

GENDER INJUSTICE IN YUNI (2021): MANSOUR FAKIH'S FRAMEWORK AND IMPLICATIONS FOR GENDER-RESPONSIVE COUNSELING

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Abstract. This study examines how gender injustice is represented in Kamila Andini's Yuni (2021) and considers the implications of Mansour Fakih's framework for gender-responsive counseling. Using qualitative content analysis, the film was treated as the primary data source. Relevant scenes and dialogue were identified through repeated viewing, coded by scene, and grouped into Fakih's five categories: marginalization, subordination, stereotyping, violence, and double burden. Analysis followed Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña's interactive model, while interpretive credibility was strengthened through repeated observation, theoretical comparison, and intercoder verification. The findings indicate that all five forms are present, although subordination and stereotyping are the most pervasive across the narrative because they operate through school authority, marriage expectations, family pressure, and everyday gendered language. Violence appears more explicitly in Suci's account of abuse, whereas double burden is represented more implicitly through expectations attached to women after marriage. The study argues that Fakih's framework can inform gender-responsive counseling by helping counselors identify unequal power relations, challenge restrictive gender roles, and support adolescents' educational, career, and marital decision-making.

Keywords: child marriage, gender injustice, gender-responsive counseling, Mansour Fakih, Yuni (2021)

Abstrak. Penelitian ini menganalisis representasi ketidakadilan gender dalam film Yuni (2021) karya Kamila Andini serta menelaah implikasi kerangka Mansour Fakih bagi konseling responsif gender. Penelitian menggunakan analisis isi kualitatif dengan film sebagai sumber data utama. Adegan dan dialog yang relevan diidentifikasi melalui penayangan berulang, dikodekan berdasarkan adegan, kemudian dikelompokkan ke dalam lima kategori Fakih: marginalisasi, subordinasi, stereotipe, kekerasan, dan beban ganda. Analisis mengikuti model interaktif Miles, Huberman, dan Saldaña, sedangkan kredibilitas interpretasi diperkuat melalui pengamatan berulang, perbandingan teoretis, dan verifikasi antarkoder. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa kelima bentuk ketidakadilan tersebut hadir dalam film, dengan subordinasi dan stereotipe sebagai pola yang paling meluas karena bekerja melalui otoritas sekolah, ekspektasi perkawinan, tekanan keluarga, dan bahasa gender dalam kehidupan sehari-hari. Kekerasan tampak lebih eksplisit melalui pengalaman Suci, sedangkan beban ganda direpresentasikan secara lebih implisit melalui ekspektasi terhadap perempuan setelah menikah. Kerangka Fakih dapat digunakan sebagai dasar konseptual untuk membantu konselor mengenali relasi kuasa yang timpang, mengkritisi peran gender yang membatasi, dan mendukung pengambilan keputusan remaja.

Kata kunci: perkawinan anak, ketidakadilan gender, konseling responsif gender, Mansour Fakih, Yuni (2021)

Introduction

Film is not only a form of entertainment but also a cultural medium through which social relations, values, and inequalities are represented and contested. Audiovisual narratives can shape how audiences understand gender roles because repeated representations may normalize particular expectations about women and men (Tuffahati & Claretta, 2023; Santoniccolo et al., 2023). In this sense, film provides an important site for examining how gender inequality is reproduced, challenged, or negotiated through characters, dialogue, institutional settings, and everyday social practices. Gender itself refers to roles, attributes, and expectations that are socially and culturally constructed rather than determined solely by biological difference (Dewi & Nugroho, 2017).

Child marriage remains a significant gender issue in Indonesia because it is closely associated with unequal access to education, lower earnings, and reduced participation in household decision-making. Nationally based studies have shown that education and socioeconomic conditions are strongly related to the risk of marrying before the age of eighteen, while early marriage is associated with disadvantages that may continue into adulthood (Rumble et al., 2018; Cameron et al., 2023). These patterns are relevant to the gendered social pressures represented in *Yuni*, particularly where marriage is positioned as more urgent or valuable for girls than continued education.

Yuni (2021), written and directed by Kamila Andini, responds to these concerns through the story of a young woman negotiating education, marriage, bodily autonomy, and social expectations. The film received the Platform Prize at the 2021 Toronto International Film Festival, bringing international attention to its portrayal of gendered pressures in contemporary Indonesia. Set in Serang, Banten, the narrative follows Yuni, a high school student who wishes to continue her education but repeatedly encounters expectations that direct her toward marriage.

