Gendering Leadership Education: Global Discourses and Local Pathways Toward SDG 4.5 and Gender Equity in South Korean and Indonesian Curricula

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Abstract

Indonesia is one of the countries with the highest proportion of women in senior management positions in Asia, with 36% according to the Women in Business 2024 report. In contrast, South Korea ranks lowest among OECD countries in the Glass Ceiling Index 2023, with only 19%. These notable differences raise an inquiry into how gendered expectations are constructed within educational structures and leadership discourses, particularly in school-based curricula. This study adopts a qualitative methodology informed by Stuart Hall's theory of representation, Chandra Mohanty's postcolonial feminism, and intersectionality theory. It analyzes official educational materials published by both governments at the secondary level, including national curricula, civics education guidelines, and leadership training documents. Examples include Indonesia's Pancasila and Citizenship Education modules and South Korea's middle school civics curriculum. The analysis focuses on how leadership is framed as requiring specific attributes and responsibilities, including civic engagement, ethical attitudes, and social responsibility. It further explores how such expectations are gendered and institutionalized through pedagogical practices. It draws on SDG 4.5 (gender equality in education) as a comparative benchmark and examines how global education discourses such as UNESCO's Global Citizenship Education (GCED) are interpreted and localized differently in South Korea and Indonesia. These differences show how national contexts shape the ways global education narratives are interpreted and translated into locally embedded gendered leadership pathways. By revealing how leadership discourses in education can reinforce or challenge gender inequality, the study provides practical insights for policymakers and educators striving toward SDG 4.5 and more equitable education systems.

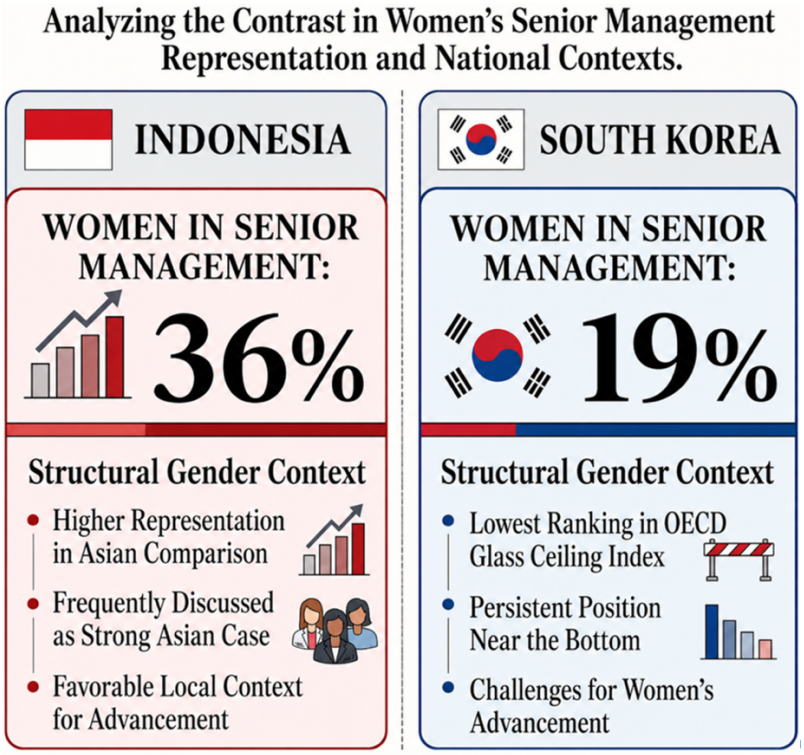
Keywords: gender and education, leadership education, global citizenship education, SDG 4.5

Introduction

Indonesia's relatively high proportion of women in senior management and South Korea's persistent position near the bottom of international glass ceiling rankings present a comparative puzzle for gender and education research. The Women in Business 2024 report shows that the global share of women in senior management remains uneven across national contexts, while Indonesia is frequently discussed as one of the stronger Asian cases in women's senior management representation and South Korea remains a difficult case in terms of women's advancement into senior leadership (Grant Thornton, 2024). The Economist's Glass Ceiling Index also places South Korea at the bottom among OECD countries, suggesting that women's educational achievement and national economic development do not necessarily lead to equal access to leadership (The Economist, 2023). The contrast is therefore not only a matter of labor market participation or corporate promotion. It also invites attention to earlier educational spaces where students encounter ideas about what leadership means, who can be imagined as a leader, and which forms of responsibility are treated as socially legitimate.

