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The Transformation of Women's Political Participation as an Expression of Citizenship Rights in Rural Communities: A Case Study of Teluk Pandan Village, East Kutai, East Kalimantan

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Abstract: This study aims to analyze the transformation of women's political participation in Teluk Pandan Village, East Kutai, East Kalimantan; identify its driving factors and barriers; and interpret it as the realization of civic rights. The study employs a qualitative approach using a case study design. Data were collected through in-depth interviews with 11 informants selected purposively from five groups: the village government, members of the Village Consultative Body, female leaders, female villagers, and male community leaders. The data were analyzed using the Miles et al. model with NVivo 15. The results indicate that women's participation has gradually shifted from passive to active, though this shift remains uneven. Women are now present and have begun to voice proposals in village deliberations and have representation on the Village Consultative Body, but their influence on strategic decisions remains limited. This shift is driven by the Village Law, regular deliberations, empowerment programs, and women's organizations such as the PKK. Barriers include the absence of village regulations regarding women's involvement, norms that confine women to household duties, the double burden, and uneven levels of self-confidence. Women's political rights have been formally realized, but their substantive fulfillment is still a work in progress. Close social ties, as well as the values of mutual cooperation and deliberation, have also contributed to this change.

INTRODUCTION

Women's political participation is one way of exercising their rights as citizens and an important indicator of the quality of democracy (Marshall, 1950). Women's representation in politics remains unequal. Women's political participation is an important indicator of democratic representation and political equality. However, women remain underrepresented in national parliaments worldwide. According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU, 2026), women held 27.5% of seats in national parliaments globally as of 1 January 2026, representing an increase of only 0.3 percentage points from the previous year. In Indonesia, women's representation in the House of Representatives (DPR) increased from 11.3% in 2004 to 21.9% following the 2024 general election (Rambe et al., 2025) .This figure still falls short of the requirement for at least 30% female representation on candidate slates, as stipulated in Article 245 of Law No. 7 of 2017 on General Elections. Aspinall et al. (2021) This indicates that patriarchal norms and structural barriers continue to limit women's representation. This situation raises questions about how women's political rights and participation are exercised at the level of government closest to the community—namely, the village.

Law No. 6 of 2014 on Villages expands the authority of villages and strengthens opportunities for citizen participation in planning and decision-making through village deliberations. Ministry of Home Affairs Regulation No. 110 of 2016 on the Village Consultative Body (BPD) also regulates the composition of BPD members and women's representation. Thus, normatively, women have opportunities to participate in village governance. However, the availability of formal opportunities does not necessarily result in meaningful participation. Based on monitoring of a number of sample villages, Syukri (2023) reported that women accounted for 22.6% of participants and 14.1% of speakers at village-level meetings from 2015 to 2017. Women who attended often did not voice their opinions, while the voices that were heard tended to come

from women in the village elite. These findings indicate that attendance, opportunities to speak, and influence on decisions are distinct dimensions of participation.

The issue of women's participation is also relevant in the context of East Kalimantan. The province's Human Development Index stood at 78.79 in 2024, while the Gender Inequality Index was recorded at 0.441 in the same year (East Kalimantan Provincial Statistics Agency, 2024, 2025). Study Elmhirst et al. (2017) shows that community involvement in oil palm plantations in East Kalimantan is shaped by gender and generational dynamics. Greenpeace Indonesia (2016) also documented environmental changes and impacts on village resources resulting from coal mining. This article focuses on Teluk Pandan Village, East Kutai Regency. A publication by the East Kutai Regency Central Statistics Agency (BPS) (2024) serves as one source of regional context; it is important to verify that the population figures and land area data cited refer to the village level, not the subdistrict level. This local context is crucial because women's opportunities for participation are influenced by local social, economic, cultural, and institutional conditions.

The analysis in this study combines three perspectives. Verba & Nie (1972) Political participation is understood as actions taken by citizens to influence the election of officials and government decisions. In the context of villages, participation can take the form of deliberations, community activities, interactions with village officials, and involvement in village institutions. Moser (1993) helps explain how reproductive, productive, and community management roles, as well as differences in practical and strategic gender needs, shape opportunities for women's participation. Meanwhile, Marshall (1950) views political rights as part of citizenship rights, including the opportunity to participate in the exercise of political power. This framework is consistent with Article 28D, paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia regarding equal opportunities in government. These three perspectives allow participation to be assessed not only in terms of presence, but also in terms of women's ability to voice their aspirations and influence decisions.

Previous studies have largely examined women's participation in elections and their representation in parliament, including the impact of quotas and nomination systems (Aspinall et al., 2021. In fact, political participation also takes place outside of elections. Dewi et al. (2025), Through a survey of members of women's organizations, the study identified gender training, social capital, and political efficacy as factors associated with non-electoral participation. However, the fact that the sample consisted largely of women from urban areas limits the direct applicability of these findings to rural women. At the cross-national level, Mlambo & Kapingura (2019) identified a relationship between labor force participation, governance quality, political culture, and women's political participation. These macro-level findings should still be interpreted with due consideration for institutional dynamics and social relations at the village level.

Research at the village level shows that women's participation still faces barriers related to representation, the double burden, family support, education, age, and social norms. Marwah (2019) found that women's contributions to the economy of coastal villages in southern Java have not always been accompanied by equal participation in village politics and administration. Aisyah et al. (2025) indicates that women's representation on the Rantau Bayur Village Council in Banyuasin has not automatically led to substantive influence. Amandaria et al. (2025) It also noted a trend toward male dominance in leadership and planning in Ampekale Village. On the other hand, women can play a role in development and the accountability of village programs, as demonstrated Humaedi et al. (2025), Meanwhile, the PKK has been studied as one of the arenas for women's empowerment (Dewi, 2023). This literature indicates that villages can be both spaces where inequality is perpetuated and spaces for building women's political capacity and influence.

Based on this review, this article seeks to fill a gap in the research by examining the process of transformation in women's political participation in Teluk Pandan Village, East Kalimantan, and interpreting that process as the exercise of citizenship rights. The analytical novelty of this research lies in the integration of political participation theory, a gender framework, and the concept of citizenship within a single case study; the use of participation stages—namely, presence, voice, and influence; and the analysis of factors at the micro, meso, and macro levels. The micro level encompasses awareness, self-confidence, and political efficacy; the meso level includes

the family, the PKK, social networks, village deliberations, and the Village Consultative Council (BPD); while the macro level encompasses affirmative policies and village governance.

This study poses four questions: (1) how has women's political participation in Teluk Pandan Village transformed from mere presence to having a voice and influence; (2) what micro, meso, and macro factors drive or hinder this transformation; (3) To what extent does this transformation reflect the fulfillment of women's political rights as citizens; and (4) How does the local context of Teluk Pandan Village shape this transformation process?

In line with this question, this study aims to analyze the shift in women's political participation from a passive form to a more active one, identify the driving factors and barriers, assess its relationship to the fulfillment of political rights as citizens, and explain the role of the local context in shaping that change.

Theoretically, this study is expected to enrich the discourse on women's political participation by synthesizing Verba and Nie's perspectives on political participation, Moser's gender framework, and Marshall's concept of citizenship. Practically, the study's findings are expected to serve as a basis for reflection for village governments and Village Consultative Councils (BPD) to strengthen deliberative processes that provide space for women not only to participate but also to voice their aspirations and influence decisions. In citizenship education, this study can be used to discuss the exercise of political rights in everyday life at the local level.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study employs a qualitative approach using the case study research design. The qualitative approach was chosen to understand the meanings participants ascribe to their experiences and social processes in their natural context, while the case study research design was used to examine a process in depth within a specific context (Creswell & Creswell, 2023). The focus of this study is the changing nature of women's political participation in the political life of Teluk Pandan Village, East Kutai Regency, East Kalimantan. Teluk Pandan Village was selected because the researcher's initial observations indicated a shift in women's involvement in village political activities, which had previously been dominated by men. Its status as the subdistrict capital also allows for an in-depth examination of the dynamics of citizen participation at the village level.