Previous studies have examined *Yuni* from several perspectives. Suryasuciramadhan et al. (2024) analyzed gender inequality in the film through content analysis, while Dalimunthe et al. (2023) focused on women's marginalization through a feminist approach. Syafa'una (2023), using Roland Barthes' semiotics, emphasized the meaning of signs and symbols related to gender. More recently, Nugroho et al. (2026) examined patriarchal relations and the silencing of women's voices in the film. These studies establish *Yuni* as an important text for gender analysis, but they do not systematically organize the film's representations through all five forms of gender injustice formulated by Fakih while also examining how that framework may inform counseling practice.

The contribution of this study is therefore twofold. First, it maps marginalization, subordination, stereotyping, violence, and double burden within a single analytical framework and examines how these forms intersect rather than treating them as isolated incidents. Second, it extends the analysis beyond media criticism by deriving cautious counseling implications from Fakih's framework. The study does not claim that Fakih developed a counseling model; instead, it uses his analysis of gender injustice as a conceptual basis for identifying unequal power relations and considering how counselors might respond to them in adolescent, career, and premarital contexts.

Based on this background, the study has two objectives: (1) to identify and analyze forms of gender injustice represented in *Yuni* (2021) using Mansour Fakih's framework; and (2) to examine the implications of these representations for gender-responsive counseling practice. By connecting film analysis with counseling concerns, the study seeks to contribute to gender literacy while

maintaining a clear distinction between Fakhri's social critique and the counseling applications developed by the authors.

Method

This study employed a qualitative content analysis design (Krippendorff, 2018). The approach was selected because it allows systematic interpretation of meaning in audiovisual material while retaining attention to narrative context, dialogue, visual cues, and power relations. Rather than treating denotation and connotation as a separate semiotic method, the analysis used descriptive and interpretive readings of each selected scene to determine how gender injustice was represented. The analytical categories were established deductively from Fakhri's five forms of gender injustice, while the coding process remained open to contextual features within each scene.

The primary data source is the film *Yuni* (Andini, 2021), produced by Fourcolours Films (Indonesia), Akanga Film Asia (Singapore), and Manny Films (Australia/France). Secondary data sources include journals, books, and relevant previous research.

Data collection was conducted in three stages: watching the entire film for narrative comprehension; re-watching it repeatedly while logging scenes; and transcribing relevant dialogue. The coding process was carried out using the following scheme:

- 1) Unitizing: each scene containing indications of gender-based power relations is designated as a unit of analysis (scene-based unit), marked by a timestamp.
- 2) Open coding: each unit is given an initial descriptive code based on visible elements (e.g., "scholarship ban," "virginity test obligation," "kitchen-well-bed labeling").
- 3) Axial coding: descriptive codes are grouped into Fakhri's five categories based on the operational definition of each form of injustice; when a scene potentially falls into more than one category (e.g., the virginity test scene that contains elements of both subordination and symbolic violence), categorization is based on the most prominent power relations in the scene, namely who makes decisions about women's bodies/lives (→ subordination) versus the psychological/physical impacts women suffer as a result of those decisions (→ violence).
- 4) Intercode verification: two members of the research team code independently, then discuss differences in interpretation until an agreement is reached (intercode agreement), in order to reduce the subjective bias of a single researcher.

Data analysis followed the interactive model of Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2014), consisting of data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification. Interpretive credibility was strengthened through three procedures: repeated viewing of the film, theoretical comparison with gender literature beyond Fakhri, and investigator triangulation through intercode verification. The two coders first examined relevant scenes independently and then discussed coding differences until an interpretive agreement was reached.

The analytical framework was based on Fakhri's (2013) five forms of gender injustice: (1) marginalization, referring to processes that restrict women's access to economic, educational, or social resources; (2) subordination, in which women's interests and decision-making authority are treated as less important; (3) stereotyping, referring to gendered labels that restrict roles and

opportunities; (4) violence, including physical and psychological harm arising from unequal gender relations; and (5) double burden, in which women carry disproportionate domestic responsibilities alongside responsibilities in the public sphere. These operational definitions guided the coding and interpretation of the selected scenes.

Results and Discussion

Overview of the Movie Yuni (2021)

Yuni (Andini, 2021) is a film written and directed by Kamila Andini that places the experiences of a young woman at the center of a broader critique of gendered social expectations. The film premiered at the Toronto International Film Festival in September 2021 and received the Platform Prize. Its narrative foregrounds questions of education, marriage, sexuality, family expectations, and women's autonomy, making it particularly relevant for analysis through Fakhri's framework of gender injustice.

