PICPE
PROCEEDINGS
of The International Conference
on Psychology and Education

Beyond attendance: Psychological empowerment and meaningful women's participation in Indonesian village decision-making

Muhammad Firdaus Ismail[1] and M. Suharsono[1]
[1]Soegijapranata Catholic University, Semarang, Indonesia

Abstract. In Indonesia, the formal presence of women in village deliberative forums has grown, yet being represented or attending meetings does not necessarily give women influence over collective decisions. This narrative literature review examines why women's participation may remain symbolic and how community empowerment can support a shift toward meaningful influence. Thirty-two sources were drawn from international databases (Scopus, Google Scholar, ScienceDirect, Wiley, SpringerLink, and Taylor & Francis Online) and Indonesian indexes (SINTA and Garuda) and retained after relevance screening and full-text verification. The analysis drew on two lenses: Psychological Empowerment Theory and the ladder of citizen participation developed by Arnstein. The findings show that meaningful participation is limited by personal and structural conditions that operate together. For individual women, perceived competence, sociopolitical understanding, access to information, and behavioral engagement shape women's capacity to use participatory spaces. Within communities, formal access can coexist with elite-controlled agendas, unequal deliberative norms, and weak mechanisms for translating women's input into decisions. Capacity-building alone is therefore insufficient. A two-pathway community empowerment model is proposed: sustained development of psychological empowerment must be accompanied by institutional changes that increase women's influence over agendas, deliberation, and decisions. The paper contributes a community-psychological explanation of why increasing participation does not automatically produce empowerment.

Keywords: Psychological empowerment; meaningful participation; women's participation; community psychology; village governance; Indonesia

1 Introduction

Community empowerment is concerned not simply with involving residents in programmes but with expanding their capacity to shape the conditions that affect their lives. Community psychologists describe empowerment as operating across multiple levels, enabling individuals to gain control, competence, and opportunities for collective action in their social and institutional settings (Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995; Rappaport, 1987; Zimmerman, 1995). This orientation is particularly important for gender-responsive development because women may be formally included in community institutions while remaining weakly positioned to influence decisions. A numerical increase in participation can therefore coexist with limited substantive power. Feminist empowerment scholarship similarly treats

empowerment as a process of challenging unequal power relations rather than merely extending access to services or resources (Batliwala, 1994; Rowlands, 1997).

The distinction between presence and influence is central to this problem. Arnstein (1969) argued that citizen participation should be assessed according to the extent of power redistributed to citizens rather than the mere existence of participatory procedures. Her ladder separates forms of nonparticipation from tokenistic arrangements and from arrangements in which citizens hold real power. Although it originated in another policy context, the framework remains useful for analysing contemporary participatory arrangements because it directs attention to who can shape agendas, deliberation, and outcomes. Later scholarship on the ladder likewise argues that its central concern with the distribution of power remains useful for analysing public engagement beyond its original setting (Lauria & Slotterback, 2020). In gender and development scholarship, empowerment similarly concerns women's capacity to exercise meaningful choice and agency rather than simply gaining access to resources or programmes (Kabeer, 1999; Mosedale, 2005).

The issue is highly relevant in Indonesia. Under the Village Law, Musyawarah Desa was created as a space in which the village government, the Village Consultative Body, and community representatives jointly deliberate on strategic village affairs. The legal framework has subsequently evolved. The 2024 amendment to the Village Law requires democratic recruitment of Village Consultative Body members while taking into account 30% women's representation, strengthening the formal basis for women's presence in village decision-making (Republik Indonesia, 2024). Indonesia has also maintained a national gender-mainstreaming mandate through Presidential Instruction No. 9 of 2000 (Republik Indonesia, 2000). These provisions demonstrate that the problem is no longer adequately described as a complete absence of formal access. Government programmes have also moved toward gender-responsive village models, including the national model of women-friendly and child-caring villages (DRPPA) promoted by the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak Republik Indonesia, 2023).

