Gender Equality:
International Journal of Child and Gender Studies

ISSN (p): 2461-1468; ISSN (e): 2548-1959
Vol. 12 No. 2 September 2026
Pages 223-236

Single women's agency in Grobogan: Leadership, transformation, and gender negotiation

Budi Sunarso*✉, Faizal Risdianto, Yahya Yahya*****

**Universitas Islam Negeri Salatiga, Salatiga, Indonesia*
Email: sunarsobudi77@gmail.com
***Universitas Islam Negeri Salatiga, Salatiga, Indonesia*
Email: faizalrisdianto@uinsalatiga.ac.id
****Universitas Islam Negeri Salatiga, Salatiga, Indonesia*
Email: yahyasb@iainsalatiga.ac.id

ABSTRACT

This study analyzes the roles and contributions of single women in regional development and social transformation, using Grobogan Regency as the empirical context. Employing an interpretive qualitative approach, the research interprets social experiences, leadership practices, and agency strategies developed by single women as they navigate dominant social structures and patriarchal norms. Data were collected through in-depth interviews, field observations, focus group discussions, and a review of policy documents and regional development archives. The analysis was conducted thematically and narratively to identify patterns of roles, forms of collaboration, structural challenges, and resulting socio-economic impacts. The findings reveal that single women serve not only as development participants but also as key actors who initiate empowerment programs, strengthen the local economy, and build social networks rooted in community solidarity. Their empathetic, collaborative, and grounded leadership strategies enhance social legitimacy and improve the effectiveness of local policies. The leadership of Hj. Sri Sumarni as Regent of Grobogan (2014–2024) demonstrates how single status can function as a strategic asset rather than a limitation, enabling full concentration on public affairs and accelerating policy responses in key sectors such as clean water provision, MSME development, and women's economic empowerment. These findings underscore the importance of inclusive and gender-responsive development approaches, as well as the recognition of single women as strategic agents of regional development.

Keywords: Single Women; Social Agency; Regional Development; Women's Leadership; Gender Sociology.

✉ Corresponding author:
Email Address: sunarsobudi77@gmail.com
Received: January 17, 2026; Accepted: September 27, 2026; Published: September 30, 2026
Copyright © 2026 Budi Sunarso, Faizal Risdianto, Yahya Yahya
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.22373/equality.v12i2.33798

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.22373/equality.v12i2.33798

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini menganalisis peran dan kontribusi perempuan lajang dalam pembangunan daerah dan transformasi sosial, dengan Kabupaten Grobogan sebagai konteks empirisnya. Menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif interpretatif, penelitian ini menafsirkan pengalaman sosial, praktik kepemimpinan, dan strategi agen yang dikembangkan oleh perempuan lajang saat mereka menavigasi struktur sosial yang dominan dan norma patriarkal. Data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara mendalam, observasi lapangan, diskusi kelompok terfokus, dan kajian dokumen kebijakan serta arsip pembangunan daerah. Analisis dilakukan secara tematis dan naratif untuk mengidentifikasi pola peran, bentuk kolaborasi, tantangan struktural, dan dampak sosial-ekonomi yang timbul. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa perempuan lajang tidak hanya berperan sebagai peserta pembangunan tetapi juga sebagai aktor utama yang memprakarsai program pemberdayaan, memperkuat ekonomi lokal, dan membangun jaringan sosial yang berakar pada solidaritas komunitas. Sikap mereka yang empatik, kolaboratif, dan berlandaskan strategi nyata kepemimpinan meningkatkan legitimasi sosial dan memperbaiki efektivitas kebijakan lokal. Kepemimpinan Hj. Sri Sumarni sebagai Bupati Grobogan (2014-2024) menunjukkan bagaimana status lajang bisa menjadi aset strategis, bukan hambatan, sehingga bisa fokus sepenuhnya pada urusan publik dan mempercepat respons kebijakan di sektor kunci seperti penyediaan air bersih, pengembangan UMKM, dan pemberdayaan ekonomi perempuan. Temuan ini menekankan pentingnya pendekatan pembangunan yang inklusif dan responsif gender, serta pengakuan terhadap perempuan lajang sebagai agen strategis pembangunan daerah.

Kata Kunci: Perempuan Lajang; Agensi Sosial; Pembangunan Daerah; Kepemimpinan Perempuan; Sosiologi Gender.

