

Article

Resilience in the Double Burden: Women's Productive and Reproductive Labour in Indonesian Rural Communities

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ABSTRACT ENGLISH.

The double burden experienced by women remains a persistent social reality in rural communities, including Kebondalem Village, Banyuwangi. Women are expected to manage both domestic and economic responsibilities simultaneously, often without clear boundaries between the two. This study explores how women negotiate and adapt to these dual roles amid social expectations and economic limitations. Using a qualitative approach, data were collected through in-depth interviews and light observations with four women and one village officer as supporting informant. The analysis is based on Caroline Moser's *double burden* theory and Talcott Parsons's *functional feminism* theory to understand the interconnection between household and economic roles. The findings reveal that women in Kebondalem balance productive and reproductive work through resilience, cooperation, and moral commitment to family well-being. They do not perceive their dual burden as oppression but as a moral and social obligation that strengthens family harmony. The coexistence of male and female roles in daily life demonstrates complementarity rather than inequality, showing that social cooperation is the foundation of family and community resilience in rural settings.

Keywords: Double Burden; Functional Feminism; Women Role; Rural Women.

ABSTRACT INDONESIAN:

Fenomena beban ganda perempuan masih menjadi realitas sosial yang kuat di masyarakat pedesaan, termasuk di Desa Kebondalem, Banyuwangi. Perempuan dituntut untuk menjalankan peran ekonomi dan domestik sekaligus, tanpa batas yang jelas di antara keduanya. Penelitian ini menelaah bagaimana perempuan menegosiasikan kedua peran tersebut di tengah tekanan ekonomi dan tuntutan sosial. Pendekatan kualitatif digunakan dengan teknik wawancara mendalam dan observasi ringan terhadap empat perempuan dan satu informan pendukung dari aparat desa. Analisis menggunakan teori *double burden* Caroline Moser dan teori *feminisme fungsional* Talcott Parsons (1955) untuk memahami pola adaptasi sosial yang muncul. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa perempuan di Kebondalem mampu menyeimbangkan pekerjaan dan tanggung jawab rumah tangga melalui keteguhan, kerja sama keluarga, serta komitmen moral terhadap kesejahteraan keluarga. Mereka tidak memandang beban ganda sebagai penindasan, tetapi sebagai tanggung jawab sosial dan moral. Temuan ini menggambarkan bahwa relasi gender di Kebondalem bersifat saling melengkapi, bukan bertentangan, dan justru memperkuat keharmonisan keluarga serta ketahanan sosial masyarakat pedesaan.

Kata Kunci: Beban Ganda; Feminisme Fungsional; Peran Perempuan; Perempuan Pedesaan.

Introduction

The role of women in Indonesia's social life has become increasingly complex along with rising economic demands and changes in family structure. Data from [Badan Pusat Statistik \(2024\)](#), show that in East Java Province, the percentage of households with female heads who work has continued to increase from 68.41 percent in 2020 to 72.65 percent in 2024. This increase illustrates that more women are actively involved in the productive sector without reducing their responsibilities in the domestic sphere. This phenomenon confirms the existence of a double burden experienced by women, where they must balance their responsibilities as family caregivers and as breadwinners. This is in line with the view of [Junaidi & Sukanti \(2022\)](#) who explain that women in Indonesia have long been involved in both public and private spheres as a form of moral, social, and spiritual responsibility toward their families. In this context, women are not only positioned as “keepers of the household”, but also as social agents who contribute to the economic stability and welfare of their families. This reality marks the emergence of new dynamics in the role of women in both urban and rural societies.

Rural women face complex social and economic challenges as they take on dual roles as household managers and income earners. This condition arises due to the family's economic limitations and prevailing social norms that continue to position women as the primary bearers of domestic responsibilities. Research by [Marsudi et al. \(2023\)](#) show that women working in poultry farming in Blitar continue to shoulder full domestic burdens despite their involvement in the production sector. Similar findings are presented by [Faizal et al. \(2023\)](#), who explain that women engaged in microenterprises in Ciledug contribute to strengthening the family economy without neglecting their roles as housewives. This perspective aligns with the findings of [Junaidi & Sukanti \(2022\)](#), who emphasize that Indonesian women are not only present in the domestic sphere but also serve as key actors in economic, social, and spiritual activities. This situation illustrates that the double burden experienced by women is not merely an economic consequence but also a result of deeply rooted social constructions attached to women's roles in society.

