Female, Discrimination, Public Space

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INTRODUCTION

The development of inclusive cities has become an important agenda in contemporary urban planning. Accessibility is no longer understood merely as the provision of physical infrastructure but also as the ability of all citizens to participate safely, independently, and meaningfully in public life. However, despite increasing commitments to inclusive urban development, public spaces continue to be designed around assumptions of a "normal" body, often overlooking the diverse experiences of persons with

disabilities. Consequently, many urban environments remain inaccessible and exclusionary, particularly for women with disabilities who encounter both physical barriers and social discrimination (Wolbring & Nasir, 2024).

Within Disability Studies, scholars have increasingly challenged the medical understanding of disability as an individual deficit. Feminist Disability Studies (FDS), pioneered by Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, argues that disability is not simply a biological condition but a social and cultural category produced through interactions between bodies and environments (Garland-Thomson, 1997; Garland-Thomson, 2011). Rather than locating disability within the individual body, FDS shifts attention toward the social structures, cultural norms, and material arrangements that privilege certain bodies while marginalizing others. This perspective is particularly important for understanding the experiences of women with disabilities, whose lives are shaped simultaneously by ableism and gendered expectations embedded within society (Wilde & Fish, 2025).

One of Garland-Thomson's most influential concepts is *misfitting*, which refers to the mismatch between a body and its surrounding environment. According to this perspective, disability emerges not solely because of bodily impairment but because public spaces are often designed according to the needs of the "normate" an imagined ideal citizen characterized by physical independence, mobility, and bodily conformity. When sidewalks lack accessible ramps, guiding blocks are interrupted, or transportation facilities fail to accommodate wheelchair users, exclusion is produced through environmental design rather than individual limitation. Consequently, barriers experienced by women with disabilities should be understood as failures of urban systems rather than deficiencies of disabled bodies themselves.

Beyond physical exclusion, women with disabilities also encounter social exclusion through what Garland-Thomson conceptualizes as *the politics of staring*. Public gazes are not neutral acts of observation; they are shaped by cultural assumptions about normality, productivity, and bodily difference. Disabled women are frequently subjected to pathological gazes that frame them as abnormal, sentimental gazes that position them as objects of pity, or inspirational gazes that transform their everyday lives into spectacles of motivation for nondisabled observers (Garland-Thomson, 2009). Such forms of visual surveillance often reinforce social hierarchies, undermine autonomy, and create invisible boundaries that discourage women with disabilities from fully participating in public spaces.

Previous studies have documented various forms of discrimination experienced by women with disabilities. Research has shown that disabled women face greater risks of social exclusion, gender-based violence, and institutional marginalization compared to other social groups (Chan & Hutchings, 2023; Novianty et al., 2025). Other studies have highlighted how inaccessible infrastructure and ableist social attitudes limit participation in education, employment, and public life (Amnestia et al., 2023). However, much of the existing literature remains focused on policy analysis, education, employment, or media representation. Comparatively little attention has been given to how women with disabilities experience public spaces at the micro-spatial level, particularly through the intertwined dynamics of environmental exclusion and social visibility.

This gap is especially relevant in the context of Surabaya, a city that has promoted itself as increasingly accessible by providing public transportation systems, pedestrian pathways, and urban parks. Nevertheless, previous studies indicate that accessibility remains unevenly distributed and frequently fails to meet the practical needs of persons with disabilities (Wolbring & Nasir, 2024; Amnestia et al., 2023). While infrastructure improvements may suggest inclusivity at the policy level, the lived experiences of women with disabilities often reveal a different reality.

Therefore, this study examines the experiences of women with disabilities in public spaces in Surabaya through the lens of Feminist Disability Studies. Drawing upon Garland-Thomson's concepts of *misfitting* and *the politics of staring*, this research investigates how urban environments and social interactions shape their everyday experiences in public transportation systems and urban parks. Furthermore, the study explores how gender and disability intersect to produce multiple forms of discrimination, while also highlighting the strategies of resistance and agency employed by women with disabilities to reclaim their right to urban space. Accordingly, this study addresses two research questions: (1) How do women with disabilities experience *misfitting* and *the politics of staring* in public spaces in Surabaya? and (2) What forms of multiple discrimination do women with disabilities experience while accessing and interacting within public spaces?