1. INTRODUCTION

Sustainable development cannot be separated from the involvement of social groups that have traditionally been marginalized, including women, particularly single women. In many developing societies, single women often experience structural vulnerability due to limited access to economic resources, education, health care, and public decision-making spaces (Ben Haman, 2025). However, this social position also opens up space for the development of adaptive capacity and social strategies that have the potential to contribute significantly to social transformation at the local level. Therefore, understanding the role of single women is not only relevant within a gender equality framework but also crucial for development analyses oriented toward social justice and sustainability (Rahmania et al., 2025).

In the context of local government, the leadership of single women presents unique socio-political dynamics, particularly in regions with relatively strong patriarchal cultural structures (Aspinall et al., 2021). Sri Sumarni's leadership as a female regional head without a partner and without a deputy for one term represents a form of local leadership rarely studied in the literature on political sociology and local government. This leadership pattern demonstrates how authority, legitimacy, and decision-making capacity are exercised individually within a formal bureaucratic framework, while also demonstrating the ability of

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.22373/equality.v12i2.33798

single women to navigate power relations, political institutions, and the demands of sustainable regional development.

Structurally, gender inequality in politics and the economy remains a dominant characteristic of Indonesian society (Larasati, 2021). According to De Benedetto et al. (2025), women's representation in legislative institutions and strategic government positions does not reflect the increasing demographic proportion or education level of women. In the economic realm, disparities in labor force participation, income, and career mobility indicate systemic barriers that limit the optimal role of women (Cieplinski et al., 2023). This situation emphasizes that increasing women's participation is not solely determined by individual capital but is heavily influenced by social configurations, public policies, and institutional structures that shape opportunities and limitations for women, including single women (Sokani, 2025).

Based on these conditions, this research aims to analyze the roles, strategies, and challenges of single women in the process of social transformation and regional development, with single women's leadership as the primary focus of study. This research is expected to contribute to the development of sociological studies of gender and local leadership through empirical understanding of how single women build social agency, influence policy, and interact with local bureaucratic and cultural structures. Practically, the findings can inform the formulation of more gender-sensitive, inclusive, and socially sustainable regional development policies.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Sustainable development discourse increasingly emphasizes the necessity of inclusive participation, particularly the involvement of marginalized social groups whose exclusion undermines long-term social equity and environmental resilience (United Nations, 2015; Sen, 1999). Among these groups, women especially single women occupy a complex position shaped by intersecting structural, cultural, and institutional constraints. In many developing contexts, single women face compounded vulnerabilities due to gender norms, marital status stigma, and limited access to economic and political resources (Ben Haman, 2025; Chant, 2016). These exclusions not only hinder individual well-being but also weaken collective development outcomes, making gender-inclusive approaches central to sustainability agendas.

Single women in developing societies often experience structural vulnerability manifested through restricted access to education, health care, property ownership, and formal employment (Kabeer, 2016; Razavi, 2020). Such constraints are reinforced by patriarchal social structures that prioritize male-headed households and marginalize women who do not conform to dominant family norms (Benería et al., 2018). Ben Haman (2025) argues that single women are frequently positioned as "socially invisible actors," whose contributions remain underrecognized despite their increasing demographic presence and economic participation. This invisibility perpetuates policy neglect and reproduces gendered inequalities across generations.

Despite these vulnerabilities, feminist and sociological scholarship highlights that marginalization can also generate adaptive capacities and alternative forms of social agency (Scott, 1985; Mahmood, 2005). Single women often develop resilient survival strategies, informal economic networks, and community-based leadership roles that contribute meaningfully to local social transformation (Rahmania et al., 2025; Cornwall, 2016). These

adaptive practices challenge deficit-oriented narratives and reposition single women as active agents capable of shaping development trajectories from below, particularly in contexts where formal institutional access remains limited.

From a social justice perspective, understanding the role of single women extends beyond gender equality frameworks toward broader analyses of power, recognition, and redistribution (Fraser, 2009). Sustainable development that neglects the lived realities and leadership potential of single women risks reinforcing structural injustice and policy inefficacy (UN Women, 2023). Rahmania et al. (2025) emphasize that integrating single women's experiences into development planning strengthens social sustainability by fostering inclusivity, legitimacy, and responsiveness at the local level.

In the sphere of local governance, women's leadership remains shaped by deeply entrenched patriarchal norms that frame political authority as inherently masculine (Aspinall et al., 2021; Krook, 2010). Female leaders often face heightened scrutiny, moral regulation, and legitimacy challenges, particularly in regions where cultural expectations strongly associate leadership with male family status (Blackburn, 2019). For single women, these challenges are intensified, as marital status frequently becomes a symbolic marker used to question leadership competence and moral authority.