The phenomenon of the double burden experienced by rural women in Kebondalem Village, Banyuwangi, reveals an interesting social dynamic amid the economic transformation of rural communities. Many women in this village work in the informal sector i.e. *selling food, farming, gardening, or running small businesses* to help meet their family's needs, while at the same time continuing to bear full domestic responsibilities. Some have even become heads of households after losing their husbands, forcing them to assume both economic and caregiving roles without adequate structural support. Although women's participation in public activities has increased, domestic work is still regarded as the primary obligation attached to women's identities. Based on this reality, this study seeks to answer the question of how women in Kebondalem Village, Banyuwangi, perform and negotiate their dual roles in everyday social, cultural, and economic life.

Women's dual roles in the context of work and household economy

Yusliyanti et al. (2023), in their study of female fish traders in Langam Village, Sumbawa, found that economic factors are the main drivers of women's involvement in the public sector. Low household income and the demands of daily life compel women to take on dual roles as housewives and family breadwinners. Similarly, Hutagalung (2024), in a study conducted in Pansurnapitu Village, Tapanuli, revealed that women engage in the agricultural activities to contribute to and improve family welfare. Despite facing limitations in time and energy, these women continue to demonstrate resilience and strong awareness of their responsibilities. Furthermore, similar conditions are experienced by housewives who work in various other sectors (Balqis et al., 2024; Darmawan et al., 2024; Lestari et al., 2023; Setiadi & Rahman, 2024; Tsabita et al., 2024).

Working women and the socio-economic dynamics of the family

According to Junaidi & Sukanti (2022), women's participation in the workplace can be understood as part of families' efforts to maintain economic stability while remaining consistent with prevailing social and religious norms. Similarly, Birolı & Satriyati (2021) found that during the Covid-19 pandemic, women in Tanjungbumi, Bangkalan, had to work double shifts to sustain their family's economic livelihood. In addition to that, they produced batik and engaged in trading, they continued to fulfill their household responsibilities. Despite the increased workload, their contributions became crucial to maintaining the family's social resilience. More broadly, the transformation of women's roles in various sectors has a positive impact on the family income and increase financial stability (Arrazi et al., 2024; Melinda, 2025; Rahayuningtias et al., 2025; Sapmita & Syafrizal, 2025; Wijaya et al., 2026).

Women's social roles and participation in coastal and rural communities

In Seriwe Village, East Lombok, Mustawi et al. (2023) found that fishermen's wives perform three main roles: domestic, economic, and social. In addition to fulfilling their household responsibilities, they work as seaweed laborers and fish vendors while remaining actively engaged in community activities such as religious gatherings and women's community organizations. A similar pattern can be observed among young coastal women in Muncar, Banyuwangi, who play a significant role in managing the family economy and coastal resources (Pahlevi & Jauhariyah, 2022). Likewise, in Dharma Bakti Village, Bengkayang, women work as farm laborers or domestic helpers despite facing physical exhaustion and limited time (Mardani et al., 2025). Nevertheless, women's participation in rural development continues to expand, particularly through institutional empowerment within family welfare organizations, providing them with greater opportunities to participate actively in village-level decision-making (Ningtias et al., 2026).

Dual roles in the microenterprise and modern agricultural sectors

In enterprise and agricultural sectors, Marsudi et al. (2023) examined female poultry farm workers in Blitar and found that their contributions increased household income by up to 2.32%. In a similar vein, Mulasih et al. (2025) demonstrated that women's participation in small-scale agricultural enterprises can be strengthened through improved technical skills and access to resources, which in turn enhances agricultural productivity. Meanwhile, Faizal et al.