The study's informants consisted of eleven individuals selected through purposive sampling—that is, based on their knowledge of and involvement in the village's sociopolitical life (Palinkas et al., 2015). Initial access to informants was obtained through recommendations from the village head. Because this method has the potential to introduce selection bias, information from various groups of informants was compared and did not rely solely on the views of the village government. Informants consisted of five groups: (1) the village head and village officials (two people); (2) members of the Village Consultative Council (BPD) or members of the village women's organization (two people); (3) female community leaders and PKK activists (two people); (4) female villagers (three people); and (5) male community, traditional, or religious leaders (two people). The inclusion of the last group was intended to capture the perspectives of those who have historically played a dominant role in village politics.

The primary data were collected through in-depth interviews using a semi-structured guide containing 38 core questions. The questions were tailored to the informant groups and indicators within the analytical framework, while still allowing the researcher to ask follow-up questions. Face-to-face interviews were conducted from August 14 to October 2, 2026, after the researcher submitted a research permission letter to the Village Head of Teluk Pandan. With the informants' consent, the interviews were recorded to ensure the accuracy of the transcripts. The interview data were supplemented with a review of village documents—including village regulations, meeting minutes, and the Village Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMDes)—to compare the informants' statements with institutional documentation.

This study distinguishes three levels of participation: presence, voice, and influence. "Presence" refers to women's physical presence in forums; "voice" means expressing opinions or proposals; and "influence" means that proposals are incorporated into village decisions or plans. These three categories are used to trace the shift from passive involvement to more substantive

participation. Driving and inhibiting factors are analyzed at three levels: micro (awareness, self-confidence, political efficacy, and individual role burdens), meso (family, community, PKK, social networks, village deliberations, and BPD), and macro (affirmative policies and village governance). Political rights serve as the primary lens, while civil and social rights dimensions are considered insofar as they relate to women's opportunities for participation.

Three theoretical perspectives were translated into indicators in line with the four research focuses: the transformation of participation; driving and inhibiting factors; the fulfillment of civic rights; and the distinctiveness of the local context. The indicators cover the shift from mere presence to the articulation of aspirations and influence on decision-making; the division of roles and time commitments; social norms and organizational support; access to village forums and offices; and the influence of customary norms, religion, the local economy, village history, and local institutions. Details on the research focuses, theories, and indicators are presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1. ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK AND INDICATORS

Focus	Theory	Indicators
The Transformation of Participation	Verba & Nie (1972)	A shift from merely being present to having a voice (speaking up and making proposals) and exerting influence (proposals being incorporated into decisions). This takes the form of community activities (village deliberations, development planning forums, PKK, religious and social groups), interactions with officials, and serving as a member of the Village Council (BPD) or holding a village office.
Driving and inhibiting factors	Moser (1993) dan Dewi et al. (2025)	Three roles and time constraints, practical and strategic needs, social norms, organizational support, gender training, social base, and political efficacy.
Fulfillment of Citizenship Rights	Marshall (1950)	Political rights as the primary lens—namely, access to meetings, the right to vote, influence over decisions, and the right to be elected. Civil and social rights that either enable or hinder political rights.
Local Distinctiveness	Local context	Customary and religious norms, the local economy, the village's history, and local institutions in Teluk Pandan Village.

Data analysis follows the model Miles et al. (2014), which includes data condensation, data presentation, and the drawing and verification of conclusions. Interview transcripts, field notes, and village documents were managed and coded using NVivo 15 software. The software was used to assist with data organization, code grouping, and pattern identification; interpretation was still carried out by the researcher (Dhakal, 2022).

During the condensation phase, the data were read repeatedly and coded deductively based on four research focuses, then expanded upon with inductive subcodes that emerged from the informants' statements. The codes were also grouped according to micro, meso, and macro levels. Analytical memos were used to document coding decisions and the development of interpretations (Allsop et al., 2022). During the data presentation stage, the coding results were compared across groups of informants and summarized in thematic descriptions and tables. During the conclusion-drawing stage, patterns and interpretations were reexamined by referring to the transcripts and source documents.

Data credibility was ensured through source triangulation by comparing information from the five groups of informants and cross-checking it against village documents (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Discrepancies in the informants' accounts are retained as part of the data and examined during the interpretation process, rather than being automatically discarded. Analytical memos are also used to ensure that the decision-making process during the analysis can be traced.

The study began with the submission of a permission letter to the Village Head of Teluk Pandan. Before the interviews, the researcher explained the purpose of the study and sought the

informants' consent to participate and permission to record the interviews. Participation was voluntary. Informants' identities were disguised using codes, and the recordings and transcripts were used solely for research purposes. Information regarding formal ethical approval or an ethical approval number is not included in the source text.

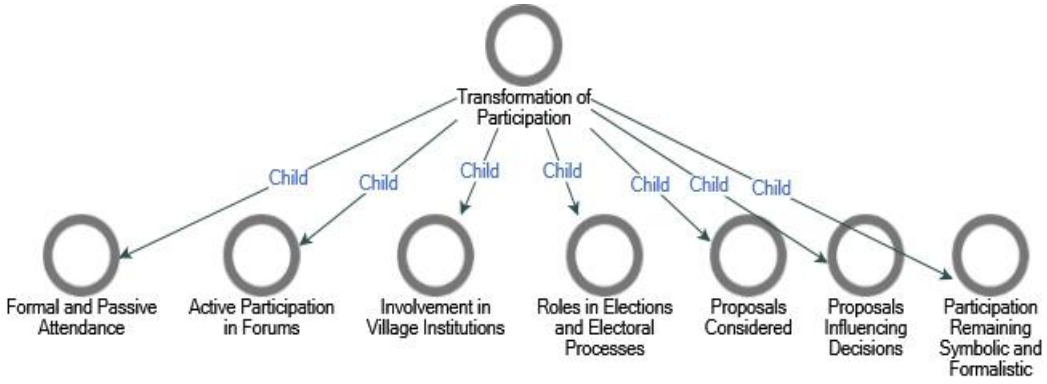
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Transformation of Women's Political Participation in Teluk Pandan Village



Picture 1. Word cloud visualization results
Source: rocessed through Nvivo 15, 2026. Source: Researcher, 2026

Based on the results of the NVivo 15 word cloud visualization for Research Question 1, the most prominent substantive words include "village," "women," "activities," "involved," and "community." The dominance of these words indicates that the interview data focuses on women's involvement in social life and village governance. The occurrence of the words "participation," "opinions," "voice," and "decisions" also indicates that the interviews discussed women's participation in village activities, the expression of aspirations, and involvement in decision-making processes. Overall, this visualization provides an initial overview of the thematic focus of the research on the transformation of women's political participation at the village level, which was then analyzed in more depth through qualitative coding and interview quotes from informants.



Picture 2. Project Map Transformation of Participation
Source: rocessed through Nvivo 15, 2026. Source: Researcher, 2026

The results of the analysis using NVivo 15 show that the transformation of women's political participation in Teluk Pandan Village was analyzed through seven categories: Formal and Passive Attendance, Active Participation in Forums, Involvement in Village Institutions, Roles in Elections and Electoral Processes, Proposals Considered, Proposals Influencing Decisions, and Participation Remaining Symbolic and Formalistic. These categories illustrate the range of women's involvement in village political life, from attendance at forums and active participation in voicing their aspirations to involvement in village institutions and electoral processes, as well as the extent to which women's proposals are considered in decision-making.