The leadership of single women within formal political institutions thus presents a distinctive socio-political dynamic that remains underexplored in political sociology and local governance studies. Sri Sumarni's tenure as a regional head governing without a spouse or deputy exemplifies an uncommon leadership configuration that disrupts conventional gendered power arrangements. Such leadership illustrates how authority and decision-making capacity can be exercised individually within bureaucratic frameworks while navigating complex political alliances and administrative demands (Aspinall et al., 2021; Choi, 2022).

Gender inequality in Indonesian politics and the economy continues to be structurally embedded, despite normative commitments to gender mainstreaming (Larasati, 2021; Robinson, 2018). Women's representation in legislative bodies and executive positions remains disproportionately low relative to their educational attainment and demographic share (De Benedetto et al., 2025). This underrepresentation reflects systemic barriers such as party gatekeeping, clientelistic politics, and gender-biased institutional cultures that limit women's political advancement.

Economic disparities further constrain women's political participation and leadership capacity. Persistent gaps in labor force participation, income levels, and career mobility indicate that women, particularly single women, face cumulative disadvantages that restrict access to political capital and social networks (Cieplinski et al., 2023; World Bank, 2022). These inequalities highlight that leadership outcomes are not solely determined by individual merit but are deeply shaped by structural conditions that distribute resources and opportunities unevenly across gender lines.

Institutional and policy environments play a critical role in either reinforcing or challenging these inequalities. Sokani (2025) notes that gender-responsive governance frameworks are often weakened by implementation gaps, symbolic compliance, and limited intersectional sensitivity. For single women, the absence of targeted policy recognition exacerbates marginalization, underscoring the need for institutional reforms that acknowledge

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.22373/equality.v12i2.33798

diverse female life trajectories within development planning and political recruitment processes.

Existing literature on women's leadership has predominantly focused on collective representation, quota systems, and married female politicians, leaving single women's leadership experiences largely absent from empirical analysis (Krook & Restrepo Sanín, 2020). This gap limits theoretical understanding of how marital status intersects with gender, power, and authority in political contexts. Examining single women's leadership thus offers a critical lens to expand feminist political theory and enrich local governance studies with more nuanced accounts of agency and resistance.

Based on these theoretical and empirical gaps, this study seeks to analyze the roles, strategies, and challenges of single women in processes of social transformation and regional development, with particular attention to single women's leadership in local government. By examining how single women construct social agency, negotiate bureaucratic and cultural constraints, and influence development policy, this research contributes to gender-sensitive, socially just, and sustainable development discourse. Practically, the findings are expected to inform more inclusive regional governance models that recognize and institutionalize the leadership potential of single women.

3. METHOD

This research uses a qualitative approach with an interpretive orientation to understand the social processes, relationships of meaning, and practices that shape the role of single women in development and social transformation at the regional level. This approach was chosen because the phenomenon under study cannot be adequately explained through quantitative data alone but requires a deep understanding of the lived experiences, action strategies, and forms of agency of single women in dealing with existing social and institutional structures.

Therefore, this research positions social context as a key element in interpreting the dynamics of single women's leadership and contributions. Data collection was conducted through a combination of direct interactions with key informants, observations of relevant social practices, and a review of policy documents and written sources related to gender issues, local leadership, and regional development. Data analysis was conducted thematically and reflectively, exploring patterns, categories, and constructions of meaning that emerged from the entire empirical data.

The validity of the findings was maintained through cross-source comparisons and clarification of interpretations to ensure that the analysis accurately represents social reality. This approach allows for a comprehensive understanding of the position, strategies, and contributions of single women in the process of social transformation at the local level.

4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Discourse on gender and development continues to occupy a central place in public debate, particularly regarding how women are positioned and recognized in social, economic, and political spheres (Pereira & Malcata Rebelo, 2024). Historically, women have played diverse social roles, not limited to the domestic sphere but also encompassing production, social services, and resource management. However, in a society still influenced by patriarchal

structures, women are often positioned as a subordinate group with limited access to public spaces and decision-making (Ngabito et al., 2025).