(2023), in their study of women involved in microenterprises in Ciledug District, found that women work not only to support their husbands but also to expand social networks and achieve greater financial independence. Although they face time constraints, they are able to balance their domestic responsibilities. This finding is consistent with [Purba et al. \(2025\)](#), who highlight the important role of micro, small, and medium enterprises (MSMEs) as a backbone of economic growth and employment generation, while also noting persistent challenges such as limited access to capital and the need for greater digitalization.

Dual roles from gender and cultural perspectives

[Puspitasari et al. \(2024\)](#), in their study of Javanese society, highlight a transition from patriarchal values toward greater equality in gender roles through the concept of *mubadalah* (reciprocity), whereby men and women share responsibilities in mutually reciprocal manner. However, patriarchal norms and culturally constructed gender expectations continue to present challenges for women in balancing their multiple roles ([Himmah & Fadhlulloh, 2026](#); [Reza et al., 2024](#)). [Awalya & Lindawati \(2023\)](#) found that women in Cijaku Village, Banten, do not necessarily perceive their dual roles as a burden; rather as a motivation to build prosperous families. They are also actively participated in socio-religious activities that strengthen solidarity among women. Similarly, [Astuti et al. \(2024\)](#) demonstrate that economic motivation drives women to balance between running a business and managing domestic household responsibilities.

Taken together, these studies indicate that women's dual roles represent a complex social dynamic shaped by the interplay between economic demands and the cultural values embedded within society. However, much of the existing studies continue to frame the double burden primarily as a form of gender inequality, without considering how women themselves interpret it as an expression of responsibility and meaningful social participation. In this context, the study of the double burden dynamics among women in Kebondalem Village, Banyuwangi, is significant because it shows that women are not merely economic objects within the family but active subjects who consciously negotiate their domestic and public roles with their own social meaning. Thus, this research contributes to broadening the understanding of how rural women build a balance between family responsibilities and public participation while simultaneously challenging the narrow perception of the double burden as merely a manifestation of gender injustice.

Various studies have examined women's dual roles in different social contexts. [Faizal et al. \(2023\)](#) found that women engaged in microenterprises in urban areas make significant contributions to family income yet continue to shoulder domestic responsibilities. [Mardani et al. \(2025\)](#) explained that female domestic workers also support their families economically despite social limitations that still position household labor as women's primary duty. Meanwhile, [Marsudi et al. \(2023\)](#) highlighted women working in poultry farms in Blitar who must divide their time between productive labor and household duties, reflecting the everyday reality of lower-middle-class women who work with limited options. On the other hand, [Junaidi & Sukanti \(2022\)](#) revealed that Indonesian women are culturally positioned in a dual role between public and domestic demands, requiring a social balance in performing both.

Although these four studies provide valuable insights into women's dual roles, most of them focus on urban contexts or do not specifically address the social dynamics in rural areas undergoing economic transformation, such as Banyuwangi. Thus, to analyze this phenomenon, the present study employs the double burden theory, which highlights how women simultaneously carry out domestic and public roles.

Method

This study uses a qualitative approach aimed at gaining an in-depth understanding of the dynamics of the double burden experienced by women in Kebondalem Village, Banyuwangi (Lim, 2025). This approach was chosen because it allows the researcher to explore women's social experiences, perspectives, and adaptive strategies in carrying out domestic and public roles simultaneously. The research informants were selected using a purposive sampling strategy based on specific criteria: married women in Kebondalem Village who balance both economic work and domestic responsibilities. The informants consist of four women who are actively engaged in productive work such as trading, farming, and migrant labor, as well as one supporting informant from the village administration who provides general social insights. Although the sample size is small, this choice is rigorously justified by the nature of in-depth qualitative research, which prioritizes the depth and richness of information over statistical generalizability. In this study, data collection was ceased at five informants because data saturation had been achieved; subsequent interviews yielded no new themes, insights, or structural patterns regarding how these women negotiate their dual roles.