METHOD

This study employed a qualitative descriptive approach to explore the experiences of women with disabilities in accessing and interacting within public spaces in Surabaya. A qualitative design was selected because it enables an in-depth understanding of participants' lived experiences, perceptions, and interpretations of accessibility, discrimination, and social interactions. The study was informed by the perspective of Feminist Disability Studies (FDS), particularly Rosemarie Garland-Thomson's concepts of *misfitting* and *the politics of staring*, which emphasize the relationship between bodies, environments, and social structures in producing exclusion (Garland-Thomson, 1997; Garland-Thomson, 2011).

The research was conducted in Surabaya, Indonesia, focusing on public spaces frequently accessed by persons with disabilities, including Tugu Pahlawan, Taman Bungkul, Taman Apsari, Terminal Purabaya, Suroboyo Bus, and WiraWiri transportation services. These locations were selected because they represent public facilities promoted as part of Surabaya's efforts toward urban inclusivity.

Data were collected through in-depth interviews, questionnaire responses, and field observations. In-depth interviews were conducted with two women with disabilities who had direct experience navigating public spaces in Surabaya, namely Ibu Eka, a wheelchair user, and Ibu Asti, Head of the Indonesian Association of Women with Disabilities (HWDI) Surabaya Branch. To broaden participants' perspectives, additional data were obtained from questionnaire responses completed by women with disabilities from diverse backgrounds. Field observations were conducted to examine the accessibility of public spaces, focusing on physical features such as ramps, guiding blocks, pedestrian pathways, accessible toilets, circulation areas, and supporting facilities.

The collected data were analyzed using thematic analysis following Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-step framework: familiarization with the data, generation of initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and producing the final report. Through this process, several major themes were identified, including *misfitting* in public spaces, *the politics of staring*, multiple discrimination, and forms of agency and resistance among women with disabilities.

To enhance the credibility of the findings, this study employed data triangulation by comparing interview narratives, questionnaire responses, and field observation results. Ethical considerations were maintained throughout the research process by ensuring voluntary participation, informed consent, and the confidentiality of participants' identities. This approach aligns with the principles of Feminist Disability Studies, which position women with disabilities as active subjects whose experiences and perspectives are central to knowledge production.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Misfitting and the Politics of Staring in Public Spaces of Surabaya

The findings reveal that women with disabilities in Surabaya continue to encounter significant barriers when accessing public spaces, despite the city's efforts to promote urban inclusivity. Observations conducted at Tugu Pahlawan, Taman Bungkul, Taman Apsari, Terminal Purabaya, and public transportation facilities such as Suroboyo Bus and WiraWiri identified various accessibility shortcomings. These included interrupted guiding blocks for visually impaired users, ramps that were either too steep or unavailable, narrow circulation areas that restricted wheelchair mobility, and public facilities that lacked disability-friendly design features. Such conditions demonstrate that accessibility remains unevenly implemented across public spaces.

This finding is consistent with Wolbring and Nasir (2024), who argue that accessibility barriers are often embedded in urban infrastructure designed around ableist assumptions of normality. Similarly, Kusumawardani and Siregar (2024) found that inaccessible public facilities continue to restrict the mobility and participation of persons with disabilities in public life, despite the growing discourse on inclusive urban development.

One participant described how inaccessible infrastructure directly affected her mobility: "*The sidewalks are uneven, the ramps are too steep, and accessible toilets are still difficult to find. I once struggled to push my wheelchair because the ramp in the old town area was too narrow and steep.*" (Eka, interview, May 2026) Similarly, another participant highlighted the limitations of public transportation facilities: "*Many bus stops are still too far from where I live, so I still need to use a motorcycle taxi. Public transportation also needs improvement, especially the handrails and the accessibility of bus stops.*" (Asti, interview, May 2026)

The experiences reported by participants reflect broader patterns identified in previous disability studies. Amnestia et al. (2023) note that accessibility initiatives are frequently implemented as administrative requirements rather than as user-centered solutions, resulting in facilities that fail to address the practical needs of persons with disabilities. Consequently, barriers intended to be removed are often reproduced through inadequate design and implementation.