This mapping also provides a framework for distinguishing formal participation from engagement that has the potential to exert substantive influence on village decisions. The "Proposals Considered" category reflects attention to women's aspirations, while "Proposals Influencing Decisions" focuses on the connection between proposals and decision outcomes. On the other hand, the "Participation Remaining Symbolic and Formalistic" category is used to identify potential gaps between formal involvement and women's actual influence. This coding structure serves as the basis for tracing patterns of transformation in women's political participation based on interview data, without assuming that all these categories represent stages that always occur sequentially.

The discussion interprets the findings through three levels of participation in the methods section—namely, attendance, speaking up, and exerting influence—which are examined through four aspects. Regarding attendance, women's participation has been institutionalized through invitations to the Village Assembly (Musdes) and the Village Development Planning Meeting (Musrenbangdes) in accordance with Ministry of Home Affairs Regulation No. 110 of 2016. Informant 1 (Administrative Officer) noted that in the past, women "merely attended to fulfill the invitation," but now they have begun to submit proposals; however, Informant 8 still "sits and listens." This is consistent with Cornwall (2003) that women's representation is necessary but not sufficient, and that Fadil et al. (2026) that PKK members are more active than non-members. Regarding their position within the structure, the informants' assessments were divided. Informant 3 and Informant 4, as members of the BPD, emphasized that women's participation is not merely a formality, while Informant 1 noted that some strategic decisions are still limited to formal quotas, and Informant 2 (the village head) stated that women need to be more involved in decision-making. This is reminiscent of tokenism Arnstein (1969) and Cornwall (2003) that a silent presence can be counterproductive. Within the framework of Marshall (1950), Women's political rights have been formally recognized, but their substantive realization is still a work in progress. The scope of women's participation has expanded to include government affairs, but women's proposals still focus on children's education, family health, Posyandu, and the economy. According to Moser (1993), This pattern reflects practical gender needs, while strategic needs are only beginning to emerge through representation on the BPD. Kusumaningtyas & Fitriyah (2026) found a similar pattern. The courage to speak up depends on the context. Informant 7 felt confident voicing her opinion because of the PKK and the presence of women representatives on the BPD, while Informant 8 chose to remain silent because she was reluctant to argue. This is consistent with Cornwall (2003) on the importance of spaces dedicated to women, with Agarwal (2001) regarding women's weak bargaining power, and with Laoli et al. (2026) The village head's willingness to create opportunities has emboldened women. Overall, women's participation in Teluk Pandan has gradually shifted from passive to active, though this shift has not been uniform. Women are now present and have begun to voice their opinions, but their influence on strategic decisions still needs to be strengthened, as discussed further in the subsection on the Realization of Citizenship Rights.

The transformation of women's political participation in Teluk Pandan Village was analyzed through three dimensions: presence, voice, and influence on decision-making. These three dimensions were used to identify changes in the forms of women's involvement, ranging from their presence in village government forums to their ability to voice their aspirations and influence development policies. The analysis was conducted by combining the results of interviews with 11 informants and documentation of village development planning over several periods.

To gain an understanding of changes in participation, this study compares practices from the previous period with more recent conditions. In the previous period, women's involvement in village governance tended to take the form of attendance at forums organized by the village government and participation in social and community activities. Informant 1, who is the Village Secretary, explained that women previously attended these events mainly to fulfill invitations, whereas over time, some women have begun to feel confident enough to voice their proposals. This observation indicates a shift in the nature of their involvement, although it cannot yet be generalized to all women in the village.

These changes need to be viewed in conjunction with the evolution of village planning mechanisms. The 2022 and 2023 RKPDes documents indicate that the development planning process has incorporated mechanisms for discussing village development needs and priorities. However, the documents from that period do not provide sufficient information regarding the number of women in attendance, the parties who submitted proposals, or the extent to which women were involved in setting priorities. Thus, these documents serve as stronger evidence of the existence of formal planning mechanisms than as direct evidence of the level of women's participation.

In more recent years, documentation from the 2024 and 2025 Musrenbang meetings shows the involvement of various institutional bodies and community organizations in the development planning process. The entities listed include village governments, Village Consultative Councils (BPD), community organizations, the Family Welfare Movement (PKK), Posyandu, community representatives, and other public service entities. The presence of women's organizations in these documents indicates the availability of institutional channels for women to participate in the village development process. However, attendance lists and proposal documents have not consistently recorded the gender of participants, who submitted the proposals, and whether the proposals came from individual women or through organizations.

This comparison shows that changes in participation cannot be adequately measured solely by the number of participants in each activity. Changes must also be examined in terms of the nature of involvement, the channels through which aspirations are expressed, and the position of women in the decision-making process.

Table 2. Comparison of Women's Participation Practices in the Previous Period and the Current Situation

Dimensions	Previous Period	The Current Situation	Basis for Assessment
Presence	Women tended to attend village events when invited.	Women are involved through consultative forums and organizations such as the PKK and BPD.	Statements from Informant 1 and village institutional documentation.
Voicing of concerns	Their involvement was primarily demonstrated through attendance and participation in social activities.	Some women have begun to speak up and make proposals in village forums.	Comparison of experiences shared by Informant 1.
Channels of participation	Social activities and forums facilitated by the village government served as spaces for engagement.	The PKK, BPD, Musdes, and Musrenbang serve as channels for expressing aspirations.	Statements from Informants 5, 7, and 9, as well as village documents.
Institutional involvement	Women's involvement largely took place through community activities.	Women are gaining a voice through organizations and representation in village institutions.	PKK and BPD documents, and interviews with informants.

Dimensions	Previous Period	The Current Situation	Basis for Assessment
Influence on decision-making	There is currently insufficient documentation to identify the impact of women.	Some aspirations have been voiced, but their acceptance and impact on strategic decisions cannot yet be fully ascertained.	Statements from Informants 1, 4, 7, and 9, as well as limitations in the documentation.

Source : Compiled by the researcher based on interviews with 11 informants, the 2022 and 2023 RKPDes documents, and documentation from the 2024 and 2025 Musrenbang meetings in Teluk Pandan Village.

The table shows that the most identifiable change is a shift from participation that tended to be attendance-oriented toward participation that is beginning to include the expression of aspirations through village forums and organizations. However, the available evidence is not yet sufficient to conclude that there has been a quantitative increase in the number of women participating or an increase in their influence on development decisions.

The interview findings also show that changes in participation have not occurred uniformly. Informant 1 noted a shift from a situation where women were simply more present to one where some women have begun to voice their suggestions. In contrast, Informant 8 still described women who tend to remain silent and listen during forums. These differences indicate that women's involvement is influenced by their organizational experience, level of self-confidence, and the opportunities they have to express their opinions.

Involvement in the PKK and BPD serves as a mechanism linking women's participation to the expression of their aspirations. The PKK provides women with opportunities to participate in group activities, interact, and discuss issues facing the community. Meanwhile, the BPD offers a formal channel for communicating these aspirations to the village government. Informant 7 explained that community aspirations are generally channeled through the BPD and the PKK, while Informant 9 noted that deliberations and women's organizations serve as spaces for expressing opinions.

The formation of the PKK Action Team through Village Head Decree No. 100.3.3/4/IV/SK/2024 dated March 5, 2024—comprising 30 members and four working groups—also demonstrates institutional recognition of women's activities. The existence of this organization provides women with opportunities to participate in community activities and develop their organizational skills.

Nevertheless, involvement in an organization does not automatically indicate influence over strategic decisions. The presence of women in village forums and institutions must be distinguished from their ability to determine development priorities. Therefore, the transformation of participation in Teluk Pandan Village can be assessed as having progressed in terms of attendance and the expression of aspirations, while the extent of their influence on decision-making still requires stronger evidence.