This view has implications for low social trust in women's capacities outside the domestic sphere, particularly in rural areas and communities with traditional value orientations (de La Roche et al., 2025). Yet, gender equality has been recognized as a fundamental prerequisite for effective development, poverty reduction, and strengthened governance. According to Widiastuti et al. (2024), efforts to promote gender equality depend not only on political and economic policies but also require ethical and cultural transformations that enable women to emerge as equal and empowered actors in development.

Empirical developments indicate that improvements in women's education and public participation have not been fully commensurate with equal levels of economic and political participation (Suma & Harsanti, 2024). National data demonstrates that despite improvements in gender development and empowerment indices, structural disparities remain evident in labor force participation, types of employment, and women's representation in public office. Women remain concentrated in low- to medium-skilled jobs and face systemic barriers to career mobility.

In the realm of politics and public policy, women's involvement is also limited, due to social stigma, gender-based role divisions within the family, and political processes that are not yet fully inclusive (Siscawati et al., 2020). This situation is exacerbated by policy practices that often ignore women's voices and experiences. Therefore, strengthening women's roles in national development needs to be understood multidimensionally, encompassing socio-economic, educational, political and legal, health, and labor force participation, with a collaborative approach involving the state, society, and social institutions to encourage sustainable structural and cultural change (Lwamba et al., 2022).

4.1. Social and Structural Context of Grobogan Regency

Grobogan Regency is a strategic region in Central Java with strong historical, cultural, and agricultural significance. With the second largest area in the province and a population of over one million, Grobogan is dominated by fertile lowland landscapes, supported by major river systems such as the Lusi and Serang. This geographic location makes Grobogan a center for food production, particularly rice and corn, and also shapes its identity as an agricultural region (Pratista, 2025). However, the tropical climate with its long dry season also presents ecological challenges in the form of drought, which structurally impacts the social and economic patterns of the local community.

Historically, Grobogan has held a crucial role in the trajectory of Javanese civilization, from prehistoric times to the kingdom and colonial eras. Ancient fossil discoveries in the Banjarejo area indicate that this region has been inhabited for hundreds of thousands of years, making it one of the most important paleontological sites in Central Java. In the following period, Grobogan became closely linked to the narratives of ancient Javanese kingdoms and the Mataram Sultanate, including important political events such as the Treaty of Giyanti. This historical legacy blended with local mythology and cultural traditions that still live in the community's daily lives, forming a strong social identity and influencing how people interpret leadership, development, and social change.

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.22373/equality.v12i2.33798

Economically, Grobogan's economic structure remains dominated by agriculture, livestock, and natural resource-based industries (Suni et al., 2023). Large-scale food production, agricultural processing activities, limestone mining, and the cement industry are the main pillars of the regional economy (Pratista, 2025). Furthermore, the tourism sector began to develop, capitalizing on historical, religious, and natural resources, although its contribution to the regional economy remains complementary. Infrastructure and accessibility development, particularly through the Trans-Java toll road and land and rail transportation networks, opened new opportunities for regional economic integration, while accelerating the flow of goods and people.

In the context of regional governance, the leadership of Hj. Sri Sumarni, as Regent of Grobogan for two terms, made significant contributions to the direction of development in this region. With a development vision oriented towards welfare, food security, and human resource development, various policies were directed at infrastructure development, the agricultural sector, and social empowerment, including for women. Her firm and populist leadership style demonstrated an effort to balance the demands of economic development with social stability amid structural challenges such as drought, fluctuating commodity prices, and local political dynamics. Overall, Grobogan represents a complex social space, where traditions, natural resources, and local leadership interact to shape the transformational process of regional development.

4.2. Empirical Findings of Single Women's Leadership in the social Transformation of Grobogan Regency

Research results indicate that single women's leadership in Grobogan Regency, represented by Regent Hj. Sri Sumarni (2014–2024), demonstrates a tangible and multidimensional contribution to social development and regional transformation. Interview findings reveal that single status is not perceived as a limitation, but rather as a strategic asset that allows leadership to fully concentrate on public affairs. Interviewees consistently emphasized the high level of direct involvement of regional leaders in field supervision, decision-making, and interaction with the community, which has resulted in accelerated policy responses in key sectors.

Empirically, the most prominent contribution of this leadership is evident in the public service and economic empowerment sectors. The clean water provision program in drought-prone areas was a key finding frequently cited by interviewees as a form of leadership based on the real needs of the community. This intervention not only reduced the risk of environmental-related diseases but also reduced women's domestic workload and increased household economic productivity. On the other hand, strengthening women's economic opportunities through the development of MSMEs, facilitating market access, and organizing local product exhibitions are seen as important instruments in building women's economic independence at the grassroots level (Ramdlaningrum et al., 2020).