Data collection was carried out through in-depth interviews and light observation of the informants' daily activities, complemented by secondary documentation from village sources and statistical data (Chand, 2025). Data analysis was carried out thematically by interpreting patterns of experiences that emerged from the interviews, which were then linked to the double burden theory and functional feminism to understand the existing social dynamics. Data validity was maintained through methodological triangulation and limited confirmation of the findings with the informants. The researcher also applied research ethics principles by maintaining the confidentiality of the participants' identities and obtaining verbal consent from all informants before the interview process. The findings of this study are not intended to be generalized but to provide a contextual understanding of how women in Kebondalem Village negotiate their dual roles amid the distinct social and economic dynamics of Banyuwangi, which is characterized by a strong agricultural economy and high trends of female migrant labor that fundamentally reshape traditional rural household structures.

Results and Discussion

The phenomenon of the double burden experienced by women in Indonesia illustrates how domestic and public roles intersect in daily life. In many families, women not only serve as homemakers but also act as economic supporters through various informal sector jobs. This condition is clearly visible in Kebondalem Village, Banyuwangi, where women are actively

engaged in trading, farming, and running small businesses to meet household needs. These findings are consistent with the studies of [Yusliyanti et al. \(2023\)](#) in Sumbawa and [Hutagalung \(2024\)](#) in Tapanuli, which indicate that economic pressure is the main factor driving women's participation in productive activities, while domestic responsibilities remain deeply ingrained. Despite juggling both roles, most women in Kebondalem do not perceive this situation as a burden but rather as a form of moral and social responsibility toward their families. This shows that the double burden is not merely an economic issue or a manifestation of gender inequality but a reflection of deeply rooted social values, particularly the rural women's culture of hard work and responsibility. Therefore, the dynamics of women's roles in Kebondalem represent how traditional values and economic needs adapt to modern social realities without creating significant conflict.

The concept of the double burden was first introduced by Caroline [Moser \(1989\)](#), who explained that women in developing countries often carry both productive and reproductive roles simultaneously without an equitable division of responsibilities. This imbalance arises because household work continues to be seen as a natural duty of women, while their economic contributions in the public sphere are rarely recognized as equal to those of men. This condition is clearly evident in Kebondalem Village, Banyuwangi, where most women must engage in trading, farming, or running small businesses while still taking care of children, cooking, and maintaining the household. This dual role reveals a social reality in which women shoulder a larger share of labor, both in domestic and productive spheres. Interestingly, however, these women do not perceive their situation as a form of injustice but rather as a moral and social responsibility that has become a natural part of their lives. This awareness demonstrates an adaptation to a social structure that remains unequal, where women display perseverance, strategy, and family solidarity to maintain daily balance. This reality highlights that the double burden in Kebondalem carries complex layers of meaning. On one hand, reflecting role inequality, but on the other, showcasing women's social strength in negotiating their roles with awareness and sincerity.

From the perspective of functional feminism, the difference in roles between men and women is viewed as a form of cooperation that maintains social balance within the family and society ([Parsons, 1955](#)). Talcott Parsons emphasized that men tend to play instrumental roles focused on economic achievement, while women take on expressive roles by organizing household life and ensuring the emotional stability of the family. However, in modern social contexts such as Kebondalem Village, this division of roles has become more flexible and complementary. Some women still bear the double burden because they are single mothers or have husbands who work outside the area, while others receive direct support from their husbands in trading and household activities. This phenomenon signifies a shift in social values, where domestic work is no longer seen solely as a woman's duty but increasingly recognized as a shared responsibility. The participation of men in household tasks marks that gender relations in Kebondalem are not rigid but are evolving toward a more adaptive balance in response to economic and social needs. Within this framework, women's double burden is not merely understood as a form of pressure but as a social process that illustrates the ability of rural families to adapt, collaborate, and maintain harmony in everyday life. This shift also demonstrates how cooperation values are gradually replacing traditional divisions of labor

without diminishing the central role of women in the family. The balance achieved in Kebondalem can thus be interpreted as a natural form of social negotiation between economic necessities and the kinship values that remain deeply rooted in rural society.