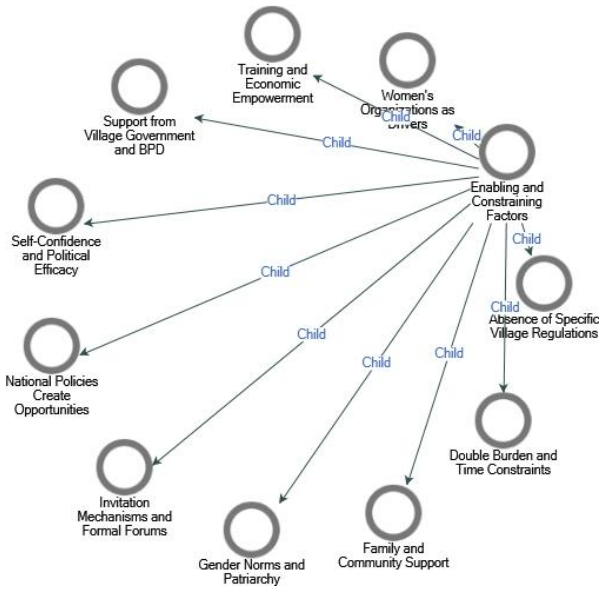
These findings are consistent with (Verba & Nie, 1972), who explain that political participation takes different forms and varies in intensity. Participation in political activities is not always synonymous with active involvement in the decision-making process. Thus, changes in women's participation in Teluk Pandan Village should be understood as a gradual process that has not yet fully resulted in an equal distribution of political influence.

Factors that drive or hinder transformation



Picture 3. Word cloud visualization results
Source: rocessed through Nvivo 15, 2026. Source: Researcher, 2026

Based on the results of the NVivo 15 word cloud visualization for Research Question 2, the dominant words include "women," "activities," "involved," "village," "participation," "government," "administration," "political," "community," and "support." The appearance of these words indicates that the interview discussions focused on various factors related to women's involvement in political activities and village governance, including support from the village government and the Village Consultative Council (BPD), the role of women's organizations such as the PKK, opportunities to voice their aspirations, and participation in deliberations and development planning. The words "opportunity," "obstacles," "confidence," "family," and "gender" also appeared in the visualization, indicating discussions regarding the opportunities and barriers to women's participation, from both institutional and social perspectives.



Picture 4. Project Map Enabling and Constraining Factors
Source: rocessed through Nvivo 15, 2026. Source: Researcher, 2026

The results of the analysis using NVivo 15 indicate that the factors enabling and hindering the transformation of women's political participation in Teluk Pandan Village encompass

structural, institutional, individual, and sociocultural aspects. Supporting factors include national policies that create opportunities for participation, support from the village government and the Village Consultative Body (BPD), the existence of women's organizations, invitation mechanisms and formal forums, as well as training and economic empowerment. In addition, self-confidence and political efficacy, as well as support from family and the community, were also categories used to explore the conditions that encourage women to engage in village political life.

The mapping identified a number of factors that could potentially limit women's participation, namely the absence of village regulations specifically governing women's involvement, gender norms and patriarchy, as well as the double burden and time constraints resulting from domestic responsibilities and public activities. These various categories indicate that the transformation of women's political participation must be analyzed by considering the interplay between policies, institutional support, individual capacity, and sociocultural conditions. These categories serve as the basis for further analysis of the interview findings to determine how these factors are experienced and perceived by the informants in Teluk Pandan Village.

Driving and inhibiting factors were discussed at the macro (structural and regulatory), meso (institutional and cultural), and micro (individual) levels, in accordance with the coding categories. Structural and regulatory (macro). Informant 1 (Administrative Secretary) and Informant 2 (village head) stated that the starting point for change was the implementation of the Village Law; however, there are no village regulations specifically governing women's participation, so such participation still refers to the Minister of Home Affairs Regulation and the East Kutai Regent's Regulation. This is consistent with Syukri (2023) that participatory village policies have not yet addressed traditional gender structures, and with Kusumaningtyas & Fitriyah (2026) that women's participation depends on the commitment of the village head. Institutional (meso). Engagement mechanisms are routine through invitations to the Village Assembly (Musdes) and the Village Development Planning Meeting (Musrenbangdes), as well as empowerment programs such as MSME training (Informant 1 and Informant 2). Informant 5 (a PKK activist) noted that the PKK trains women to express their opinions, but residents' aspirations are generally channeled through intermediaries such as the Village Consultative Council (BPD) and the PKK (Informant 7). This is consistent with Cornwall (2003) and Dewi et al. (2025) that gender and social background predict non-electoral participation. Cultural (meso). Informant 5 mentioned the perception that politics is more suited to men and that women are responsible for the household, and Informant 6 cited the derisive remark, "What can they even do?" However, Informants 10 and 11, as community leaders, noted that this view cannot be generalized and that family support is important. These findings are consistent with the concept of a double burden within the framework of Moser (1993) and with Laoli et al. (2026). Individual (micro). Informant 1 and Informant 2 cited a lack of self-confidence as a barrier, while Informant 7 felt very confident because of the PKK and representation on the BPD. Motivations also varied, ranging from a mandate from a community meeting (Informant 3) to compensation and the joy of being involved (Informant 8). Dewi et al. (2025) found political efficacy to be the strongest predictor of participation. Overall, the transformation was driven by the Village Law, deliberative mechanisms, empowerment programs, and organizations such as the PKK and BPD, but was hindered by the lack of specific village regulations, gender norms, the double burden, and uneven levels of self-confidence. According to Moser (1993), The existing drivers tend to address practical needs rather than strategic ones.

The transformation of women's political participation in Teluk Pandan Village was not driven by a single, isolated factor. The research findings indicate a relationship between village government policies, the availability of organizations, family support, social norms, and individual capacity. These factors are interrelated in shaping women's opportunities to be present, voice their aspirations, and participate in decision-making. Therefore, the analysis not only categorizes these factors into macro, meso, and micro levels but also explains the mechanisms linking one factor to another.

a. Village Policies and Institutional Opportunities

The implementation of Law No. 6 of 2014 on Villages has become one of the structural conditions that has expanded opportunities for community participation in village governance and development. Informant 1 and Informant 2 stated that changes in women's involvement began to emerge following the implementation of this policy. However, both also explained that there are currently no village regulations specifically governing women's political participation. This situation highlights the relationship between national policies and institutional practices at the village level. Policies provide the foundation for community involvement, while their implementation depends on how the village government facilitates forums, engages the community, and creates opportunities for residents to voice their aspirations.

In the context of Teluk Pandan Village, the Musdes and Musrenbang mechanisms provide formal spaces for the community to participate in development discussions. Empowerment programs, MSME training, and PKK activities also serve as additional channels for women to engage in village activities. Informant 1 and Informant 2 described these activities as part of the village government's efforts to encourage community participation. Thus, the policy does not directly result in substantive participation. Their impact works through the provision of institutional opportunities. If these opportunities are accompanied by mechanisms that allow women to voice their proposals, then formal access has the potential to develop into more active involvement. Conversely, without regulations and mechanisms that ensure women's involvement, the available opportunities may remain dependent on the initiatives of the village government and community organizations.

b. Women's organizations and the development of self-confidence

The relationship between women's organizations and self-confidence is one of the most clearly evident mechanisms in the interview findings. Informant 5, a PKK activist, explained that the organization's activities help women learn to express their opinions. Informant 7 also revealed that her involvement in the PKK and the BPD has made her more self-confident. Both accounts indicate that organizations not only provide a place to gather but also offer social and institutional experiences for women. Through organizational activities, women have the opportunity to interact, exchange views, identify common issues, and practice communicating their aspirations. This mechanism is supported by the experiences of Informant 5 and Informant 7. However, it cannot be assumed that this increase in self-confidence applies to all members of the organization. Informant 8, who still tends to remain silent, demonstrates that experiences with the organization and the courage to speak up can vary from person to person. Thus, women's organizations serve as one of the spaces for building political capacity, but their effectiveness is influenced by each woman's individual experiences and position within the organization.