Figure 1

Comparative Puzzle Between Women's Senior Management Representation and National Leadership Contexts



Education is one of the main spaces where social meanings are produced, repeated, and normalized. School curricula do not simply deliver neutral knowledge. They also carry expectations about citizenship, responsibility, authority, and participation in public life. UNESCO's work on Global Citizenship Education emphasizes that education should help learners understand global interdependence, respect diversity, work with others, and participate actively in addressing local, national, and global challenges (UNESCO, 2024). UNESCO also explains that GCED can be integrated into existing subjects such as civic education, social studies, peace education, and related areas, which makes civic curricula an important site for examining how global values are translated into national educational practice (UNESCO,

2017). SDG 4 establishes inclusive and equitable quality education as a global objective, while Target 4.5 specifically calls for eliminating gender disparities in education and ensuring equal access for vulnerable groups (United Nations, 2024). These frameworks make it necessary to ask whether gender equality is treated only as access to schooling, or whether it also appears in the deeper curricular construction of leadership, participation, and civic responsibility.

South Korean and Indonesian secondary curricula provide a useful comparison because both cases connect civic education to broader projects of citizenship formation, although they do so through different historical and cultural vocabularies. In Indonesia, Pancasila and Citizenship Education offers a major curricular space where students encounter ideas of civic duty, national unity, community responsibility, and moral conduct. In South Korea, middle school civics curriculum similarly teaches democratic citizenship, social participation, public responsibility, and ethical judgment. These subjects are not identical in content or history, but they are comparable as institutional sites where young people are introduced to normative models of civic life. They therefore allow an analysis of how leadership is represented within official educational discourse and how such representations may carry gendered assumptions.

The theoretical approach brings together representation, postcolonial feminism, and intersectionality in order to examine how leadership becomes meaningful in curriculum. Hall's theory of representation is useful here because it treats meaning as something actively produced through language, symbols, and discourse, rather than simply reflected by them (Hall, 1997). From this perspective, educational texts do not merely describe leadership as a pre-existing quality. They help produce the categories through which leadership becomes recognizable. A curriculum that repeatedly links leadership to public authority, rational decision making, competitiveness, and institutional status may attach leadership to social meanings that have often been coded as masculine. A curriculum that connects leadership to relational responsibility, mutual cooperation, care, and community participation may open different ways of imagining who can lead. The central issue is not whether curricula explicitly state that boys or girls should lead. The more important question is how leadership becomes meaningful through recurring words, examples, roles, and pedagogical expectations.

This concern with meaning also requires attention to locality. Mohanty's postcolonial feminism is important because the comparison between South Korea and Indonesia cannot rely on a universal model of women's leadership derived from Western liberal assumptions. Mohanty critiques the tendency to treat women outside the West as a single homogeneous group and emphasizes the importance of historical location, power relations, and difference in feminist analysis (Mohanty, 2003). In this study, that insight matters in two ways. Indonesian women's leadership should not be interpreted simply through the assumptions often used to explain leadership in OECD contexts. At the same time, South Korea's glass ceiling should not be reduced to a lack of women's education. Both cases require attention to how national histories, civic ideals, family norms, institutional structures, and global education discourses come together in the formation of gendered leadership expectations.

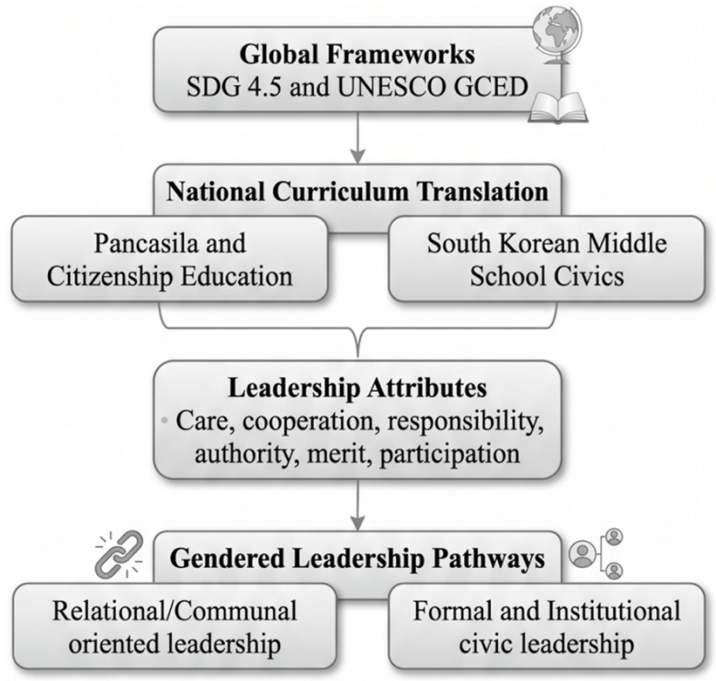
Intersectionality deepens this approach by showing that gender never operates by itself. Crenshaw's concept of intersectionality explains how gendered inequality is shaped through overlapping structures of power such as race, class, law, and social status (Crenshaw, 1989). In the context of curriculum, students are not addressed only as boys or girls. They are also addressed as citizens, future workers, community members, national subjects, and moral actors. Leadership education often appears through civic language that seems neutral, yet that language may still distribute authority, care, public responsibility, and social legitimacy in