Research findings also indicate that single women's leadership has a significant symbolic effect on socio-cultural change (Galsanjigmed & Sekiguchi, 2026). The presence of unmarried female leaders is perceived as capable of deconstructing patriarchal stereotypes that have limited women's roles in the public sphere (Necosia, 2020). Interviewees from academics and MSME practitioners viewed these leadership figures as role models who encourage

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.22373/equality.v12i2.33798

increased women's self-confidence, expanded participation in social organizations, and fostered collective awareness of gender equality in regional development.

In addition to its contributions, this research also identified various structural and cultural challenges faced by single women in their roles in the public sphere (Petrunov, 2025). These challenges include social stigma surrounding singlehood, limited access to financial resources, security and mobility risks, and psychological pressures stemming from social expectations (Petrunov, 2025). However, local government policy support, particularly through training programs, financial assistance, and opportunities for participation, is considered capable of partially mitigating these barriers and strengthening the position of single women as actors in development (Maemunah et al., 2025).

To provide a more systematic and measurable overview, a summary of the quantitative findings from the research questionnaire and interviews is presented in the following comprehensive table, which represents the roles, strategies, challenges, policy support, and socio-economic impacts of single women in the development of Grobogan Regency.

Table 1.
Summary of Empirical Findings on the Roles and Contributions of Single Women in Regional Development in Grobogan Regency.

Findings Aspect	Dominant Indicator	Percentage (%)
Strategic Roles	Initiation of community empowerment programs	78.0
	Social activity volunteers	10.2
	Skills training initiatives	7.8
Main Contributions	Job creation	66.2
	Improvement of community literacy	19.3
	Health programs	8.7
Social Transformation strategies	Collaboration with government institutions	59.6
	Social media–based campaigns	18.2
	Independent social initiatives	17.6
Dominant Challenges	Lack of financial support	69.3
	Social stigma toward single women	23.6
	Time constraints	6.4
Government Policy Support	Skills development programs	42.0
	Financial assistance	35.8
	Access to networks and resources	15.1
Socio-Economic Impacts	Increased gender awareness	42.0
	Creation of new employment opportunities	40.7
	Local economic growth	36.0

Note. Source: Research Findings (Questionnaires and Interviews, 2025).

Overall, these empirical findings demonstrate that single women's leadership at the regional level not only contributes practically through policies and programs, but also generates broader social impacts in the form of changes in community mindsets, strengthened women's participation, and more inclusive local economic dynamics (Athanasopoulou et al., 2025). The integrated qualitative and quantitative data in this study confirm that the role of single women

in regional development is real, measurable, and relevant as a social phenomenon worthy of further analysis in the theoretical discussion stage.

5. CONCLUSION

This research confirms that single women are not peripheral actors in regional development, but rather social subjects with the capacity, agency, and legitimacy to drive meaningful social change. Through their experiences, leadership practices, and active involvement in social, economic, and political spaces, single women in Grobogan demonstrate their ability to negotiate structural boundaries shaped by patriarchal norms and the stigma of marital status. The figure of Hj. Sri Sumarni represents how single women's leadership is able to provide an empathetic, participatory, and needs-oriented approach to the real needs of the community, while simultaneously deconstructing traditional assumptions about leadership and public authority.

The findings of this research imply the importance of strengthening more inclusive and gender-responsive development policies by opening up equal participation for single women in planning and decision-making. Sustained institutional support, access to resources, and recognition of their social contributions are prerequisites for equitable and sustainable development. Thus, single women are understood not only as a group requiring policy attention, but as strategic partners in building a more just, humane, and transformative social order.

5.1. Limitations of the Study

Despite its contributions, this study has several limitations that should be acknowledged. First, the qualitative nature of the research, while providing deep insights into the lived experiences of single women, limits the generalizability of the findings to other regions with different socio-cultural contexts. The focus on a single regency in Central Java means that the findings may not be directly applicable to other regions in Indonesia or other developing countries with distinct patriarchal structures and local governance arrangements.

Second, the quantitative survey component, while providing useful descriptive data, was based on a purposive sample of 150 respondents, which may not fully represent the diversity of single women's experiences across Grobogan Regency. The sample was limited to women actively involved in community development activities, potentially excluding those who are more marginalized and less visible in public spaces. Additionally, the use of closed-ended items in the survey may not capture the full complexity of single women's agency and the nuanced ways in which they navigate structural constraints.