c. Family support, domestic responsibilities, and opportunities to participate

The relationship between family and women's participation is evident in the informants' differing experiences regarding the division of household responsibilities and support for public activities. Informant 5 explained that the division of roles within the family can limit women's time to participate in community activities. Conversely, Informant 10 and Informant 11 emphasized that family support is a key factor enabling women to engage in public activities. These findings suggest that domestic responsibilities do not automatically prevent all women from participating. The impact depends on how household chores are divided and whether family members support women's involvement outside the home. Thus, the concept of the "double burden" within (Moser, 1993), framework is relevant for understanding women's time constraints. However, the research results also show that family circumstances are not uniform; therefore, it is inaccurate to assume that all women face the same barriers.

d. Gender norms and experiences of participation

Gender norms also influence women's experiences in public spaces. Informant 5 mentioned the view that politics is more suited to men, while women are considered responsible for household chores. Informant 6 also recounted an experience of receiving comments that cast doubt on women's capabilities in public activities. Such views have the potential to affect women's self-confidence and their decisions to voice their opinions. When women face negative judgments from their social environment, they may become more cautious in expressing their aspirations. However, the interview results from Informant 10 and Informant 11 indicate that this view does not apply uniformly, as there are families and community environments that support women's participation. Thus, gender norms do not operate uniformly. Their influence depends on family relationships, social experiences, community support, and women's positions within organizations. These differing experiences explain why some women are more active in voicing their aspirations, while others still choose to remain silent.

e. Individual motivation and political experience

Women's motivations for participating also vary. Informant 3 participates in activities based on a mandate received through community deliberations, while Informant 8 cited motivations related to the opportunity to receive rewards and the enjoyment of being involved in the activities. These differences indicate that participation is not always driven by the same level of political awareness. Some women participate because of organizational responsibilities, some are driven by social concerns, and others gain experience and benefits from their involvement. These experiences can serve as a starting point for broader engagement, but they do not automatically indicate that all participants share the same political orientation. Therefore, individual motivations should be understood as part of the process of shaping participation, rather than as a single measure of the quality of women's participation.

Table 3. Mechanisms of Interrelationships Among Factors in Women's Political

Factors and Relationships	Mechanisms	Informants/supporting documents	Strength of evidence
Policies and Institutions	Village policies lay the groundwork for participation, which is then carried out through village forums and programs.	Informants 1 and 2.	Supported by interviews.
Organization and Self-Confidence	Organizational activities provide opportunities to interact and express opinions.	Informants 5 and 7.	Directly supported by interviews.
Family and Opportunities for Participation	The division of domestic labor and family support influence women's availability of time.	Informants 5, 10, and 11.	Supported by interviews, but the impact varies among individuals.
Gender Norms and Political Expression	Perceptions that doubt women's capabilities can affect their confidence in expressing their opinions.	Informants 5 and 6.	Supported by informants' experiences, but cannot yet be generalized.
Organizational Channels and the Expression of Aspirations	The PKK and BPD serve as intermediaries for conveying community aspirations to the village government.	Informants 7 and 9.	Supported by interviews.
Motivation and Engagement	Organizational mandates, social interests, and experience with activities shape women's reasons for participating.	Informants 3 and 8.	Supported by interviews.

Source: Compiled by the researcher based on interview results.

Based on these relationships, it can be understood that women's participation is shaped by the interaction between institutional opportunities and individual social conditions. Organizations can enhance experience and self-confidence, but these benefits are influenced by family support and social norms. Similarly, village policies can provide a forum, but active involvement still depends on opportunities to speak and mechanisms for voicing aspirations. It should be emphasized that some relationships have been directly supported by informants' experiences, such as the relationship between the PKK and self-confidence, and the relationship between the division of domestic labor and the availability of time. Meanwhile, the influence of the absence of village regulations on the weak influence of women and the relationship between social closeness and gender norm pressure remain potential explanations that require further evidence. These findings indicate that the transformation of women's participation cannot be explained solely through the existence of policies or organizations. This transformation is shaped by a process that brings together institutional opportunities, social support, organizational experiences, and individual capacities. This explanation aligns with (Moser, 1993), who emphasizes the interconnection between gender role division and women's opportunities to engage in public life, as well as (Dewi et al., 2025), who highlight the importance of social capital and political efficacy in women's non-electoral participation.

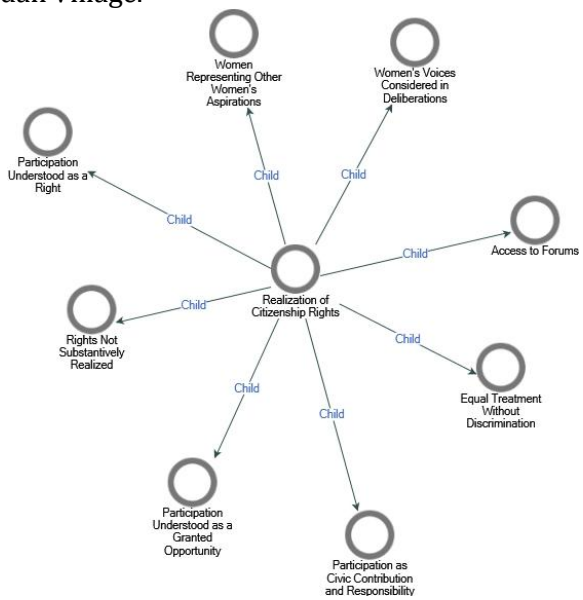
Realization of Citizenship Rights



Picture 5. Hasil visualisasi word cloud
Source: rocessed through Nvivo 15, 2026. Source: Researcher, 2026

Based on the results of the NVivo 15 word cloud visualization for Research Question 3, the dominant words include community, activities, participation, rights, government, involvement, opportunity, decision, and voice. The appearance of these words indicates that the interview discussions focused on the relationship between women's political participation, the fulfillment of civic rights, and involvement in governance and village development. The words "rights," "equal," "representatives," "opinions," and "decision-making" also appeared in the visualization, indicating discussions regarding equal rights, the representation of women's aspirations, the expression of opinions, and opportunities to participate in the process decision-making. Thus, this visualization

provides an initial insight into the meaning of citizenship rights in the context of women's political participation in Teluk Pandan Village.



Picture 6. Project Map Realization of Citizenship Rights
Source: rocessed through Nvivo 15, 2026. Source: Researcher, 2026

The results of the analysis using NVivo 15 show that the realization of citizenship rights in women's political participation in Teluk Pandan Village was analyzed through several aspects, namely participation understood as a right, access to forums, equal treatment without discrimination, representation of women's aspirations, and consideration of women's voices in deliberations. In addition, the mapping included participation understood as an opportunity provided and as a form of contribution and civic responsibility. These categories were used to explore how women understand their political rights and to what extent they have the space to voice their aspirations and engage in the processes of village governance and development.

This mapping also includes the category "Rights Not Substantively Realized," which is used to identify potential gaps between the formal recognition of rights and their implementation in village political life. The mere existence of women's access to forums and representation does not in itself indicate that political rights have been substantively realized; it is also necessary to examine whether women's voices are taken into account in deliberations and whether they are treated equally. This coding structure serves as the basis for analyzing the relationship between women's understanding of civic rights, opportunities for participation, and their experiences in decision-making processes, based on interview findings.