gendered ways. For this reason, the analysis considers how gender intersects with national identity, civic duty, moral responsibility, and social belonging in the construction of leadership.

The guiding question of this article is how leadership education is gendered through official secondary school curricula in South Korea and Indonesia. The analysis focuses on how leadership is framed as requiring particular attributes and responsibilities, including civic engagement, ethical attitudes, and social responsibility. It also considers how global discourses such as UNESCO's Global Citizenship Education are interpreted and localized differently across national contexts. Global education frameworks do not enter national curricula as fixed models. They are translated through local educational traditions, political cultures, and civic ideals. The comparison therefore shows how national contexts shape the ways global education narratives become embedded in locally specific and potentially gendered leadership pathways.

Figure 2

Analytical Framework for Examining How Global Education Discourses Become Localized Into Gendered Leadership Pathways



The contribution of this article lies in shifting attention from labor market outcomes alone to the educational construction of leadership before the workplace. The high level of women's senior management representation in Indonesia and the persistent constraints faced by women in South Korea provide the empirical puzzle, but the main analytical focus lies in the curricular meanings that precede these outcomes. This approach moves the discussion from equal access to education toward the content and meaning of education itself. If SDG 4.5 is to be understood as more than parity in enrollment, then it should also include critical attention to the gendered meanings embedded in what students are taught about authority, responsibility, participation, and leadership.

Methodology

This study adopts a qualitative document analysis design to examine how gendered expectations of leadership are constructed in official secondary school curricula in South Korea

and Indonesia. Curriculum texts, civic education guidelines, and pedagogical materials are treated here not only as sources of information but also as institutional records through which states organize educational meanings, define desirable forms of citizenship, and normalize expectations about responsibility and participation (Bowen, 2009). Since the purpose of this research is not to measure individual student attitudes, but to interpret how leadership is represented within official educational discourse, a qualitative documentary approach allows close attention to language, categories, examples, and recurring normative patterns.

The corpus is drawn from official educational materials published or recognized by the governments of South Korea and Indonesia at the secondary level. In the Indonesian case, the analysis centers on Pancasila and Citizenship Education materials, especially curriculum related modules and supporting documents connected to civic formation, national unity, moral conduct, and the Pancasila Student Profile. For South Korea, the analysis focuses on middle school civics curriculum within the national curriculum framework, with attention to democratic citizenship, social participation, ethical judgment, and public responsibility. The two sets of materials are not treated as identical, but they offer comparable curricular sites because both place civic education at the center of citizenship formation and both connect leadership to civic engagement, ethical attitudes, and social responsibility. The comparison therefore remains focused on specific curricular spaces rather than on the entire education system.

Table 1

Corpus and Analytical Scope

Category	Indonesia	South Korea	Analytical Purpose
Curriculum site	Pancasila and Citizenship Education	Middle school civics curriculum	Compare civic education as a site of leadership formation
Educational level	Secondary education	Secondary education	Maintain comparable scope
Core civic vocabulary	Pancasila, gotong royong, national unity	Democratic citizenship, public responsibility, ethical judgment	Identify local civic meanings
Leadership related focus	Cooperation, moral conduct, community responsibility	Participation, rational judgment, institutional responsibility	Trace gendered leadership expectations
Global reference	SDG 4.5 and UNESCO GCED	SDG 4.5 and UNESCO GCED	Compare localization of global discourse