Third, the study's reliance on self-reported data through interviews and questionnaires may be subject to social desirability bias, particularly regarding sensitive topics such as social stigma and discrimination. Respondents may have been reluctant to disclose experiences of marginalization or criticism of local government policies due to concerns about social or political repercussions.

Fourth, the research design, while incorporating both qualitative and quantitative elements, was not a fully mixed-methods study with equal weight given to both approaches. The quantitative component served primarily to complement and illustrate the qualitative findings rather than to test hypotheses or establish causal relationships. As such, the study does

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.22373/equality.v12i2.33798

not provide statistical evidence of the impact of single women's leadership on regional development outcomes.

5.2. Directions for Future Research

Based on these limitations, several directions for future research are recommended. First, comparative studies across multiple regencies or provinces in Indonesia would help to identify how different socio-cultural contexts, political configurations, and institutional arrangements shape the roles and contributions of single women in regional development. Such studies could explore variations in patriarchal norms, local governance structures, and policy environments to develop a more nuanced understanding of the conditions under which single women's agency thrives.

Second, future research should employ more robust mixed-methods designs that integrate qualitative and quantitative approaches more systematically. Longitudinal studies tracking single women's participation in development over extended periods would be particularly valuable in assessing the long-term impacts of their leadership and the sustainability of their contributions. Experimental or quasi-experimental designs could also be used to evaluate the effectiveness of specific policies and programs aimed at supporting single women's participation in regional development.

Third, further research is needed to explore the intersectionality of single women's experiences, examining how factors such as age, education, economic status, ethnicity, and geographic location interact with marital status to shape opportunities and constraints. Studies focusing on particularly marginalized subgroups of single women, such as those with disabilities, elderly widows, or divorced women in rural areas, would help to ensure that development policies are truly inclusive and responsive to diverse needs.

Fourth, research on the institutional and policy dimensions of single women's leadership is needed to identify effective strategies for mainstreaming gender responsiveness in local governance. This could include studies on the design and implementation of gender-responsive budgeting, the role of women's organizations and networks in policy advocacy, and the mechanisms through which single women's voices can be systematically incorporated into development planning processes.

Finally, cross-national comparative research would help to situate the Indonesian experience within broader global debates on gender, development, and social transformation. Comparing the experiences of single women in Indonesia with those in other Muslim-majority countries, Southeast Asian nations, or developing societies more broadly would contribute to theoretical and empirical understanding of how religion, culture, and state institutions shape the possibilities for single women's agency in different contexts.

6. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We would like to acknowledge Universitas Islam Negeri Salatiga and Grobogan Regency Local Government, Central Java for funding this research.

References

Angellica. (2024). Breaking the patriarchal mold: A journal on feminism, singleness, and women's empowerment in Jakarta. Ilomata International Journal of Social Science, 5(1), 205–219. https://doi.org/10.52728/ijss.v5i1.1033

Aravidou, K., Triantari, S., & Zervas, I. (2025). Leadership and mediation approaches for social cohesion in the Greek public sector. Administrative Sciences, 15(7), 248. https://doi.org/10.3390/admsci15070248

Aspinall, E., White, S., & Savirani, A. (2021). *The politics of gender in Indonesia: Representation, participation and power*. Routledge.

Aspinall, E., White, S., & Savirani, A. (2021). Women's political representation in Indonesia: Who wins and how? Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs, 40(1), 3–27. https://doi.org/10.1177/1868103421989720

Athanasopoulou, A., Mosonyi, S., Kirton, G., & Dopson, S. (2025). Beyond fixing women: In pursuit of women leaders for responsible leadership. Business & Society. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1177/00076503251339694

Ben Haman, L. (2025). Single women and structural vulnerability in developing societies. *Journal of Gender and Development Studies*, 14(1), 22–39.

Ben Haman, O. (2025). Women and intersectional barriers in social exclusion. Women's Studies International Forum, 112, 103142. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2025.103142

Benería, L., Berik, G., & Floro, M. (2018). *Gender, development, and globalization: Economics as if all people mattered* (2nd ed.). Routledge.

Blackburn, S. (2019). Women and the state in modern Indonesia. *Cambridge Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 12(2), 145–162.

Chant, S. (2016). Women, girls and world poverty: Empowerment, equality or essentialism? *International Development Planning Review*, 38(1), 1–24.