The fulfillment of women's political rights is discussed through four aspects: awareness of rights, equal access, influence on decision-making, and formal legitimacy, with political rights defined as Marshall (1950) as the primary lens. Awareness of rights. Women are beginning to view participation as a right, but this awareness is not yet widespread. Informant 4 stated that women have equal rights and are not merely supplementary, and Informant 6 (a female leader) emphasized "our rights as women." However, Informant 5 (a PKK activist) noted that there are still women who view involvement merely as an invitation or an opportunity granted to them, and Informants 10 and 11 assessed that public understanding needs to continue to be improved. Equal access. Access to forums is now open. Informant 3 stated that men and women in her office have equal rights in decision-making regardless of gender, and Informant 9 noted that opportunities for women "have begun to open up." This is in line with Fadil et al. (2026) that formal equality in access to participation is beginning to take shape, while substantive equality still requires capacity building and social support. Influence on decision-making. This aspect remains the least addressed. Informant 7 assessed that women's voices are already being heard to a great extent because they are included in every policy, but she also stated that women's rights

have not yet been fully realized. Informant 9 could not yet confirm that all women's opinions are accepted; Informant 4 acknowledged that not all proposals are immediately accepted; and Informant 1 (Administrative Officer) noted that some strategic decisions are still limited to formal quotas. This is consistent with Cornwall (2003) that votes do not automatically translate into influence, and that Kusumaningtyas & Fitriyah (2026) which assesses women's participation as approaching the level of partnership on the participation ladder Arnstein (1969) but has not yet attained delegated power. Formal legitimacy. Women's involvement has been recognized as legitimate representation. Informant 7 views women's representation on the BPD as a forum for expressing aspirations, and Informant 3 was elected by a majority vote. However, Informant 2 (the village head) stated that there are no specific village regulations governing women's political participation. Aisyah et al. (2025) In Banyuasin, it was found that women's representation on the BPD merely meets the quota and has not yet had a significant impact on decision-making; thus, formal legitimacy does not automatically translate into substantive influence. Overall, women's political rights in Teluk Pandan have been recognized and formally realized through access to forums and representation on the BPD, but their substantive fulfillment—particularly in terms of influence on decision-making—is still a work in progress. According to Marshall (1950), Political rights mean participating in the exercise of political power; therefore, mere presence is not enough.

The fulfillment of women's political rights in Teluk Pandan Village was analyzed based on (Marshall, 1950), concept of citizenship rights, specifically the right to participate in the exercise of public power. In this study, the fulfillment of political rights was examined not only in terms of formal recognition of women but also in terms of actual opportunities to participate in forums, the freedom to express their aspirations, the government's response to those aspirations, and women's influence on village development decisions. These five dimensions must be distinguished because recognition of rights is not always followed by equal access, and available access does not always result in influence over decisions.

a. Formal recognition of women's political rights

Formal recognition pertains to women's status as citizens who have the right to participate in village governance and development. The interview results show that some informants already understand participation as a right that women possess. Informant 4 emphasized that women have equal rights and should not be positioned merely as a supplementary element in government activities. Informant 6 also stressed the importance of recognizing women's rights in political life. These statements indicate an understanding that women have the legitimacy to engage in public affairs. Institutional recognition is also evident through women's representation on the Village Council (BPD) and the existence of the PKK organization. Informant 7 views women's representation on the BPD as a channel for conveying community aspirations, while Informant 3 secured her position through an election process based on a majority vote. However, this formal recognition has not yet been fully reinforced by village regulations that specifically guarantee women's involvement. Informant 2, as the village head, stated that there are no village regulations that specifically govern women's political participation. Thus, recognition of women's political rights has been evident through the general regulatory framework and institutional representation. However, the institutionalization of these rights at the village level still requires strengthening so that it does not rely solely on existing institutional mechanisms and commitments.

b. Actual access to village governance forums and processes

Actual access refers to women's real opportunities to participate in governance activities, deliberations, and village development planning processes. Unlike formal recognition, this dimension assesses whether women actually have the opportunity to enter spaces of participation. Informant 3 explained that, within their institutional setting, women and men have equal opportunities in decision-making without discrimination based on gender. Informant 9 also stated that opportunities for women to participate in village activities are beginning to open up. Documentation of the

Musrenbang and the existence of the PKK and BPD organizations provide additional evidence of the availability of institutional channels for women. The invitation mechanisms for the Musdes and Musrenbang also indicate the presence of procedures that allow community members to participate in development discussions. However, actual access cannot be assessed solely based on the existence of invitations or organizations. It is also important to consider whether women have adequate opportunities to attend and participate in the entire discussion process. In this study, there is no documentation consistently showing a comparison of the number of women and men present at each forum during the study period.

c. Freedom to express one's views

Freedom to voice opinions relates to women's ability to express their views, make suggestions, and articulate their interests without pressure or restrictions that hinder them. The interview results revealed differences in women's experiences when voicing their opinions. Informant 1 explained that some women have begun to feel confident enough to make suggestions in village forums. Informant 7 also noted that participation in the PKK and BPD has boosted her confidence in voicing her opinions. Conversely, Informant 8 described the experience of women who still tend to remain silent and listen when participating in activities. Informants 5 and 6 also identified social perceptions that cast doubt on women's capabilities in public affairs. These differences indicate that opportunities to participate have not always been accompanied by the same level of freedom and courage to voice opinions. Organizations can help women gain experience speaking out, but gender norms and individual experiences still influence their ability to take advantage of these opportunities. Thus, while the freedom to voice opinions has grown among some women, it cannot yet be considered uniform. This study also lacks sufficient direct observational data to confirm whether every woman is able to express her views without interruption, pressure, or restrictions during deliberations.

d. The government's response to women's concerns

Responsiveness relates to how village governments and relevant institutions receive, listen to, discuss, and respond to the aspirations expressed by women. This dimension differs from freedom of speech because women may have expressed their opinions but may not necessarily have received an adequate response. Informant 7 noted that women's voices are increasingly being heard in discussions of village policies. However, she also acknowledged that the fulfillment of women's rights has not yet been fully realized. Informant 4 stated that not all proposals can be immediately accepted, while Informant 9 could not confirm that all women's opinions are accepted. These statements indicate that women's aspirations have been given a platform to be expressed, but the response to each proposal is not always consistent. There is a distinction between aspirations that are heard, those that are discussed, and those that are prioritized for development. Limitations in documentation also need to be considered. The available meeting minutes and planning documents do not systematically record who proposed a particular program, how the government responded to the proposal, or the reasons why a proposal was accepted or rejected. Consequently, the extent of the government's responsiveness to women's aspirations cannot yet be comprehensively assessed. Thus, the interview evidence indicates that women's aspirations are acknowledged, but this is not sufficient to conclude that all aspirations have received an equal response.

e. Impact on decision-making

The impact on decision-making is a more substantive dimension because it relates to women's ability to help determine the direction of policies and village development priorities. Informant 1 noted that some strategic decisions are still limited to formal representation. Informant 4 explained that not all proposals are immediately accepted, while Informant 9 could not confirm that all women's aspirations receive approval. On the other hand, Informant 7 assessed that women's voices have been increasingly taken into account in discussions of village policies. These differing accounts indicate that

women's influence cannot be assessed solely based on the presence of female representatives on the Village Council (BPD) or their participation in deliberative meetings. It is necessary to determine whether women's proposals are actually included in planning documents, receive budget allocations, and are implemented in village programs. In this study, the RKPDes and Musrenbang documents provide information on the planning process and development priorities, but they do not consistently link each proposal to the identity of the proposer and the final decision. Therefore, there is insufficient evidence to determine the extent of women's influence on changes in village priorities and budget allocations. This finding aligns with (Cornwall, 2003), who explains that the availability of participatory spaces does not automatically result in influence over decisions. Arnstein's (1969) perspective is also relevant for distinguishing between formal involvement and participation that grants communities greater authority in decision-making.