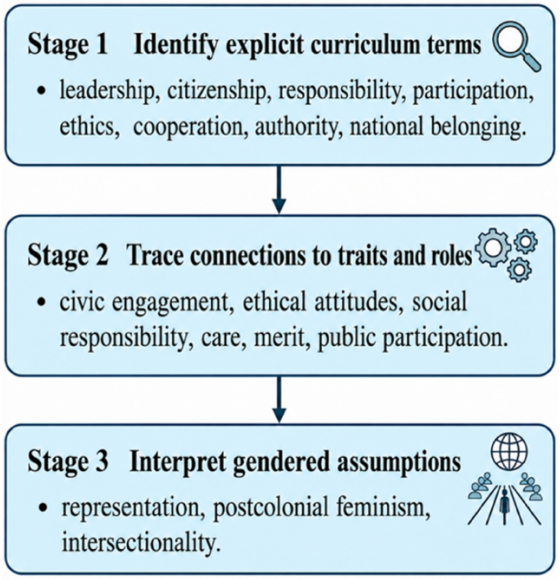
Materials are included when they meet a combination of institutional, thematic, and comparative relevance. The documents need to be officially issued, publicly available, or institutionally recognized as part of secondary education policy. They also need to contain content related to citizenship, civic responsibility, moral education, leadership, social participation, or student development. Finally, they need to make it possible to compare national curriculum discourse with broader global education discourse. The resulting corpus includes national curriculum texts, civics education guidelines, leadership related pedagogical materials, and contextual documents on UNESCO's Global Citizenship Education and SDG 4.5. When English versions or official English descriptions are available, they are prioritized

for consistency. When original terms are retained, such as Pancasila and gotong royong, they are treated as culturally specific concepts and interpreted through official descriptions and relevant secondary scholarship rather than translated as neutral equivalents.

The analytical process combines qualitative content analysis with theory informed interpretation. The documents are read repeatedly in order to identify how leadership is described, which attributes are attached to leadership, and which forms of civic behavior are presented as desirable (Schreier, 2012). Coding begins with explicit references to leadership, citizenship, responsibility, participation, ethics, cooperation, authority, and national belonging. The analysis then follows how these ideas are connected to particular traits, roles, and pedagogical expectations across the documents. Particular attention is given to moments where gender is not directly named, but where recurring associations may still carry gendered assumptions. This makes it possible to examine gender as an embedded meaning within institutional discourse rather than only as an explicit curriculum topic.

Figure 3

Coding Process for Gendered Leadership Analysis



The theoretical framework enters the analysis as a set of interpretive lenses rather than as separate blocks of explanation. Hall's theory of representation is especially useful for reading curriculum as a site where leadership becomes meaningful through language, symbols, and repeated associations (Hall, 1997). Leadership is therefore not treated as a fixed concept that simply appears in the curriculum. It is examined through the ways it becomes recognizable through terms such as authority, cooperation, care, merit, responsibility, and public participation. Mohanty's postcolonial feminism adds a necessary caution against reading women's leadership through a universal model derived from Western liberal assumptions (Mohanty, 2003). This is important because Indonesia and South Korea are shaped by different civic histories, family norms, educational traditions, and relationships to global gender discourse. Intersectionality further helps trace how gender intersects with national identity, civic duty, moral responsibility, and social belonging in the construction of leadership (Crenshaw, 1989).

The comparative strategy is interpretive rather than statistical. South Korea and Indonesia are not approached as equivalent national units with identical education systems. They are

compared as two cases where secondary civic education functions as a state supported site of citizenship formation. This approach follows the logic of qualitative comparison, in which cases are selected not for representativeness but for their ability to illuminate a meaningful contrast. Indonesia's stronger representation of women in senior management and South Korea's persistent glass ceiling provide the comparative puzzle, while the documents provide the main evidence for examining how leadership is educationally represented. The argument therefore does not claim that curriculum alone causes national differences in women's leadership outcomes. It asks how curriculum may contribute to the cultural and institutional conditions through which leadership becomes gendered.

Global education discourse is used as a comparative benchmark rather than as a fixed universal standard. SDG 4.5 provides the normative framework for examining gender equality in education, while UNESCO's Global Citizenship Education offers a framework for understanding how civic responsibility, diversity, participation, and global awareness are educationally articulated (UNESCO, 2017, 2024; United Nations, 2024). The analysis examines how these global ideas are interpreted within national curricula and how they become connected to local traditions of citizenship and leadership. This makes it possible to ask whether global education narratives encourage gender equitable understandings of leadership or whether they are localized in ways that reproduce existing gendered expectations.