The central character, Yuni, is a 17-year-old high school student living with her grandmother in Serang, Banten. She performs well academically and hopes to continue to higher education through a scholarship. Her teacher, Ms. Lilis, encourages this aspiration, but Yuni is confronted by repeated marriage proposals, public discussion of virginity testing at school, and community expectations that position marriage as a primary marker of female adulthood. The tension between Yuni's educational aspirations and the social demands surrounding her provides the narrative context in which the five forms of gender injustice are examined below.

Forms of Gender Injustice in the Film Yuni (2021)

Marginalization

Marginalization refers to processes that restrict access to resources, opportunities, and social or economic independence. In Yuni, marginalization is represented most clearly through women's constrained educational opportunities and the social assumption that investment in girls' education is less important than marriage. This representation is consistent with research in Indonesia showing that child marriage is associated with lower educational attainment, lower earnings, and reduced decision-making power (Rumble et al., 2018; Cameron et al., 2023).

Scene 1 (00:26:47): Tika's Family Life



Figure 1. Tika's Family Life. Source: Yuni (2021), 00:26:47.

Yuni: “Tetehe-tetehe sira karo anak-anake saiki kabeh tinggal neng keni, Tik?”

Tika: “Yes.”

At the descriptive level, the scene presents a brief conversation about Tika's family, including an older sister who has returned to the parental home with her children after marriage. Analytically, the scene suggests how early marriage may narrow women's opportunities for education, employment, and economic independence. Tika's family situation therefore functions as more than background information: it anticipates a possible future for Yuni if marriage closes off her educational plans. This interpretation is consistent with evidence that early marriage in Indonesia is associated with lower educational attainment, lower earnings, and less participation in household decision-making (Cameron et al., 2023).

Scene 2 (01:26:30): The Principal and Ms. Lilis Discuss Scholarship Opportunities



Figure 2. The Principal and Ms. Lilis Discuss Scholarship Opportunities. Source: Yuni (2021), 01:26:30.

Principal: “Ms. Lilis, children should not be given excessively high expectations about scholarships, especially girls. The school should support them, but you also need to understand our circumstances.”

Ms. Lilis: “Yes, Sir. If possible, we should still try to help them continue their education without being burdened.”

Principal: “I understand, Ms. Lilis, but the girls’ parents may prefer to marry them off rather than send them to school. That is our dilemma as educators.”

This scene represents institutional marginalization because access to education is negotiated through an authority structure that holds lower expectations for female students. The principal occupies the highest formal position in the school, while Ms. Lilis advocates for students' educational opportunities from a subordinate institutional position. The significance of the scene lies not only in financial limitations but also in the authority to decide which aspirations are considered realistic. When gender shapes those expectations, educational opportunity becomes unevenly distributed.

Within Fakih's framework, marginalization may operate through policies, institutional practices, and cultural assumptions that narrow women's life choices. In Yuni, this process appears at both individual and structural levels: Yuni risks losing an educational pathway because of pressure to marry, while the school environment itself reproduces limited expectations for girls. This finding

extends Dalimunthe et al. (2023) by showing that marginalization in the film is closely connected to subordination and stereotyping rather than functioning as an isolated form of injustice.

Taken together, the two scenes show that marginalization in Yuni is not limited to material poverty. It also involves a restriction of future possibilities when education is treated as less necessary for girls because marriage is assumed to be their primary destination. Once education is devalued as a route to autonomy, decisions about women's futures become easier for families and institutions to take over.

Subordination

Subordination occurs when one gender is treated as less important in decision-making or positioned under the authority of another (Miyasari, 2019). In Yuni, subordination is one of the most pervasive forms of gender injustice because decisions concerning girls' bodies, education, and marriage are repeatedly shaped by institutional authority and patriarchal expectations. The pattern is especially visible when Yuni's own preferences are displaced by decisions made on her behalf.

Scene 1 (00:01:53): The Deputy Regent Announces Virginity Testing for Female Students



Figure 3. The Deputy Regent Announces Virginity Testing for Female Students. Source: Yuni (2021), 00:01:53.

Deputy Regent: “As explained earlier by Adam from Rohis, we are currently developing a counseling program. In the near future, we will require virginity tests for all female students.”

Adam: “Please stay calm. We know our friends here are strong believers.”