Table 4. Assessment of the Fulfillment of Women's Political Rights in Teluk Pandan Village

Dimensions	Assessment indicators	Empirical evidence	Assessment Results
Formal recognition	Recognition of women as citizens with the right to participate and be represented.	Informants 4, 6, and 7; the existence of the BPD and PKK; Informant 2's statement regarding the absence of specific village regulations.	Rights have been recognized through general and institutional frameworks, but specific regulations at the village level are not yet in place.
Actual access	Opportunities to participate in Village Assemblies (Musdes), Development Planning Forums (Musrenbang), and institutional activities.	Informants 3 and 9; Musrenbang documents and village organizations.	Channels for access are available, but quantitative equality of access cannot yet be guaranteed.
Freedom to express opinions	Opportunities to express opinions and submit proposals without hindrance.	Informants 1, 5, 6, 7, and 8.	Some women have been actively voicing their aspirations, but their experiences have not been uniform.
Responsiveness	The government's response to and consideration of women's aspirations.	Informants 4, 7, and 9.	Aspirations have been given a platform to be heard, but responses to each proposal have not been fully documented.
Influence on decision-making	The inclusion of women's aspirations in priorities, planning documents, and development decisions.	Informants 1, 4, 7, and 9, as well as village planning documents.	Substantive influence has not yet been systematically demonstrated.

Source: Compiled by the researcher based on interviews and research documentation.

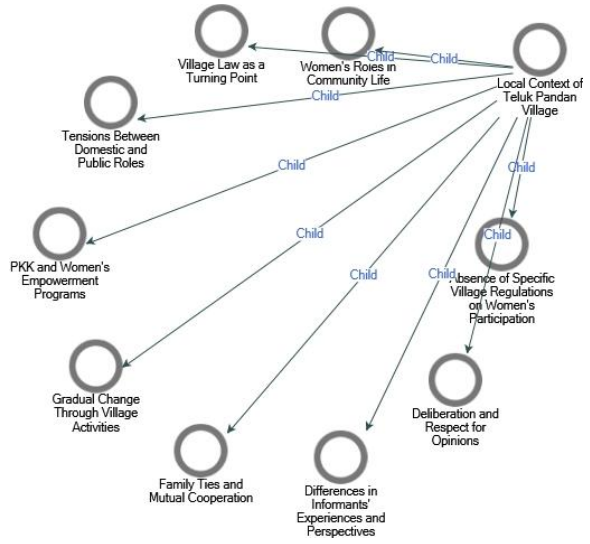
Based on these five dimensions, it cannot be stated that women's political rights in Teluk Pandan Village have been fully realized or that they have not been realized at all. Women's political rights have received formal recognition and are supported by the availability of institutional channels. However, opportunities to voice aspirations, responses to those aspirations, and influence over decision-making still show varying levels of development.

Local Distinctive Features of Teluk Pandan Village



Picture 7. Hasil visualisasi word cloud
Source: rocessed through Nvivo 15, 2026. Source: Researcher, 2026

Based on the results of the NVivo 15 word cloud visualization for Research Question 4, the dominant words include community, activities, village, development, government, participation, involvement, decision-making, and aspirations. The appearance of these words indicates that the interview discussions focused on the local context of Teluk Pandan Village as it relates to women's involvement in community activities, governance, and village development. The words "women," "organizations," "PKK," "council," "local," and "regulations" also appear in the visualization, indicating that the interviews covered the roles of women's organizations, village institutions, and local policy conditions in providing spaces for participation. Additionally, the appearance of the words "opinions," "voice," and "rights" suggests discussions regarding the expression of aspirations and women's involvement in decision-making. Thus, this visualization provides an initial overview of the social, institutional, and policy contexts discussed by the informants in relation to women's political participation in Teluk Pandan Village, while the meaning and impact of each aspect need to be confirmed through an analysis of interview excerpts.



Picture 8. Local Context of Teluk Pandan Village
Source: rocessed through Nvivo 15, 2026. Source: Researcher, 2026

The results of the analysis using NVivo 15 show that the local context of Teluk Pandan Village was analyzed through several categories, namely the Village Law as a catalyst for change, gradual change through village activities, the role of women in community life, the PKK program and women's empowerment, as well as the values of kinship and mutual aid. This mapping also covers the practices of deliberation and respect for opinions, the absence of specific village regulations regarding women's participation, and the differences in the informants' experiences and perspectives. These categories serve as the basis for exploring how institutional conditions, empowerment programs, and social values shape the space for women's political participation at the village level.

The mapping identified a tension between women's domestic and public roles as one aspect of the context that requires further study. Responsibilities within the family and involvement in community life can provide different experiences for each woman in accessing forums and voicing her aspirations. Differences in perspectives among informants are also important to note in order to understand that experiences of political participation are not always uniform. This coding structure helps organize interview data to identify local characteristics related to the transformation of women's political participation in Teluk Pandan Village, without assuming that all of these factors have the same influence until supported by empirical findings.

The local distinctiveness of Teluk Pandan Village is discussed through four aspects: local history, customs and local wisdom, village policies, and social characteristics. Local history. The changes were not triggered by a single event specific to the village. Informant 1 (Administrative Secretary) and Informant 2 (village head) stated that the starting point was the implementation of the Village Law, while Informant 10 and Informant 11 noted that the changes occurred gradually without a specific year. Informant 5 (PKK activist) emphasized that the changes stemmed from a long process of organizational activities, and Informant 6 cited village events such as the village anniversary, which involved all residents, including women. Customs and local wisdom. There are no customary values that specifically regulate women's roles. What emerges are the values of togetherness, mutual cooperation, and deliberation, which, according to Informant 10 and Informant 11, open opportunities for all residents—including women—to have a voice. On the other hand, both acknowledge that there are still customs that assign women to household duties, though this does not apply to all families. Humaedi et al. (2025) In Blora Regency, women support the implementation of village programs through a system of mutual cooperation, so that a sense of community can serve as social capital for women's participation. Village policies. There are currently no specific local policies in place. Informant 1 and Informant 2 stated that there are no village regulations specifically governing women's involvement, and

the village's distinctiveness is more evident in programs such as village funds for women's empowerment, MSME training, and women-led creative economy groups. This contrasts with Ampelsari Village, which has a Women's Village Assembly (Musdus Perempuan). Kusumaningtyas & Fitriyah (2026), Women's participation in Teluk Pandan still follows national and regency regulations. Social characteristics. Close social ties are a defining feature. Informant 4 noted that a sense of family and mutual aid require local officials to maintain good relations with residents, and Informant 5 observed that the closeness among residents makes it easier for women's organizations to engage the community, but the division of roles within the family limits women's available time. Residents' aspirations are generally channeled through the BPD and PKK (Informant 7) or through deliberative meetings and women's organizations (Informant 9), and Informant 6 noted that women's motivations vary—some simply follow the crowd, while others are aware that they must make their voices heard. In the context of East Kalimantan, Elmhirst et al. (2017) This indicates that community engagement with oil palm plantations is shaped by the history of the landscape, gender, and ethnic identity; therefore, women's experiences must be interpreted within the context of each community. Overall, the distinctiveness of Teluk Pandan Village lies in its close-knit social relationships, values of solidarity and deliberation, and the role of the PKK and empowerment programs, while specific customary practices and affirmative village regulations do not yet exist. Changes in women's participation are therefore gradual and driven more by the tradition of deliberation and organizational frameworks than by local regulations.