Analytic reliability is supported through repeated reading, cross document comparison, and memo writing. Initial codes are developed from the theoretical framework and research questions, but they are revised as patterns emerge from the documents. This follows the flexible logic of thematic analysis, where themes are developed through close engagement with the data rather than imposed mechanically in advance (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The analysis focuses on recurring patterns rather than isolated phrases. Particular attention is given to how leadership is linked to civic engagement, ethical attitudes, social responsibility, authority, cooperation, care, competitiveness, and community belonging. These patterns are then interpreted in relation to representation, postcolonial feminism, and intersectionality.

Because the analysis relies on official documents, it cannot measure how teachers actually teach these materials or how students interpret them in classrooms. It also does not claim to represent all schools or all educational experiences in South Korea and Indonesia. The value of this methodological choice lies in showing how official curricula and related pedagogical materials construct the symbolic boundaries of leadership before students enter higher education or the labor market. This is consistent with the central argument of the paper, which treats curriculum as a site where leadership is not only taught but also represented, normalized, and potentially gendered.

Results and Findings

The analysis shows that leadership is rarely presented as a single explicit curriculum category. It appears instead through repeated references to citizenship, responsibility, participation, moral conduct, cooperation, authority, and social contribution. This matters because leadership education is embedded in civic and moral language rather than always named directly as leadership. In both South Korea and Indonesia, students are taught to become responsible social actors, but the qualities attached to that responsibility differ across national contexts. Leadership emerges less as a formal title than as a set of civic dispositions, ethical expectations, and social roles that students are expected to internalize through school based learning.

In the Indonesian materials, leadership is strongly connected to collective responsibility and moral citizenship. Pancasila and Citizenship Education frames the student as a member of a national community whose responsibilities include social harmony, respect for diversity, cooperation, and contribution to collective life. This pattern is reinforced by the Pancasila Student Profile, which identifies dimensions such as faith and noble character, global diversity, mutual cooperation, independence, critical reasoning, and creativity as desirable qualities of Indonesian students (Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology of the Republic of Indonesia, n.d.). In this context, gotong royong becomes especially important because it presents cooperation not as a secondary interpersonal skill but as a central civic capacity. Official descriptions define gotong royong as the ability to work together voluntarily so that shared activities become easier and more meaningful for the community (Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology of the Republic of Indonesia, n.d.). Leadership is linked not only to command or public authority, but also to the capacity to sustain collective life.

This Indonesian framing carries a distinctive gendered implication. Because leadership is linked to care, cooperation, harmony, and community responsibility, it can be interpreted as opening symbolic space for women's leadership through culturally recognized forms of relational authority. The point is not to claim that Indonesian curriculum directly produces women leaders, nor to romanticize care based leadership as automatically emancipatory. Rather, the official language of civic education provides a vocabulary through which leadership can be imagined as relational and communal instead of only hierarchical and institutional. The gendered significance of this pattern becomes clearer when read alongside scholarship on Indonesian gender politics, especially the idea of state ibuism. Suryakusuma describes state ibuism as a political and cultural formation that connects women's social value to motherhood, care, family, and service to the nation (Suryakusuma, 2011). Even when curriculum does not name ibuism directly, the broader socio cultural discourse remains relevant. When leadership is repeatedly connected to care and community, women's public recognition may become more culturally acceptable, while that recognition may still remain tied to morally approved forms of feminine responsibility.

The Indonesian case reveals an important ambiguity in the civic vocabulary of Pancasila and gotong royong. These concepts provide an inclusive image of leadership that is not limited to individual dominance or formal office. At the same time, they may attach women's leadership to expectations of care, harmony, and service. This ambiguity helps explain why a curriculum can appear gender neutral while still producing gendered meanings. The leadership pathway made visible in the Indonesian materials is not simply a path toward authority. It is a path toward socially recognized responsibility. Such responsibility may be more accessible to women when it is framed through community and care, but it may also reproduce expectations that women lead by serving others.

The South Korean materials construct leadership through a different set of civic meanings. The middle school civics curriculum and the broader national curriculum framework emphasize democratic citizenship, social participation, ethical judgment, respect for others, communication, self direction, and public responsibility (Ministry of Education of the Republic of Korea, 2022). These values are not explicitly gendered. They appear as general qualities expected of all students. Yet the way they are organized around democratic participation, institutional life, rational judgment, and public responsibility gives leadership a more formal civic character. In this context, leadership becomes recognizable through the ability to

deliberate, participate, communicate, make judgments, and act responsibly within public and institutional settings.