These findings can be understood through Garland-Thomson's concept of *misfitting*, which explains how disability emerges through the interaction between bodies and environments rather than from bodily impairment alone. Public spaces in Surabaya continue to be designed around assumptions of the *normate* body, the socially privileged body imagined as fully mobile, independent, and physically able. Consequently, exclusion occurs not because women with disabilities are inherently incapable of using public spaces, but because urban infrastructures are constructed according to narrow assumptions of bodily normality. In this sense, the mismatch between disabled bodies and inaccessible environments produces experiences of exclusion and dependency.

This interpretation aligns with Garland-Thomson's (2011) argument that disability emerges through a mismatch between bodies and environments rather than from bodily impairments alone. The concept of misfitting challenges medicalized understandings of disability by locating exclusion within social and material arrangements. Similar observations were reported by Wolbring and Nasir (2024), who emphasize that urban accessibility problems frequently originate from ableist planning frameworks that privilege normative bodies while marginalizing others.

Beyond physical barriers, participants also reported experiencing various forms of social scrutiny while navigating public spaces. Several informants described being stared at, pitied, underestimated, or treated as objects of curiosity when using public transportation or moving through public areas. Such reactions often intensified when they encountered difficulties caused by inaccessible facilities. Rather than recognizing structural barriers, members of the public frequently interpreted these situations as evidence of individual incapacity. "*A friend of mine had to crawl to attend a public performance in the neighborhood field, and people mocked her instead of helping.*" (Asti, interview, May 2026)

These experiences are consistent with findings in Feminist Disability Studies, which suggest that disabled women are often subjected to visual and social scrutiny in public settings. Hall (2011) argues that disabled bodies are frequently constructed as objects of curiosity, pity, or social regulation, reinforcing unequal power relations between disabled and nondisabled individuals.

These experiences reflect Garland-Thomson's concept of *the politics of staring*, which highlights how disabled bodies become subjects of visual surveillance and social interpretation. The findings indicate three dominant forms of public gaze. First, pathological gazes framed women with disabilities as abnormal or incapable individuals. Second, sentimental gazes positioned them as objects of pity and dependence. Third, inspirational gazes transformed their everyday activities into extraordinary acts of perseverance, reducing their experiences to motivational narratives for nondisabled observers. Although these forms of staring differ in appearance, all reinforce the assumption that disabled bodies are fundamentally different from the normative ideal.

Garland-Thomson (2009) similarly explains that public staring functions as a cultural practice through which bodily differences are interpreted and categorized. Through pathological, sentimental, and inspirational forms of staring, disabled individuals are positioned outside the boundaries of perceived normality, thereby reinforcing dominant social hierarchies.

The interaction between inaccessible infrastructure and social surveillance creates an invisible boundary within public spaces. Physical barriers restrict mobility, while public staring generates emotional discomfort and social pressure. Together, these mechanisms discourage participation and reinforce feelings of exclusion. Consequently, women with disabilities experience public spaces not only as physically inaccessible environments but also as socially contested spaces where their presence is constantly scrutinised and negotiated.

Multiple Discrimination and Resistance among Women with Disabilities

The findings also reveal that women with disabilities experience discrimination that extends beyond accessibility barriers. Their experiences are shaped by the intersection of disability and gender, resulting in multiple forms of discrimination that affect their mobility, safety, and social participation. This finding supports previous studies demonstrating that women with disabilities experience discrimination at the

intersection of gender and disability. Chan and Hutchings (2023) argue that disabled women encounter barriers that differ qualitatively from those faced by either nondisabled women or disabled men, resulting in unique forms of marginalization across social contexts. Interview data indicate that participants frequently expressed concerns regarding personal security, vulnerability to harassment, and the lack of disability-friendly facilities that address women's specific needs.