The proposed virginity testing policy is a clear representation of subordination because female students' bodies are placed under institutional surveillance without an equivalent requirement for male students. The policy constructs girls' sexuality as an object to be examined and regulated by authorities, thereby limiting bodily autonomy and creating an unequal standard of moral accountability. This reading is also consistent with medical and human rights literature showing that virginity testing lacks scientific validity and may cause physical, psychological, and social harm (Olson & García-Moreno, 2017).

From Fakhri's perspective, subordination is visible when a dominant group is able to define the rights, interests, and acceptable conduct of a group positioned as less authoritative. The virginity testing discourse in Yuni dramatizes this unequal relation by showing institutional actors claiming authority over female students' bodies. The scene is therefore significant not only because of the

proposed examination itself, but because of the broader logic that women's bodily autonomy can be overridden in the name of social or institutional norms.

Scene 2 (01:31:00): Mr. Damar Proposes to Yuni



Figure 4. Mr. Damar Proposes to Yuni. Source: Yuni (2021), 01:31:00.

Mr. Damar: “I would like to propose to Yuni and ask her to become my wife.”

Subordination is also represented in Mr. Damar's proposal to Yuni while she is still a student seeking to continue her education. The teacher-student relationship creates an unequal structure of age, status, and institutional authority. Yuni's choice is further constrained by a social belief that rejecting three proposals will make it difficult for a woman to find a husband and by the expectation that marriage represents a woman's primary achievement. The scene therefore illustrates how personal decisions can become shaped by layered forms of social authority rather than by fully autonomous choice.

This pattern is consistent with Nugroho et al. (2026), who show that women's voices in Yuni are frequently marginalized within social spaces. The present study develops that argument by showing why subordination is especially pervasive: it is exercised through authorities that appear ordinary and legitimate, including government officials, teachers, school leaders, and family structures. Because these relations are embedded in everyday institutions, they may appear normal rather than coercive, making the loss of women's decision-making authority less immediately visible.

The two scenes reveal subordination at different scales. The virginity testing discourse represents institutional control over women's bodies, while Mr. Damar's proposal illustrates unequal interpersonal power within a relationship shaped by school and marriage. In both cases, women are positioned as subjects whose decisions can be displaced by people or norms considered more authoritative. This multilevel pattern extends earlier feminist readings of Yuni by showing how the silencing of women's choices operates across public policy, educational institutions, and personal relationships (Dalimunthe et al., 2023; Nugroho et al., 2026).

Stereotypes

Gender stereotypes are generalized labels that define women through socially prescribed roles and, in doing so, restrict their freedom and life choices. In Yuni, stereotypes are reproduced through everyday conversation, particularly statements that associate women's value with marriage, domestic work, and sexual respectability.

Scene 1 (00:40:08): Women Discuss Yuni's Marriage Proposal



Figure 5. Women Discuss Yuni's Marriage Proposal. Source: Yuni (2021), 00:40:08.

Woman 1: “Yun, how was the proposal? Did you accept it?”

Woman 2: “Iman is a factory worker. He is a good prospect, Yun.”

Yuni: “I am still thinking about it. I still want to go to school.”

Woman 1: “For a woman, what matters is the kitchen, the well, and the bed.”

The conversation places Yuni's educational aspirations against a familiar domestic stereotype. The phrase “the kitchen, the well, and the bed” reduces women's expected social role to household labor, service to the family, and marital sexuality. Its significance is not limited to one speaker. The film shows such expectations circulating through ordinary social interaction, including among women themselves, which suggests the intergenerational internalization of patriarchal norms. Education is consequently framed as less relevant to women because their future is presumed to lie primarily in domestic life.

Such stereotypes affect more than social perception; they also shape the range of choices considered legitimate for women. When higher education or public achievement is treated as secondary to domestic roles, women's aspirations can be questioned before they are pursued. Research on gender and media likewise shows that repeated stereotypical representations can reinforce gender role norms and constrain women's career-related ambitions (Santoniccolo et al., 2023). In *Yuni*, the stereotype therefore functions as a cultural mechanism that helps make educational marginalization and marital pressure appear ordinary.

Scene 2 (01:36:11): Yuni and Her Mother Discuss Her Future



Figure 6. Yuni and Her Mother Discuss Her Future. Source: Yuni (2021), 01:36:11.

Yuni's mother: "Your mother only graduated from high school. I see many graduates who are still unemployed."