Compared with the Indonesian case, South Korean civic leadership is less strongly anchored in communal care and more strongly attached to institutional citizenship. The curriculum encourages students to become democratic citizens who can participate in public life and make ethical decisions, but the model of participation often resembles formal democratic competence. Leadership is associated with rational communication, public deliberation, merit, and social contribution. These qualities are valuable and necessary for democratic education, yet they may also overlap with social meanings historically associated with masculine coded public authority. From the perspective of representation, the important question is not whether the curriculum openly excludes girls. What matters is how the repeated association of leadership with institutional authority, rational judgment, competitive merit, and public presence makes some forms of leadership appear more legitimate than others.

The Korean case shows how gendered meaning can emerge even without explicit gender language. A curriculum can promote equality and democratic citizenship while still relying on leadership images that are culturally closer to formal authority than relational responsibility. This helps explain why women's high educational achievement does not automatically become equal leadership recognition. When students encounter leadership mainly through public institutions, rational decision making, and competitive forms of civic competence, the imagined leader may remain implicitly closer to masculine coded norms of authority. Korean civic education is not presented here as the direct cause of the country's glass ceiling. The argument is that curriculum may contribute to the symbolic conditions through which some leadership styles are more easily recognized as legitimate than others.

The comparison between the two cases shows that global education discourses are localized through different civic vocabularies. UNESCO's Global Citizenship Education emphasizes active participation, respect for diversity, cooperation, and responsibility toward local and global challenges (UNESCO, 2017, 2024). SDG 4.5 further frames gender equality as a core educational concern by calling for the elimination of gender disparities in education (United Nations, 2024). These global frameworks provide shared normative language, yet they enter national curricula through distinct civic histories. In Indonesia, global citizenship values are translated through Pancasila, gotong royong, national unity, and community responsibility. In South Korea, similar values are translated through democratic citizenship, public participation, ethical judgment, and institutional responsibility. Global discourse becomes meaningful through these local histories of citizenship formation rather than through simple adoption.

This localization contributes to different gendered leadership pathways. In Indonesia, the curriculum's emphasis on mutual cooperation, harmony, and community responsibility may support a model of leadership that is socially compatible with care based and relational forms of women's participation. In South Korea, the curriculum's emphasis on democratic competence, rational judgment, public responsibility, and institutional participation may support a model of leadership that remains closer to formal civic authority. The two curricula are not mirror opposites, since both contain cooperation, responsibility, ethics, and social participation. The meaningful difference lies in which qualities become central to the imagination of leadership and which qualities are more likely to be recognized as legitimate public capacity.

Table 2
Comparative Coding of Leadership Attributes

Analytical Dimension	Indonesia	South Korea	Gendered Interpretation
Civic vocabulary	Pancasila, gotong royong, national unity	Democratic citizenship, public participation, ethical judgment	Civic language shapes how leadership becomes recognizable
Leadership image	Relational and community oriented	Formal, rational, and institutionally oriented	Different leadership styles gain legitimacy
Key attributes	Cooperation, care, harmony, moral conduct	Rational judgment, merit, authority, public responsibility	Gendered meanings emerge without explicit gender language
Possible pathway	Care based and relational participation	Formal civic authority and institutional competence	Leadership becomes gendered through different symbolic routes
Main ambiguity	Opens space for women through care but may reproduce service expectations	Promotes participation but may privilege masculine coded authority	Neither model is entirely inclusive or exclusionary

The findings also reveal the importance of the hidden curriculum. Leadership education does not operate only through explicit lessons about leaders. It also works through examples, repeated language, expected behaviors, and the moral vocabulary used to define good citizenship. Jackson's concept of the hidden curriculum is useful here because school learning includes informal and implicit lessons about roles, authority, and social expectations (Jackson, 1968). Apple's work on curriculum and ideology also helps explain why school knowledge should be understood as socially organized rather than neutral (Apple, 2004). In this study, the hidden curriculum of leadership appears in the way civic education normalizes relationships between authority, care, responsibility, cooperation, and public action. These relationships shape what kinds of leadership become imaginable before students enter higher education or the labor market.