The dynamics of women's double burden in Kebondalem Village, Banyuwangi reflect how the values of work and domestic responsibility have transformed alongside the community's socio-economic changes. The interview findings reveal that women are not merely additional breadwinners but also serve as the main figures who sustain family life, particularly among widows or those whose husbands work away from home. These findings reinforce the view of Marsudi et al. (2023) that women play a crucial role in supporting the family economy without losing their social function as household managers. Similarly, the studies of Faizal et al. (2023) dan Mardani et al. (2025) emphasize that women's double roles in the informal and microenterprise sectors often emerge from a sense of responsibility rather than purely from economic compulsion.

Within the framework of double burden theory and functional feminism, these dual roles do not merely signify inequality but rather represent a form of social adaptation to the demands of modern life. Women in Kebondalem negotiate public and domestic roles with flexibility, perceiving work not only as a source of income but also as an expression of dedication to their families and communities. This phenomenon shows that labor and caregiving are not opposing domains but interconnected forms of social contribution that sustain rural harmony amid changing times. Behind their busy daily routines lies a deep sense of perseverance and solidarity that strengthens social networks among women in the village. Their everyday lives not only demonstrate resilience against economic pressures but also embody the collective spirit of rural women in maintaining balance and harmony in life. These values make the dynamics of women's double burden in Kebondalem more than just a social reality—they are a portrait of women's independence, strength, and steadfastness in facing the transformations of the modern era.

The economic role of women in the household

Women in Kebondalem Village, Banyuwangi play a vital role in supporting their family's economic stability amid the social and economic limitations of rural communities. Most of them work in the informal sector, engaging in activities such as selling donuts, sugarcane juice, and "fried snacks" (e.g. *molen*), renting out event equipment, or running small food stalls in the market. These activities are not merely supplementary sources of income but serve as the primary means of family livelihood. For instance, one respondent earns up to two hundred thousand rupiahs per day from selling donuts and sugarcane juice, while another works in the primary sector through farming and gardening to meet household needs. Some have even worked as migrant domestic workers abroad to finance their children's education. These facts demonstrate that women in Kebondalem are not only economic supporters but also key actors in maintaining family stability. Within a social context that traditionally positions women as household managers, their active participation in the economic sphere instead strengthens their status as resilient, productive, and empowered individuals (Marsudi et al., 2023).

Women in Kebondalem Village also play a crucial role as family financial managers, ensuring that household income is allocated efficiently for essential needs and children's education. Although most of them engage in physically demanding economic activities, their sense of responsibility and sincerity toward their families serves as a powerful source of strength. As one informant expressed, the exhaustion and monotony of daily labor are compensated by the joy of seeing their children attend school and live decently. This aligns with the findings of [Faizal et al. \(2023\)](#) which state that women involved in micro-enterprises work not merely due to economic pressure but also as an expression of dedication and social responsibility to their families. The women of Kebondalem have even developed time-based economic strategies, selling goods in the morning until noon, taking short breaks, and then preparing products again in the afternoon. This work pattern reflects a high degree of adaptability to local economic conditions, maintaining a conscious balance between public and domestic responsibilities. Consistent with [Mardani et al. \(2025\)](#), the double burden should not always be viewed as a form of inequality but rather as a manifestation of rural women's resilience in facing life's pressures and preserving family harmony. The hard work of Kebondalem women represents more than economic participation, it embodies moral, social, and spiritual values that sustain household stability and strengthen social resilience within rural communities.

Division of domestic labor and family support

The household work structure in Kebondalem Village reflects a traditional division of roles, where women serve as the central managers of domestic affairs while also contributing significantly to the family economy. Interview findings reveal that most women perform dual roles simultaneously as homemakers and as workers in the informal or primary sectors. For example, one respondent supports her two children by selling donuts and sugarcane juice after the death of her husband. Despite these economic responsibilities, she continues to handle domestic chores such as washing and drying clothes, with occasional help from her children. Another respondent experiences a similar situation, having to manage the household alone because her husband works outside the region and allocates most of his income elsewhere. These conditions illustrate that women in Kebondalem perform both economic and domestic responsibilities simultaneously, often without a balanced division of labor. This phenomenon supports the findings of [Awalya & Lindawati \(2023\)](#), that rural women bear a double burden not only due to economic pressures but also because of social constructions that position them as moral anchors and caretakers of family welfare. Similarly, [Junaidi & Sukanti \(2022\)](#) found that working women play a vital role not only in maintaining household economic stability but also in preserving social harmony within the family through perseverance and disciplined time management.