The social context of Teluk Pandan Village must be understood as an environment that shapes both the opportunities and experiences of women in participating in public life. This study found that family ties, mutual aid, community activities, the PKK organization, and the tradition of deliberation play a role in providing spaces for interaction among women, the community, and the village government. However, close social ties can also interact with gender norms that influence women's position in public life. The local context is not understood as a characteristic exclusive to Teluk Pandan Village. Mutual aid, family ties, and deliberation are also found in other rural communities. The focus of this study is how these values and social relationships function in shaping women's participation in Teluk Pandan Village.

a. Social closeness as a channel for communication and engagement

   Informant 4 explained that family ties and mutual cooperation play an important role in interactions between the village government and the community. Informant 5 also noted that the closeness among residents makes it easier for women's organizations to engage the community in various activities. These findings indicate that social closeness can facilitate communication and the dissemination of information regarding village activities. Close relationships enable women to obtain information through daily interactions, get to know the organizers of activities, and establish communication with other members of the organization. Thus, social closeness contributes to participation, particularly through easier communication and access to community activities. However, the research evidence more strongly points to its role in fostering social engagement than it does to proving its direct influence on village political decisions.

b. Gotong royong as a space for building social networks

   The values of gotong royong and togetherness described by Informant 10 and Informant 11 provide insight into the social relationships that support community engagement. Joint activities allow residents to interact, build trust, and develop relationships with various community groups. In the context of women, these activities can serve as an initial space for building social networks outside the family environment. Through interactions in community activities and organizations, women can gain information about village issues as well as opportunities to voice their interests. The role of gotong royong in this study is primarily understood as social capital that supports collective interaction and engagement. The interview findings are not yet sufficient to conclude that gotong royong directly increases women's influence on development decisions. Such influence requires further mechanisms—specifically, how the social networks that are formed are used to articulate aspirations and connect them with

decision-making institutions. These findings are consistent with (Humaedi et al., 2025), who describe the roles of rural women and gotong royong in the implementation of village fund policies. However, this study emphasizes that the relationship between gotong royong and political participation must be viewed through the social and institutional mechanisms at play within the community.

c. Social closeness and the potential for reinforcing gender norms

Although social closeness can facilitate communication and women's participation, close social relationships do not always have a positive impact. Under certain conditions, social closeness can also create a space for social surveillance and the reinforcement of expectations regarding women's roles. Informant 5 explained that there is a view that political matters are more appropriate for men, while women are considered responsible for household chores. Informant 6 also recounted an experience of receiving comments that cast doubt on women's capabilities in public activities. These findings demonstrate that gender norms remain present in the community's social interactions. If views regarding domestic responsibilities and women's positions in the public sphere continue to be upheld, close social relationships have the potential to reinforce pressure to conform to established role divisions. However, this study also identified differing perspectives from Informant 10 and Informant 11, who emphasized that such views cannot be generalized to all families. Both stated that family support is a crucial factor for women's participation. Thus, social closeness has two potential effects. On one hand, it facilitates communication, builds networks, and opens opportunities for women to engage in community activities. On the other hand, these same social relationships can serve as a space for the dissemination of gender norms that limit women's confidence or opportunities to participate.

d. The role of organizations and institutions in connecting the community with the village government

The social context of Teluk Pandan Village is also characterized by the presence of the PKK and the BPD as institutional channels for conveying community aspirations. Informant 7 explained that aspirations are generally conveyed through the BPD and the PKK, while Informant 9 mentioned deliberative meetings and women's organizations as forums for expressing opinions. The existence of these organizations links the community's social relationships to the village governance process. Aspirations arising from daily interactions can be discussed within the organizations and then conveyed to village institutions through available channels. This mechanism demonstrates that organizations not only function as implementers of social activities but can also serve as a bridge between community experiences and the governance process. However, the use of organizations as intermediaries also requires critical consideration. Channelling aspirations through the PKK and BPD can facilitate communication, but it does not necessarily ensure that all of women's experiences and interests are fully represented. Therefore, it is important to ensure that these organizations do not merely serve as administrative intermediaries but also provide women with opportunities to set the agenda and voice their own aspirations.

e. The Relationship Between Local Context and Variations in Women's Experiences

Women's experiences participating in Teluk Pandan Village cannot be separated from differences in family circumstances, organizational experiences, and each individual's social relationships. Informant 5 described time constraints due to household responsibilities, while Informants 10 and 11 emphasized the importance of family support. Informant 7 felt more confident due to her involvement in an organization, while Informant 8 still described a tendency to remain largely silent in forums. These differences indicate that the social context does not produce the same participatory experiences for all women. Social closeness can open opportunities for women who have access to organizational networks, but it does not necessarily provide the same opportunities for women who face time constraints or pressure from gender

norms. Thus, the contribution of the local context in this study lies in the mechanisms linking social closeness, mutual aid, organizations, family support, and gender norms in shaping women's opportunities for participation. The values of community and deliberation provide spaces for interaction, while organizations serve as channels to connect community aspirations with the village government. At the same time, the division of domestic roles and social expectations can influence women's ability to utilize these spaces. These findings reinforce the perspective of (Elmhirst et al., 2017) that women's experiences in rural social and economic life must be understood in terms of the interplay between gender, history, and local social conditions. Therefore, the local context of Teluk Pandan Village is not assessed based on the uniqueness of its social values, but rather on how these values and relationships shape women's participatory experiences.

Overall, social closeness, mutual aid, and community institutions provide opportunities for women to engage in public life. However, their impact on political participation depends on how these social networks are utilized, how aspirations are channeled, and whether gender norms provide equal space for women. Thus, the local social context can serve as a source of support while simultaneously functioning as a space where gender inequality is perpetuated.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that the transformation of women's political participation in Teluk Pandan Village, East Kutai Regency, has occurred gradually but remains uneven. This shift is evident in the fact that women's involvement is no longer limited to mere attendance at village activities; it now extends to voicing aspirations through deliberative forums, participating in the Family Welfare Empowerment (PKK) organization, and holding representation within the Village Consultative Body (BPD). These developments have been driven by the implementation of Law Number 6 of 2014 concerning Villages, the availability of deliberative forums, empowerment programs, organizational support, and existing social relations within the community. Nevertheless, these opportunities remain influenced by the division of domestic roles, the "double burden," gender norms, family support, and varying levels of self-confidence among women. Viewed through the lens of Marshall's (1950) perspective on citizenship rights, women's political rights have gained formal recognition through access to forums and institutional representation. However, the substantive fulfillment of these rights remains suboptimal, as there is still a need to strengthen the freedom to express aspirations, the government's responsiveness to women's proposals, and the influence women exert in shaping strategic decisions for village development. Consequently, the progress of women's participation cannot be measured solely by attendance and representation; it must also be assessed by the extent to which their aspirations are considered and integrated into development decisions.

The local context of Teluk Pandan Village contributes to this transformation process through kinship ties, mutual cooperation, deliberation traditions, organizational support, and community social interactions. These factors provide space for women to build capacity and express their aspirations, but at the same time, norms regarding domestic responsibilities can still limit their involvement in the public sphere. Theoretically, this study demonstrates that the perspectives of Verba and Nie (1972), Moser (1993), and Marshall (1950) complement each other in explaining the relationship between stages of political participation, gender role allocation, and granting women citizenship rights. Therefore, the village government needs to strengthen policies that guarantee women's involvement, improve political education and leadership capacity, and ensure that women's aspirations are responded to and further followed up in village development planning and budgeting. This study is limited to one village with 11 informants, so its findings are not intended to be broadly generalized. Furthermore, limited documentation regarding the identity of proposers, government response, and follow-up on aspirations means that women's substantive influence on development decisions cannot be comprehensively measured. Further research needs to expand the scope across regions, involve

more diverse groups of women, and explore the link between aspirations, decisions, and budget allocations to better understand the development of women's political participation at the village level.

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