Inclusion on paper, however, is no assurance of real influence. Recent studies of governance in Indonesian villages indicate that participatory village meetings may remain elite-dominated and may not consistently strengthen accountability between residents and local decision-makers (Haryanto et al., 2025). Syukri (2022, 2023) similarly argues that participatory village governance has often been channelled toward economic and infrastructural development without sufficiently transforming underlying gender relations. Research focused more directly on women shows that gendered divisions of leadership and decision-making persist even where women are active in local organisations and economic activities (Amandaria et al., 2026). At the same time, women can exercise meaningful influence through less visible routes. Indriyany et al. (2025) document female brokers who help other villagers navigate public services, while Diprose (2023) demonstrates how empowerment-oriented civil society organisations can broker knowledge, organisational resources, spaces of influence, and supportive networks for rural women.

Taken together, this evidence implies that the limited influence of women is neither simply a shortfall in individual capacity nor solely an institutional failure. Psychological empowerment theory provides one explanation for the individual and behavioural side of participation. Zimmerman (1995) distinguishes three components of psychological empowerment—intrapersonal, interactional, and behavioural—which together make it possible to analyse perceived competence and control, understanding of the sociopolitical environment, and actions undertaken to influence that environment. At the same time, participation is shaped by whether community institutions provide genuine opportunities to exercise such capacity. The interaction between these conditions is consistent with broader

community-psychological work emphasising that empowerment develops through relationships and contexts rather than through individual attributes alone (Christens, 2012).

Studies on this topic in Indonesian villages nevertheless remain scattered, each addressing a separate aspect of how women take part and gain power. One line of work focuses on the political involvement and representation of women in village regulation and deliberation, including the institutional arrangements intended to facilitate women's involvement in village deliberation (Purwanti & Setiawan, 2020). Other research has examined participatory village governance primarily from the perspective of gender policy and institutional arrangements, showing that participatory governance policies have not necessarily transformed underlying gender relations or expanded attention to gender inequality in village development (Syukri, 2023). A third strand, centred on empowerment, traces how women come to exert leverage over local powerholders, including through access to knowledge, organisational resources, networks, and negotiated spaces for participation (Diprose, 2023). Taken together, these studies indicate that women's participation, institutional arrangements, and empowerment have been examined through related but not fully integrated analytical lenses.

This review addresses this gap by bringing the psychological and institutional dimensions together. It asks: (1) why does women's formal participation in Indonesian village decision-making not consistently translate into substantive influence; (2) how do Psychological Empowerment Theory and Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation help explain this gap; and (3) what community empowerment model can connect women's psychological capacity with institutional conditions for meaningful participation? The paper argues that meaningful participation is best understood as an interaction between women's psychological capacity and the quality of participatory structures.

2 Method

A Narrative Literature Review (NLR) design was adopted to integrate findings concerning psychological empowerment, the participation of women, and collective decision-making in Indonesian villages. This design suited a body of work that crosses several fields—village governance, Indonesian policy, community psychology, and gender and development studies—and that therefore calls for interpretive integration across different types of evidence rather than statistical aggregation. Narrative reviews are well suited to wide-ranging conceptual inquiry and to evidence produced by varied methods; their rigour, however, rests on transparent searching, explicit selection principles, and reasoned synthesis (Baumeister & Leary, 1997; Ferrari, 2015; Green et al., 2006; Sukhera, 2022).

Eight databases were searched: Scopus and Google Scholar as general indexes; ScienceDirect, SpringerLink, Wiley Online Library, and Taylor & Francis Online as publisher platforms; and SINTA and Garuda as Indonesian national indexes. Search strings combined terms relating to women, participation, village governance, community empowerment, psychological empowerment, Musyawarah Desa, and citizen participation. Peer-reviewed studies appearing from 2015 to 2025 received priority, whereas older seminal works were kept whenever they were needed to define the theoretical constructs. The final analytical corpus comprised 32 sources. The corpus included peer-reviewed empirical studies, foundational theoretical publications, Indonesian regulations, and selected institutional reports directly relevant to the research questions.