A major finding is that gender equality in education cannot be reduced to enrollment, access, or formal inclusion. Both South Korea and Indonesia have institutional commitments to education and citizenship formation, but the meanings attached to leadership differ. SDG 4.5 is relevant not only because it addresses gender disparities in education, but also because it raises a deeper question about the content of education itself. If leadership is taught through gendered assumptions about authority and care, equality requires more than equal access to schooling. It requires attention to how curricula define desirable citizenship, legitimate responsibility, and socially recognizable leadership.

The empirical puzzle of Indonesia's stronger representation of women in senior management and South Korea's persistent glass ceiling cannot be explained by curriculum alone. The findings instead point to the role of secondary curricula in forming the symbolic and cultural

conditions through which leadership is imagined. Indonesia's civic education materials make relational and community oriented leadership more visible, while South Korean civic materials give stronger emphasis to formal democratic competence and institutional responsibility. These different curricular patterns help clarify how leadership can become gendered even when gender is not directly named. Education thus appears not only as preparation for social life but as a site where the meanings of leadership, responsibility, and gender are produced before leadership outcomes become visible in the workplace.

Implications & Conclusion

The findings broaden how gender equality in education should be understood. SDG 4.5 calls for the elimination of gender disparities in education, yet the analysis in this paper suggests that equality also depends on how students learn to imagine authority, responsibility, participation, and leadership (United Nations, 2024). When leadership is represented through narrow assumptions about who appears responsible, rational, caring, public, or legitimate, gender inequality may remain present even inside formally inclusive curricula. Policy discussions on gender equity therefore need to move beyond enrollment, achievement, and access indicators and examine the symbolic messages embedded in civic education, moral education, and leadership related pedagogical materials.

Curriculum review becomes especially important at the level of language. Official materials deserve attention for explicit references to gender and for quieter patterns in how leadership qualities are described. Terms such as responsibility, cooperation, authority, care, merit, participation, and public service may appear neutral, yet their meanings change depending on the examples, activities, and role models through which they are taught. UNESCO's work on gender equality in education emphasizes teaching and learning practices, education content, and life opportunities as part of gender equality in and through education (UNESCO, 2019). This broader understanding supports a gender responsive approach that reads textbooks and curriculum frameworks as places where social roles and future possibilities are constructed for learners.

Table 3

Policy Implications for SDG 4.5

Area of Intervention	Problem Identified	Recommended Direction
Curriculum review	Leadership appears neutral but may carry gendered meanings	Examine recurring leadership vocabulary and role models
Civic education	Citizenship may normalize narrow ideas of authority or care	Represent leadership through plural civic practices
Teacher education	Classroom language may assign different expectations by gender	Train teachers to identify hidden gender codes
GCED implementation	Global values are localized differently across contexts	Adapt GCED with attention to local gendered meanings
SDG 4.5 monitoring	Gender equality is often measured through access	Include curriculum content and leadership representation

The Indonesian case offers an important lesson about the symbolic possibilities of relational and community oriented leadership. Pancasila and Citizenship Education gives strong emphasis to social harmony, mutual cooperation, moral conduct, and responsibility toward collective life. These emphases may help make leadership intelligible through community service and relational authority. At the same time, this pathway remains ambivalent because women's leadership may be recognized most readily when it is linked to care, harmony, and service. Indonesia therefore should not be treated as a simple model to be copied. Its case shows how culturally grounded forms of civic leadership can widen the symbolic field of leadership while still carrying gendered expectations that require critical reflection.

The South Korean case raises a different policy concern. Civic education that emphasizes democratic participation, rational judgment, institutional responsibility, and public deliberation provides important foundations for democratic life. These values may become gendered, however, when they are repeatedly associated with formal authority, competitiveness, and public sphere legitimacy. Curriculum reform does not need to remove democratic competence or institutional participation from civic education. The more urgent task is to diversify the forms of leadership through which democratic citizenship is represented. Leadership can be taught as formal authority and public achievement, but it can also be presented through collaborative problem solving, ethical care, community mediation, and shared responsibility.

This argument matters directly for Global Citizenship Education. UNESCO presents GCED as a way to help learners understand interdependence, respect diversity, work together, and participate actively in addressing shared challenges (UNESCO, 2017, 2024). The findings of this paper show that these global values become educational practice through national histories, civic traditions, and local moral vocabularies. In Indonesia, global citizenship values are connected to Pancasila, gotong royong, diversity, and national unity. In South Korea, they are connected to democratic citizenship, public responsibility, ethical judgment, and institutional participation. Global frameworks such as GCED and SDG 4.5 therefore need to be implemented with close attention to how local curricula translate global ideals into particular gendered models of leadership.