The discussion between Yuni and her mother presents another form of gendered normalization. Her mother's doubt is expressed through economic pragmatism, but within the wider narrative it intersects with the recurring assumption that higher education is less necessary for women than marriage. Other scenes reinforce this logic through judgments directed at women who reject proposals and through the association of female virginity with family and social honor. Stereotypes therefore operate as a cultural justification for subordination: if women are assumed to belong primarily in domestic roles, decisions that disregard their educational or career aspirations become easier to rationalize.

Unlike subordination, which is often exercised through direct decision-making authority, stereotypes work through language, repetition, and normalization. The two forms reinforce each other. Stereotypes define what women are expected to want and do, while subordinating practices enforce those expectations when women choose differently. This relationship helps explain why subordination and stereotyping are the most pervasive patterns in the film and why they are difficult to separate analytically (Fakih, 2013; Santoniccolo et al., 2023).

Violence

In Fakih's (2013) framework, gender-based violence includes physical and psychological harm produced within unequal gender relations. Yuni represents violence through both direct abuse and the broader pressures that constrain young women's choices. The clearest evidence appears in Suci's account of her marriage, where physical abuse is explicitly described rather than merely inferred from social pressure.

Scene 1 (00:48:25): Suci Describes Violence in Her Marriage



Figure 7. Suci Describes Violence in Her Marriage. Source: Yuni (2021), 00:48:25.

Suci: "At first it was fine, but over time he started hitting me."

Suci's statement provides direct evidence of physical violence within her marriage. In the same conversation, she also recounts reproductive health problems, repeated miscarriage, and the eventual breakdown of the marriage. These experiences should not be collapsed into a single causal claim, but together they show the vulnerability that can accompany early marriage when a young

woman has limited power within the relationship. The scene is analytically important because violence is not presented as an abstract category: it is articulated through Suci's own account of abuse and its consequences.

The scene also shows how violence is connected to, but not reducible to, the other categories in Fakih's framework. Subordination can reduce a woman's authority over major life decisions, while stereotypes can normalize expectations of obedience and marital endurance. These conditions may create an environment in which abuse is minimized or tolerated. The categories therefore intersect within the narrative, but the analysis does not assume a simple causal sequence among them.

Double Workload

Double burden refers to the disproportionate expectation that women remain responsible for domestic work even when they also participate in education, paid work, or other public roles. Compared with marginalization, subordination, stereotypes, and violence, this form is less explicitly represented in Yuni because the narrative focuses primarily on the period before marriage.

The film nevertheless contains an implicit and anticipatory representation of double burden through the adult women surrounding Yuni and through repeated expectations about what a wife should do after marriage. Tika's family circumstances and the domestic language directed at Yuni suggest a future in which women are expected to manage household responsibilities while also responding to economic demands. Because the evidence is indirect, the double burden should be interpreted as a narrative implication rather than as a fully developed experience of the main character.

This limited representation is itself meaningful. Yuni concentrates on the moment when the decision to marry is being contested, before the long-term division of household labor becomes visible in Yuni's own life. Double burden therefore appears as a prospective consequence embedded in the social expectations surrounding marriage rather than as a condition directly experienced by Yuni during the film.

Implications of Mansour Fakih's Gender Injustice Framework for Gender-Responsive Counseling

From Structural Critique to Counseling Principles

The value of Fakih's framework for counseling lies in its capacity to help identify the social structures surrounding a client's problem, not in providing a ready-made counseling model. When translated cautiously into practice, each form of gender injustice points to a different area of counselor attention. Marginalization draws attention to access to education and economic resources; subordination to participation in decisions concerning one's own life; stereotypes to restrictive gender role expectations; violence to safety, recovery, and referral needs; and double burden to unequal distributions of domestic responsibility. This approach is consistent with broader research showing that gendered representations influence aspirations and that counseling interventions can help students reconsider educational choices shaped by gender norms (Santoniccolo et al., 2023; Erdmann et al., 2023).

The principle connecting these areas is a refusal to treat women's subordinate position as natural or inevitable. Fakihi's analysis can therefore serve as a conceptual basis for gender-responsive counseling, in which counselors examine how family expectations, institutional authority, and cultural norms shape the client's available choices. The counselor's role is not to impose a preferred life decision but to help the client recognize unequal power relations, clarify personal goals, assess risks and resources, and make informed decisions with greater autonomy.

Yuni as a Case for Gender-Responsive Counseling

The five forms identified in Yuni can be translated into counseling cases without claiming that the film itself constitutes an intervention. The proposed virginity testing policy and the transfer of Yuni's marriage decisions to others illustrate subordination through loss of control over one's body and future. The “kitchen, well, bed” stereotype represents the restriction of educational and career aspirations through gender role labeling. The marginalization experienced by women around Yuni illustrates how early marriage may narrow educational and economic opportunities. Suci's account of abuse provides a direct case of gender-based violence, while double burden appears as an anticipated consequence of gendered expectations after marriage.