Selection proceeded through four practical stages: identifying potentially relevant records, screening titles and abstracts for relevance, assessing full texts, and confirming

inclusion against the study criteria. Sources were included when they explicitly addressed women's participation or empowerment, community or village governance, participatory decision-making, or the theoretical frameworks used in the analysis. Sources were excluded when they focused exclusively on domestic participation, lacked a traceable original source, or did not provide a substantive connection to community decision-making. Since the review followed a narrative design and was not registered as a systematic review, no PRISMA-style retrieval count is reported; the manuscript instead reports the final corpus and the principles used to construct it.

Each empirical claim was checked against the original article or institutional document where available. Review quality and reporting were guided by SANRA, the Scale for the Assessment of Narrative Review Articles (Baethge et al., 2019), with attention to the clarity of the research question, transparency of the search strategy, appropriate referencing, and strength of scientific reasoning. SANRA served as a reporting guide rather than as a tool for appraising bias in individual studies. Analysis proceeded through thematic coding of three linked domains: psychological empowerment, quality of participation, and decision-making influence. The synthesis then mapped these domains across three analytical levels—individual capacity, community interaction, and institutional decision-making—and interpreted the resulting patterns through Psychological Empowerment Theory and Arnstein's Ladder.

The review does not claim statistical generalisability to all Indonesian villages. The evidence base contains geographically and institutionally diverse studies, including case-based research, and the synthesis therefore identifies recurring mechanisms and propositions rather than estimating national prevalence. This limitation is particularly important when interpreting statements about tokenism: the review treats consultation and placation as analytical patterns that recur in the literature, not as a uniform classification of every Musyawarah Desa.

3 Results and discussion

The synthesis points to a consistent tension between formal inclusion and substantive influence. The Indonesian policy environment has progressively expanded the institutional basis for participation. Musyawarah Desa is legally recognised as a forum for deliberating strategic village matters, while the 2024 amendment reinforces the presence of women in the Village Consultative Body by setting a 30% representation provision (Republik Indonesia, 2024). The national gender-mainstreaming framework further establishes gender equality as a cross-cutting responsibility in development planning (Republik Indonesia, 2000). These developments matter because they reduce the plausibility of explaining women's exclusion solely as a lack of formal opportunity.

However, institutional access is only the first condition of participation. Haryanto et al. (2025), drawing on village meetings across Indonesia, found that deliberative forums can remain irregular and elite-dominated, although more egalitarian and responsive villages can produce more active participation. Syukri (2022) similarly shows that participatory village governance can reproduce hierarchical forms of authority, while Syukri (2023) finds that gender policy within the new participatory village governance framework has been more strongly connected to developmental priorities than to transforming traditional gender structures. The implication is not that village deliberation is inherently ineffective, but that its democratic potential depends on the surrounding distribution of power.

From Arnstein's perspective, this distinction is critical. A woman may receive information, be invited to a meeting, or be asked for an opinion without gaining meaningful control over the decision. The reviewed Indonesian evidence is therefore more consistent with the intermediate, tokenistic rungs of Arnstein's ladder, notably consultation and placation, than with the upper rungs at which citizens hold real power. Amandaria et al.

(2026) provide a useful illustration: in Ampekale Village, women were active in local economic organisations and community activities, whereas leadership roles and decisions about infrastructure stayed largely in men's hands. This pattern suggests that limits on the involvement of women do not stem only from ability or motivation; it is also structured by which domains of community decision-making are socially recognised as legitimate arenas for women's influence.