Teachers and curriculum designers occupy a crucial position in this process. Leadership examples in classroom materials should include a wider range of figures, practices, and contexts. Activities should invite students to see leadership in deliberation, cooperation, care, conflict resolution, ethical judgment, and collective action. Teacher education can also help educators notice moments when apparently neutral classroom language assigns different expectations to boys and girls. UNESCO's gender responsive pedagogy resources emphasize that teaching practices and learning materials can play an important role in creating gender responsive learning environments (UNESCO IICBA, 2023). The same principle applies to leadership education because students learn leadership through formal content and through repeated classroom expectations about who speaks, who decides, who cares, and who represents the group.

For comparative education research, the contrast between Indonesia and South Korea shows the limits of explanations based only on economic development, educational attainment, or labor market participation. A curriculum based approach reveals how leadership is symbolically prepared before students enter universities, workplaces, or political institutions. Curriculum does not determine later leadership outcomes by itself, but it participates in the formation of cultural conditions that make some leadership styles more visible, more legitimate, or more socially acceptable than others. Comparative research on gender and leadership would

therefore benefit from closer attention to the early educational formation of civic identities and leadership imaginaries.

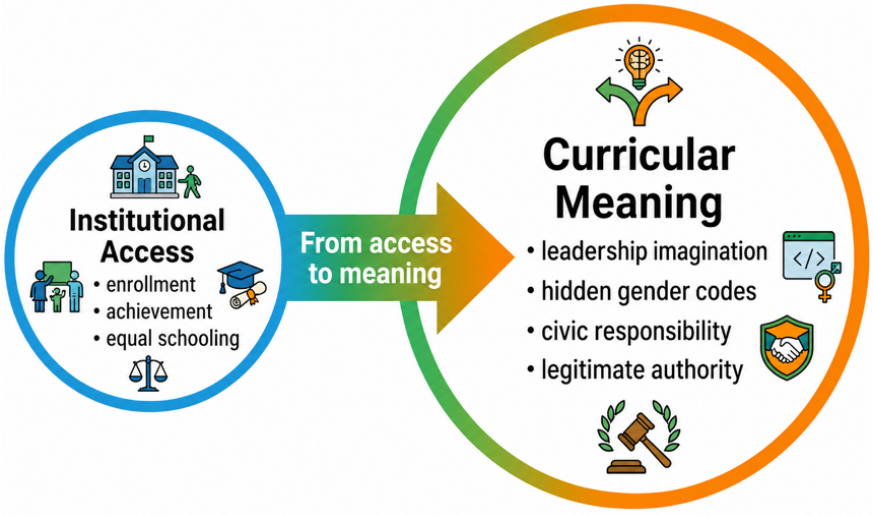
The discussion also connects to debates on student agency. OECD's Learning Compass 2030 emphasizes that students need knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values to shape the future and contribute to individual and collective well being (OECD, 2019). If agency is understood as the ability to act responsibly and influence one's surroundings, leadership education becomes an important part of student development. Agency is not gender neutral when the curriculum attaches different social meanings to authority, care, public action, and responsibility. A gender responsive approach to leadership education should help all students imagine themselves as capable of ethical action, civic participation, and social influence without restricting these capacities through gendered assumptions.

The central conclusion is that gendered leadership begins before the labor market. It is formed in part through curricular languages that teach students what counts as responsibility, who can be imagined as a leader, and which forms of public action are treated as legitimate. Indonesia and South Korea show two different ways that civic education can construct leadership. The Indonesian materials make relational and community oriented leadership more visible, while the South Korean materials give stronger emphasis to formal democratic competence and institutional responsibility. Neither pattern is entirely inclusive or entirely exclusionary. Both reveal how leadership can be gendered through meanings that appear civic, moral, and educational rather than explicitly discriminatory.

The paper returns finally to SDG 4.5 because the promise of gender equality in education cannot be fulfilled through access alone. Equal access matters, but students also need educational materials that expand rather than narrow their imagination of leadership. The deeper work of curriculum analysis lies in examining the hidden gendered meanings embedded in civic learning. A curriculum that teaches authority, responsibility, care, cooperation, and participation in more plural ways can help create broader pathways through which young people of all genders may imagine themselves as legitimate leaders.

Figure 4

Expanding SDG 4.5 From Institutional Access to Curricular Meaning



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