Used carefully, the film may function as case material in counselor education or structured counseling discussions. Prospective counselors can use selected scenes to practice identifying forms of gender injustice, distinguishing personal preference from social pressure, and considering appropriate ethical responses. With adolescent clients, scenes may support reflective discussion when they are relevant to the client's concerns, but the counselor must avoid assuming that the client's experience is identical to the film narrative.

Implications for Gender-Responsive Guidance and Counseling Practice

The findings have three practical implications. First, in premarital counseling, scenes involving early marriage pressure can be used to discuss readiness, consent, educational plans, economic expectations, and the distribution of decision-making within a relationship. This application is consistent with gender perspective premarital counseling that emphasizes more equitable marital relations (Bakhtiar et al., 2019) and with evidence that child marriage is associated with lower educational attainment, lower earnings, and reduced decision-making power (Cameron et al., 2023).

Second, adolescent and career counseling should explicitly examine gender stereotypes that limit educational and occupational aspirations. Counselors can help students distinguish personal interests and abilities from expectations attached to gender. Experimental research on guidance counseling indicates that intensive counseling can influence gender-atypical educational choices, suggesting that counseling may provide a meaningful space for questioning gendered pathways rather than reproducing them (Erdmann et al., 2023).

Third, counselor education should strengthen practitioners' awareness of how gender operates within institutions and helping relationships. School counselors are themselves situated within gendered educational structures, and research has shown that gendered expectations can shape professional opportunities and leadership trajectories within school counseling (Holland Iantosca & Lemke, 2022). For this reason, gender-responsiveness requires both sensitivity to the client's

context and reflexive attention to the counselor's own assumptions, language, and institutional practices.

Conclusion

This study concludes that Yuni (2021) represents all five forms of gender injustice identified by Mansour Fakih: marginalization, subordination, stereotyping, violence, and double burden. Subordination and stereotyping are the most pervasive patterns because they recur across institutional authority, marriage expectations, family pressure, and everyday language. Marginalization is visible in restricted educational opportunity, violence is directly articulated through Suci's account of abuse, and double burden appears more implicitly as an expectation attached to women's future domestic roles. The findings therefore show gender injustice not as a collection of separate incidents, but as overlapping relations that shape women's access to resources, authority, safety, and life choices.

The study contributes to gender and media research by organizing the film's representations through Fakih's five categories and examining the relationships among them. Its counseling contribution is more limited and specific: Fakih's framework is used as a conceptual lens for identifying gendered power relations that counselors may need to recognize in adolescent, career, and premarital contexts. The study does not propose a Mansour Fakih counseling model. Rather, it shows how a critical gender framework can support counseling practices that protect client autonomy, question restrictive role expectations, and avoid reproducing normalized forms of subordination.

Future research should test these implications empirically by examining how counselors, counselor educators, and adolescent clients respond to the use of Yuni as case material. Comparative studies with other Indonesian films could also clarify whether the relationships among marginalization, subordination, stereotypes, violence, and double burden identified here are specific to Yuni or recur across broader representations of gender in Indonesian cinema.

Declarations

DH contributed to the conceptualization of the study, data collection, scene coding, data analysis, and preparation of the original draft. K contributed to methodology development, refinement of the analytical framework, research supervision, and critical review of the manuscript. AFA contributed to analytical refinement, conceptual development, literature review, and manuscript review and editing. All authors reviewed and approved the final version of the manuscript and agreed to be accountable for the integrity of the work. The authors declare that they have no conflicts of interest related to this study. ChatGPT by OpenAI was used solely to assist with language editing, readability, terminology consistency, and reference-format checking. It was not used for data collection, scene coding, intercoder verification, analytical categorization, interpretation of findings, or formulation of the scientific conclusions. All AI-assisted revisions were critically reviewed and approved by the authors, who remain fully responsible for the accuracy, originality, and integrity of the manuscript. Ethics approval and informed consent were not applicable because this study employed qualitative content analysis of the publicly available film *Yuni* (2021) and did not involve human participants, animals, or the collection of personal data.

The coding notes and analytical materials supporting the findings are available from the corresponding author upon reasonable request, while the film *Yuni* (2021) and reproduced visual materials remain subject to the copyright and licensing terms of their respective rights holders.

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