This finding shifts the problem away from securing the presence of women in deliberative forums and toward transforming what occurs once they are present. Meaningful participation requires that women can influence the formulation of agendas, the substance of deliberation, the prioritisation of alternatives, and the decisions that are eventually adopted. In other words, attendance is an access indicator, whereas influence is an empowerment indicator. This distinction is in line with Kabeer (1999), who ties empowerment to agency and to women's capacity to exercise strategic choice, and with Cornwall (2016), who criticises development interventions for framing empowerment as a uniform programme result instead of a journey that women themselves navigate.

Psychological Empowerment Theory helps explain why formal participation does not automatically become influence. The intrapersonal component concerns perceived competence, control, and confidence in one's capacity to affect sociopolitical environments. In a village forum where leadership is culturally coded as male, women may enter the forum without experiencing themselves as legitimate decision-makers. This does not mean that women inherently lack confidence. Rather, confidence and perceived control are shaped by prior experiences, social expectations, and opportunities to exercise agency. The literature on women's empowerment likewise warns against treating agency as an individual psychological trait detached from power relations (Kabeer, 1999; Mosedale, 2005).

The interactional component is equally important. Psychological empowerment involves understanding the social and political environment: knowing how decisions are made, identifying influential actors, accessing relevant information, and recognising opportunities for action (Zimmerman, 1995). Indriyany et al. (2025) provide a particularly revealing Indonesian example. Female brokers develop practical knowledge of public services and networks through helping other women navigate village institutions. Their influence exists, but often outside the formal deliberative arena. This suggests that women may possess substantial interactional competence while still lacking institutional channels through which that competence can shape collective decisions.

The behavioural component concerns participation in actions that seek to influence the community. Here, the evidence suggests a feedback problem. Where women hold little information and occupy marginal positions in decision-making networks, they may engage less assertively; limited opportunities to exercise influence then provide fewer experiences through which perceived control and competence can develop. Conversely, repeated opportunities to organise, speak, negotiate, and observe that one's actions have consequences can strengthen empowerment. This interpretation is consistent with community-psychological scholarship that treats empowerment as a process embedded in social relationships rather than an individual possession (Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995; Christens, 2012).

The combined evidence therefore points to a two-sided mechanism. Psychological empowerment can increase women's readiness and capacity to use participatory spaces, but its effects are constrained when those spaces remain structurally unequal. Conversely, institutional reforms can create access without producing influence if women lack information, confidence, networks, or opportunities to act. This is why capacity-building programmes that rely primarily on short-term training are unlikely to be sufficient. Cornwall (2016) emphasises the importance of sustained pathways of empowerment, while Grabe

(2012) shows that women's empowerment is shaped by both individual agency and structural conditions. Diprose (2023) shows that civil society organisations can provide brokerage that connects marginalised women to knowledge, collective organisation, influential actors, and spaces of decision-making.

The role of brokerage is particularly relevant for community empowerment practice. This interpretation is also consistent with evidence that participation is unlikely to become empowering when institutional arrangements do not provide participants with meaningful opportunities to challenge unresponsive structures (Wallerstein, 2006). Diprose (2023) shows that empowerment-oriented civil society organisations can operate across scales: strengthening the organisational base of marginalised groups, creating spaces in which women can influence powerholders, and building networks and coalitions. The implication for village-level practice is that external facilitators should not merely act as proxies who voice concerns on behalf of women. Their role is better understood as temporary institutional scaffolding that helps women build their own organisational and relational power. Over time, brokerage should increase women's direct capacity to navigate and reshape decision-making institutions rather than create a permanent intermediary dependency.

The evidence from Indonesia also suggests that informal influence should not be dismissed because it occurs outside formal forums. Indriyany et al. (2025) show that female brokers can mediate access to public services and connect ordinary women to village institutions. Such practices demonstrate agency and social competence, but they do not automatically alter formal resource allocation or collective priorities. The community empowerment challenge is therefore to create pathways through which existing informal capacities can be translated into legitimate formal participation. This is a more realistic proposition than assuming that women must first attain empowerment in some abstract sense before entering public decision-making.