One recurring concern involved the condition of public toilets and other gender-sensitive facilities. Participants reported that public toilets were often inaccessible, lacked adequate space for mobility aids, or failed to accommodate the practical needs of women with disabilities. In addition, several participants expressed anxiety about using public spaces during evening hours due to inadequate lighting and concerns regarding potential harassment or violence. These fears were not merely hypothetical but reflected broader patterns of vulnerability experienced by women with disabilities in public environments.

These concerns are also reflected in studies on gender-based vulnerability among women with disabilities. Novianty et al. (2025) found that inaccessible public environments and inadequate protective mechanisms increase the risk of violence and insecurity experienced by women with disabilities. Likewise, Atikah and Poerwandari (2025) emphasize that environmental barriers often generate anxiety and psychological distress, limiting participation in public activities. *"Some people tend to speak to my companion instead of addressing me directly, which makes me feel underestimated as both a woman and a person with a disability."* (Nofi Ayu Wulandari, University Student, 2026)

This experience demonstrates that discrimination is not always expressed through overt exclusion or hostility. Instead, it often appears in subtle forms of social interaction that deny women with disabilities recognition as autonomous individuals. By directing communication to a companion rather than to the disabled woman herself, others implicitly assume dependency and incapability. Such practices reinforce both ableist and gendered stereotypes, positioning women with disabilities as passive subjects whose voices are considered less valuable in public and social settings.

In the Indonesian context, Islam and Ro'fah (2022) argue that disability issues remain insufficiently integrated within mainstream gender advocacy movements. As a result, women with disabilities often occupy a marginal position where gender inequality and ableism intersect, creating layered forms of exclusion that are frequently overlooked in policy and social discourse.

The persistence of ableist and patriarchal norms further intensifies these experiences. Participants reported being perceived as incapable, dependent, or lacking social value. Such perceptions extend beyond physical accessibility and influence how women with disabilities are treated in everyday interactions. Public assumptions regarding vulnerability often undermine their autonomy and reinforce unequal power relations. As a result, discrimination manifests not only through environmental barriers but also through social attitudes that restrict participation and a sense of belonging.

This finding resonates with Nurmadani et al. (2025), who argue that patriarchal norms continue to shape social expectations regarding women's roles and capabilities. When combined with ableist assumptions, these norms contribute to perceptions that women with disabilities are dependent, incapable, or less valuable than their nondisabled counterparts. One respondent explained: *"Although many public facilities are still inaccessible, I usually look for alternative routes or ask for information in advance so that I can continue participating in activities outside my home."* (Nofi, University Student, 2026)

However, the findings also highlight the agency and resilience demonstrated by women with disabilities in negotiating these challenges. Contrary to representations that portray disabled women solely as passive victims, participants described various strategies for maintaining independence and asserting their presence within public spaces. Some actively sought alternative routes when encountering inaccessible infrastructure, while others relied on disability networks and advocacy communities to obtain information, support, and resources.

More importantly, participants demonstrated forms of resistance that resonate with Garland-Thomson's notion of "staring back." As one participant explained: *"People with disabilities should be given opportunities to work, create, and contribute."* (Eka, interview, May 2026)

Rather than withdrawing from public life, many chose to continue using public transportation, visiting urban parks, and participating in community activities despite persistent barriers and social stigma. Through these actions, they challenged assumptions that public spaces belong exclusively to normate bodies. Their continued presence in public environments constituted a form of everyday resistance against ableist expectations.

Such practices reflect Garland-Thomson's (2009) concept of "staring back," in which disabled individuals actively challenge the power embedded within public gazes. Rather than accepting marginalization, they reclaim visibility and assert their presence in public spaces. Wilde and Fish (2025) similarly contend that contemporary Feminist Disability Studies emphasizes the agency of disabled women in resisting exclusionary structures and redefining social understandings of disability.