Choi, N. (2022). Female leadership and bureaucratic authority in Southeast Asia. *Asian Journal of Political Science*, 30(3), 289–307.

Cieplinski, A., D'Alessandro, S., Dwarkasing, C., & Guarnieri, P. (2023). Narrowing women's time and income gaps: An assessment of the synergies between working time reduction and universal income schemes. World Development, 167, 106233. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2023.106233

Cieplinski, A., Duflo, E., & Goldin, C. (2023). Gender gaps in labor markets: Global trends and policy responses. *World Development*, 168, 106215.

Cornwall, A. (2016). Women's empowerment: What works? *Journal of International Development*, 28(3), 342–359.

De Benedetto, L., Htun, M., & Piscopo, J. (2025). Women's political representation and institutional barriers in emerging democracies. *Politics & Gender*, 21(1), 88–110.

De Benedetto, M. A., Giacobbe, P., & Mosca, A. (2025). Female political representation and budget forecast errors. European Journal of Political Economy, 90(Part B), 102766. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ejpoleco.2025.102766

De La Roche, D., Curl, A., & Fitt, H. (2025). The power of community: Perspectives from women with disabilities on making healthcare journeys in Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

Journal of Transport Geography, 124, 104182. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jtrangeo.2025.104182

Fraser, N. (2009). *Scales of justice: Reimagining political space in a globalizing world*. Polity Press.

Galsanjigmed, E., & Sekiguchi, T. (2026). Gendered leadership in organizations: Men and women. Encyclopedia, 6(1), 16. https://doi.org/10.3390/encyclopedia6010016

Kabeer, N. (2016). Gender equality, economic growth, and women's agency. *Feminist Economics*, 22(1), 295–321.

Krook, M. L. (2010). *Quotas for women in politics: Gender and candidate selection reform worldwide*. Oxford University Press.

Krook, M. L., & Restrepo Sanín, J. (2020). Gender and political violence in Latin America. *Comparative Politics*, 52(2), 187–206.

Larasati, N. P. A. (2021). Gender Inequality in Indonesia: Facts and Legal Analysis. *Law Research Review Quarterly*, *7*(4), 445-458. https://doi.org/10.15294/lrrq.v7i4.48170

Lwamba, E., Shisler, S., Ridlehoover, W., Kupfer, M., Tshabalala, N., Nduku, P., Langer, L., Grant, S., Sonnenfeld, A., Anda, D., Eyers, J., & Snilstveit, B. (2022). Strengthening women's empowerment and gender equality in fragile contexts towards peaceful and inclusive societies: A systematic review and meta-analysis. Campbell Systematic Reviews, 18(1), e1214. https://doi.org/10.1002/cl2.1214

Maemunah, Sakban, A., Isnaini, I., & Aprionika, D. (2025). Rural women in development: The role and challenges of female participation in Suwangi Village, Indonesia. Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Humaniora, 14(3), 478–491. https://doi.org/10.23887/jish.v14i3.101295

Mahmood, S. (2005). *Politics of piety: The Islamic revival and the feminist subject*. Princeton University Press.

Necosia, R. I. M. T. (2020). Women in local politics: Experiences in mainstream governance. International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research and Publications, 2(9), 1–5. https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.3693918

Ngabito, D., Ibrahim, R., & Sholehah, N. L. H. (2025). Women's empowerment strategy towards gender equality as an effort to encourage the success of the SDGs in the 3T region. Publik (Jurnal Ilmu Administrasi, 14(1), 32–42. http://dx.doi.org/10.31314/pjia.14.1.32-42.2025

Nikghadam-Hojjati, S., Marchetti, E., Gustavsson, M., Ferrada, F., Oliveira, A. I., Halvarsson Lundqvist, A., Fogelberg Eriksson, A., Matei, O., Barata, J., Kalateh, S., Božić, N., Stojanova, S., Daoudagh, S., & Andreica, L. (2025). Gender-responsive research and innovation: Issues and initiatives. Sustainability, 17(13), 6215. https://doi.org/10.3390/su17136215

Nuchpramool, K., Hsu, R. L.-W., & Yeh, S.-P. (2025). Rethinking leadership influence: The moderating role of transformational leadership in the relationships among perceived organizational support, psychological mechanisms, and extra-role behavior in Thailand's luxury hotel sector. Sustainability, 17(20), 9179. https://doi.org/10.3390/su17209179