Cross-context evidence provides a useful, but bounded, comparison. Francis and Niumai (2021) found that participation in Kudumbashree in Kerala could increase women's confidence and social visibility and create pathways into local political institutions, while patriarchal norms continued to constrain political equality. The case is not a model to be transplanted mechanically to Indonesia. Its analytical value lies in demonstrating that collective organisations can simultaneously strengthen psychological capacities and open institutional pathways, while also showing that structural gender norms may persist. The lesson is therefore about mechanism rather than replication.

On the basis of the synthesis, the paper proposes a two-pathway community empowerment model. Pathway A is psychological: sustained processes strengthen intrapersonal, interactional, and behavioural empowerment through repeated opportunities for learning, deliberation, collective organising, negotiation, and reflection. Pathway B is institutional: community governance reforms make participation consequential by widening agenda-setting opportunities, improving deliberative procedures, making the response to women's proposals visible, and establishing accountability for how community inputs are translated into decisions. The two pathways are mutually reinforcing. Psychological capacity without institutional opportunity risks producing confident participants whose proposals remain peripheral; institutional access without psychological and relational capacity risks producing formally represented but weakly influential participants.

The model also changes how empowerment outcomes should be evaluated. Counting the number of women attending Musyawarah Desa is useful as an access measure but insufficient as an empowerment outcome. More meaningful indicators include whether women can introduce agenda items, whether their proposals enter deliberation, whether they can question or negotiate alternatives, whether decision-makers provide reasons for accepting or rejecting proposals, and whether women's priorities are reflected in final plans and resource

allocations. Such indicators move evaluation from representation to influence and are more consistent with both psychological empowerment and Arnstein's emphasis on the distribution of decision-making power.

At the practice level, four implications follow. First, capacity development should be continuous and linked to real decision-making opportunities rather than delivered as isolated training. Second, facilitators should strengthen women's access to information, networks, and procedural knowledge so that interactional empowerment becomes usable in actual forums. Third, village institutions should make the route from participation to decision explicit through agenda-setting mechanisms, deliberative rules, feedback, and accountability. Fourth, community organisations and civil society actors can provide brokerage where structural barriers are high, but brokerage should be designed to build durable local power rather than substitute for it. These measures operationalise the central proposition that meaningful participation requires both empowered participants and empowering institutions.

The synthesis should nevertheless be interpreted cautiously. The literature is uneven across regions and uses different definitions of participation, empowerment, and influence. The narrative design also allows interpretive judgement in selecting and connecting evidence. Accordingly, the model is offered as a proposition derived from theory, not as an empirically verified causal account. Subsequent studies could examine it using mixed-method and longitudinal designs, for example by measuring psychological empowerment before and after sustained community interventions and tracking whether women's proposals are subsequently reflected in village agendas, deliberation, and resource decisions.

4 Conclusion and implications

This review argues that the central challenge in women's participation in Indonesian village governance is no longer only whether women are permitted to participate, but whether participation gives them meaningful influence. The formal architecture for inclusion has expanded, including gender mainstreaming and the strengthened representation requirement in the Village Consultative Body. Yet the reviewed evidence indicates that participatory spaces can remain shaped by unequal norms, elite control, and weak mechanisms for converting women's input into decisions.

Psychological Empowerment Theory explains the individual and behavioural conditions that enable women to use participatory spaces: perceived competence and control, understanding of the sociopolitical environment, and action. Arnstein's Ladder adds the structural question of how much power participants actually receive. Read together, the two lenses suggest that meaningful participation emerges when psychological capacity and institutional opportunity reinforce each other. This is the principal community-psychological contribution of the review.

The proposed two-pathway model therefore shifts the focus of community empowerment from attendance to influence. Strengthening women's confidence, knowledge, networks, and behavioural engagement is necessary but insufficient when decision-making structures remain closed or tokenistic. Conversely, opening formal spaces without changing women's capacity to use them can produce representation without substantive power. Community empowerment practice should consequently measure not only who participates, but whose concerns shape agendas, deliberation, and final decisions.