This resistance should not be interpreted merely as individual adaptation. Rather, it represents a political act through which women with disabilities reclaim visibility and assert their right to the city. By occupying public spaces, confronting discriminatory attitudes, and refusing social invisibility, they contest dominant understandings of normality and citizenship. In doing so, they transform public spaces from sites of exclusion into arenas of negotiation and empowerment.

Overall, the findings demonstrate that the experiences of women with disabilities in Surabaya are shaped by a complex interaction between inaccessible infrastructures, discriminatory social attitudes, and gendered vulnerabilities. Through the lens of Feminist Disability Studies, exclusion emerges not as a consequence of bodily impairment but as a product of social and environmental arrangements that privilege normate bodies. Nevertheless, women with disabilities are not merely passive recipients of discrimination. Through everyday acts of resistance, mobility, and participation, they actively challenge exclusionary structures and assert their right to belong in Surabaya's urban landscape.

CONCLUSION

This study examined the experiences of women with disabilities in accessing and interacting within public spaces in Surabaya through the lens of Feminist Disability Studies (FDS), particularly Rosemarie Garland-Thomson's concepts of *misfitting* and *the politics of staring*. The findings demonstrate that exclusion is not solely produced by bodily impairment but emerges through the interaction between disabled bodies, inaccessible urban environments, and discriminatory social attitudes. Inadequate infrastructures, including inaccessible ramps, disrupted guiding blocks, and limited disability-friendly facilities, create conditions of *misfitting* that restrict mobility, independence, and participation in public life.

The study further reveals that physical barriers are reinforced by social barriers through the operation of *the politics of staring*. Women with disabilities frequently encounter pity, underestimation, ridicule, and social scrutiny that position them as deviations from the socially constructed normate body. In addition, participants experience multiple forms of discrimination arising from the intersection of disability and gender, particularly in relation to social value, autonomy, safety, and access to public facilities. These findings indicate that exclusion operates through both structural and socio-cultural mechanisms.

Despite these challenges, women with disabilities are not merely passive recipients of discrimination. The findings highlight their agency and resilience in negotiating inaccessible environments, seeking alternative strategies, building supportive networks, and maintaining their participation in public life. Such practices can be understood as forms of "staring back," through which women with disabilities resist marginalization, challenge ableist assumptions, and reclaim their right to visibility and urban citizenship.

This study contributes to disability and urban inclusion scholarship by demonstrating that creating genuinely inclusive cities requires more than physical accessibility. Policymakers and urban planners must also address social stigma, ableist attitudes, and gendered vulnerabilities while ensuring the meaningful involvement of women with disabilities in decision-making processes. Nevertheless, this study is limited by its relatively small sample size and focus on a single urban context. Future research may involve broader participant groups and comparative studies across different cities to further explore the relationship between disability, gender, and inclusive urban development.

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AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Ayu Novia Rahmatillah : Conceptualization, Methodology, and Validation; **Muhammad Iqbal Panji Satrio** : Methodology, Formal Analysis, Resources, and Writing – Original Draft; **Diva Aisya Cherynata Diva** : Conceptualization, Methodology, Investigation, and Writing – Original Draft; **Aura Dyka's Qurrota A'yun** : Conceptualization, Methodology, Validation, and Writing – Review & Editing; **Tyas Mardiana** : Methodology, Formal Analysis, Resources, and Writing – Original Draft.

DECLARATION OF COMPETING INTEREST

The authors declare no known financial conflicts of interest or personal relationships that could have influenced the work reported in this manuscript.

DECLARATION OF ETHICS

The authors declare that the research and writing of this manuscript adhere to ethical standards of research and publication, in accordance with scientific principles, and are free from plagiarism.

DECLARATION OF ASSISTIVE TECHNOLOGIES IN THE WRITING PROCCES

The authors declare that Generative Artificial Intelligence and other assistive technologies were not excessively utilized in the research and writing processes of this manuscript.

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