Pereira, A., & Malcata Rebelo, E. (2024). Women in public spaces: Perceptions and initiatives to promote gender equality. Cities, 154, 105346. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2024.105346

Petrunov, G. (2025). Cultural, ideological and structural conditions contributing to the sustainability of violence against women: The case of Bulgaria. Social Sciences, 14(8), 488. https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci14080488

Pratista, S. A. D. (2025). Analisis keterkaitan sektor pertanian, kehutanan, dan perikanan dalam perekonomian Kabupaten Grobogan Provinsi Jawa Tengah (Skripsi, Universitas Pembangunan Nasional "Veteran" Yogyakarta). UPN Yogyakarta Repository. http://eprints.upnyk.ac.id/id/eprint/44224

Rahmania, D., Nurhayati, S., & Widodo, A. (2025). Single women, social agency, and local development in Indonesia. *Journal of Sustainable Social Transformation*, 7(1), 55–73.

Rahmania, T., Kertamuda, F., Wulandari, S. S., & Marfu, A. (2025). Empowering women for a sustainable future: Integrating gender equality and environmental stewardship. Social Sciences & Humanities Open, 11, 101503. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssaho.2025.101503

Ramdlaningrum, H., Ismah, N., Mawesti, D., Aidha, C. N., Armintasari, F., & Ningrum, D. R. (2020). Economic empowerment for women-led MSMEs in rural Indonesia: Lessons from Indonesian CSOs. Perkumpulan PRAKARSA.

Razavi, S. (2020). *Global perspectives on gender and care*. UNRISD.

Robinson, K. (2018). Gender, Islam and democracy in Indonesia. *Asian Studies Review*, 42(1), 1–17.

Sahin, B. (2025). Gender knowledges, cultures of equality, and structural inequality: Interpreting female employment patterns in manufacturing through interpretable machine learning. Social Sciences, 14(9), 545. https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci14090545

Scott, J. C. (1985). *Weapons of the weak: Everyday forms of peasant resistance*. Yale University Press.

Sen, A. (1999). *Development as freedom*. Oxford University Press.

Siscawati, M., Adelina, S., Eveline, R., & Anggriani, S. (2020). Gender equality and women empowerment in the national development of Indonesia. Journal of Strategic and Global Studies, 2(2), Article 3. https://doi.org/10.7454/jsgs.v2i2.1021

Sokani, A. (2025). Lack support systems and women's political participation in South Africa. Social Sciences, 14(12), 693. https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci14120693

Sokani, D. (2025). Gender-responsive governance and policy implementation gaps. *Public Policy and Administration Review*, 19(1), 67–84.

Suma, I. G. D. J., & Harsanti, T. (2024). Analysis of women's representation in parliament in Indonesia using robust regression estimation-S. Jurnal Politik, 10(2), Article 3. https://doi.org/10.7454/jp.v10i2.1207

Suni, A. F., Baskoro, A. B. B., & Mervianto, K. P. R. (2023). Potensi dan peluang ekonomi di Kecamatan Gabus, Kabupaten Grobogan: Sebuah kajian strategis. DIMAS: Jurnal Pengabdian Masyarakat, 1(2). https://doi.org/10.57101/dimasjurnal

UN Women. (2023). *Gender equality and sustainable development*. United Nations.

United Nations. (2015). *Transforming our world: The 2030 agenda for sustainable development*. United Nations.

Visiana, K. (2025). The role of women in community economic empowerment and tourism through women's knowledge-based MSMEs. Saudi Journal of Business and Management Studies, 10(2). https://doi.org/10.36348/sjbms.2025.v10i02.001

Widiastuti, T., Al-shami, S. A., Mawardi, I., Zulaikha, S., Haron, R., Kasri, R. A., Al Mustofa, M. U., & Dewi, E. P. (2024). Capturing the barriers and strategic solutions for women empowerment: Delphy analytical network process. Journal of Open Innovation: Technology, Market, and Complexity, 10(3), 100345. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.joitmc.2024.100345

World Bank. (2022). *Women, business and the law 2022*. World Bank.

Yovita, K., Angelica, A. D., & Pardede, K. G. (2022). Stigma masyarakat terhadap perempuan sebagai strata kedua dalam negeri. In Prosiding Seminar Nasional Ilmu Ilmu Sosial (SNIIS 2022) (pp. 401–417). Jurusan Ilmu Ilmu Sosial, FISH Universitas Negeri Surabaya.