The paper does not claim that this model explains every village or that the current evidence establishes causal effects. Rather, it offers a theoretically grounded synthesis that can guide future empirical testing. Its practical value lies in connecting a psychological question—how women develop the capacity to act—with a community question—whether the social and institutional environment allows that capacity to matter.

Acknowledgements: The authors thank colleagues and academic mentors who commented on earlier drafts of this paper.

Funding: The authors did not obtain external financial support for this research.

Data Availability: This study did not generate primary data from human participants. The review is based on published literature, publicly available policy documents, and institutional reports identified in the Method section.

Authors' Contributions Statement: Muhammad Firdaus Ismail: conceptualization, methodology, literature search, analysis, and manuscript drafting. M. Suharsono: academic supervision, critical revision, and editing of the manuscript.

Competing Interest: The authors have no conflicts of interest to disclose.

References

Amandaria, R., Darma, R., Tamrin, S., Rahmadanih, & Untari, U. (2026). Gender dynamics in local organizations: Enhancing community participation for sustainable rural development in Indonesia. Frontiers in Sociology, 10, Article 1673863. https://doi.org/10.3389/fsoc.2025.1673863

Arnstein, S. R. (1969). A ladder of citizen participation. Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 35(4), 216–224. https://doi.org/10.1080/01944366908977225

Baethge, C., Goldbeck-Wood, S., & Mertens, S. (2019). SANRA—a scale for the quality assessment of narrative review articles. Research Integrity and Peer Review, 4, Article 5. https://doi.org/10.1186/s41073-019-0064-8

Batliwala, S. (1994). The meaning of women's empowerment: New concepts from action. In G. Sen, A. Germain, & L. C. Chen (Eds.), Population policies reconsidered: Health, empowerment, and rights (pp. 127–138). Harvard University Press.

Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1997). Writing narrative literature reviews. Review of General Psychology, 1(3), 311–320. https://doi.org/10.1037/1089-2680.1.3.311

Christens, B. D. (2012). Toward relational empowerment. American Journal of Community Psychology, 50(1–2), 114–128. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-011-9483-5

Cornwall, A. (2016). Women's empowerment: What works? Journal of International Development, 28(3), 342–359. https://doi.org/10.1002/jid.3210

Diprose, R. (2023). Brokerage, power and gender equity: How empowerment-focused civil society organisations bolster women's influence in rural Indonesia. Journal of International Development, 35(3), 401–425. https://doi.org/10.1002/jid.3770

Diprose, R., Savirani, A., Setiawan, K., & Francis, N. (2020). Women's collective action and the village law: How women are driving change and shaping pathways for gender-inclusive development in rural Indonesia. The University of Melbourne, Universitas Gadjah Mada, & MAMPU. https://doi.org/10.46580/124326

Diprose, R., Savirani, A., & Wells, T. (2020). Gender-inclusive development and decentralised governance: Promoting women's voice and influence through collective action in rural Indonesia (Research and Policy Brief 1). The University of Melbourne, Universitas Gadjah Mada, & MAMPU. https://doi.org/10.46580/124335

Ferrari, R. (2015). Writing narrative style literature reviews. Medical Writing, 24(4), 230–235. https://doi.org/10.1179/2047480615Z.000000000329

Francis, J., & Niumai, A. (2021). Gender and notions of patriarchy: Analysis of political empowerment of women through Kudumbashree in Kottayam, Kerala. The Eastern Anthropologist, 74(4), 425–444.

Grabe, S. (2012). An empirical examination of women's empowerment and transformative change in the context of international development. American Journal of Community Psychology, 49(1–2), 233–245. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-011-9453-y

Green, B. N., Johnson, C. D., & Adams, A. (2006). Writing narrative literature reviews for peer-reviewed journals: Secrets of the trade. Journal of Chiropractic Medicine, 5(3), 101–117. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0899-3467(07)60142-6

Haryanto, Berenschot, W., & Aspinall, E. (2025). Participation without accountability: Deliberative democracy in village Indonesia. South East Asia Research, 33(1), 49–67. https://doi.org/10.1080/0967828X.2025.2483162

Indriyany, I. A., Irwan, A. I. U., Savirani, A., & Jayadi, S. (2025). In women we trust: Female brokers in Indonesian village governance. South East Asia Research, 33(1), 105–121. https://doi.org/10.1080/0967828X.2025.2483923

Kabeer, N. (1994). Reversed realities: Gender hierarchies in development thought. Verso.

Kabeer, N. (1999). Resources, agency, achievements: Reflections on the measurement of women's empowerment. Development and Change, 30(3), 435–464. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-7660.00125

Kabeer, N. (2005). Gender equality and women's empowerment: A critical analysis of the third Millennium Development Goal. Gender & Development, 13(1), 13–24. https://doi.org/10.1080/13552070512331332273

Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak Republik Indonesia. (2023). Keputusan Sekretaris Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak Republik Indonesia Nomor 186 Tahun 2023 tentang Tim Pendamping Nasional dalam Pengembangan Model Desa dan Kelurahan Ramah Perempuan dan Peduli Anak.

Lauria, M., & Slotterback, C. S. (Eds.). (2020). Learning from Arnstein's ladder: From citizen participation to public engagement. Routledge.

Mosedale, S. (2005). Assessing women's empowerment: Towards a conceptual framework. Journal of International Development, 17(2), 243–257. https://doi.org/10.1002/jid.1212

Perkins, D. D., & Zimmerman, M. A. (1995). Empowerment theory, research, and application. American Journal of Community Psychology, 23(5), 569–579. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02506982

Purwanti, A., & Setiawan, F. A. (2020). Implementation of Law Number 6 of 2014 on villages related to the political participation of women in village regulation in Indonesia. *Yustisia Jurnal Hukum, 9*(1), 21–36. https://doi.org/10.20961/yustisia.v9i1.35673

Rappaport, J. (1987). Terms of empowerment/exemplars of prevention: Toward a theory for community psychology. American Journal of Community Psychology, 15(2), 121–148. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00919275

Republik Indonesia. (2000). Instruksi Presiden Nomor 9 Tahun 2000 tentang Pengarusutamaan Gender dalam Pembangunan Nasional.

Republik Indonesia. (2024). Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 3 Tahun 2024 tentang Perubahan Kedua atas Undang-Undang Nomor 6 Tahun 2014 tentang Desa.

Rowlands, J. (1997). Questioning empowerment: Working with women in Honduras. Oxfam.

Sukhera, J. (2022). Narrative reviews: Flexible, rigorous, and practical. Journal of Graduate Medical Education, 14(4), 414–417. https://doi.org/10.4300/JGME-D-22-00480.1

Syukri, M. (2022). Indonesia's new developmental state: Interrogating participatory village governance. Journal of Contemporary Asia, 54(1), 2–23. https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2022.2089904

Syukri, M. (2023). Gender policies of the new developmental state: The case of Indonesian new participatory village governance. Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs, 42(1), 110–133. https://doi.org/10.1177/18681034221149750

UN Women. (2023). Progress on the sustainable development goals: The gender snapshot 2023. UN Women & UN DESA. https://data.unwomen.org/publications/progress-sustainable-development-goals-gender-snapshot-2023

Wallerstein, N. (2006). What is the evidence on effectiveness of empowerment to improve health? WHO Regional Office for Europe, Health Evidence Network.

Zimmerman, M. A. (1995). Psychological empowerment: Issues and illustrations. American Journal of Community Psychology, 23(5), 581–599. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02506983