Social relations within the family environment play an essential role in understanding how domestic labor is negotiated by women. The third respondent revealed the emergence of a new dynamic in household labor division, where husbands and children participate in domestic activities such as sweeping and cleaning the house. Her son is also taught to be independent by waking up early and helping with household chores. This pattern indicates a gradual shift toward more equitable relationships, although the primary responsibility still lies

with women. Other informants, such as the fourth respondent, a single mother who previously worked as a migrant laborer in Malaysia, now shoulder all household and economic responsibilities alone. She wakes up before dawn to cook and sell goods at the market, demonstrating a strong form of social resilience amid economic and structural limitations. Based on the field observations, most small-scale businesses such as meatball vendors, sugarcane juice sellers, fried snack stalls, and coffee shops are predominantly run by men, while women are more often positioned behind the scenes as household managers and economic supporters. This condition reflects that women are still placed in complementary rather than competitive roles. The perspective of Puspitasari et al. (2024), through the concept of *mubadalah* (reciprocity), emphasizes the importance of mutual cooperation between men and women so that domestic work no longer becomes a one-sided burden. This principle is relevant to the reality in Kebondalem, where a small portion of families have begun to practice shared household responsibilities, while the majority still adhere to traditional norms that position women as the central figures maintaining family harmony and social cohesion.

Women's adaptation strategies and resilience in facing the double burden

Women in Kebondalem Village, Banyuwangi, demonstrate strong social adaptability in managing dual roles amid economic pressures and domestic responsibilities. They work in the informal sector, such as selling donuts and sugarcane juice, to support their families while still fulfilling household duties. Their daily routines begin early in the morning and end in the late afternoon, filled with activities like selling goods, preparing their children's needs, and taking care of the household, tasks that are largely managed independently. Some of these women are widows, while others have husbands working outside the region, requiring them to balance their time between economic activities, household management, and childcare. Their strategies are both efficient and pragmatic: they schedule their routines strictly, involve their children in light chores such as sweeping or washing dishes, and find practical solutions like buying ready-made meals when exhausted. This adaptive pattern reflects a social awareness that domestic and public work are not mutually exclusive, but rather interconnected responsibilities essential for family sustainability. These findings align with Moser's (1989) double burden concept, which highlights how women simultaneously bear productive, reproductive, and community roles without equitable allocation of time and resources. However, the women of Kebondalem do not perceive this situation merely as a form of pressure; instead, they view it as a manifestation of social responsibility that demands adaptability to the economic and social dynamics of village life.

The social resilience of women in Kebondalem is evident in how they build solidarity and survival strategies amid various limitations. Many single mothers are able to maintain family stability by relying on the support of their children and the surrounding social network characterized by mutual assistance. Children are involved in household tasks not merely out of necessity, but also as a form of social education that instills responsibility and independence. Meanwhile, women with partners continue to receive support from their husbands, although the primary domestic responsibilities remain with the wives. They are also active in community activities such as *posyandu* (community health programs), *PKK* (Family Welfare Movement), and *pengajian* (religious study groups). These engagements not only strengthen social bonds among residents but also provide a space for women to share

experiences and foster solidarity. This condition aligns with the findings of [Hutagalung \(2024\)](#) and [Mustawi et al. \(2023\)](#), which explain that rural women develop adaptive strategies through flexible work, time management, and social collaboration to maintain balance between household and economic life. In Kebondalem, such strategies embody a form of social resilience showing that women do not merely endure economic pressures, but actively contribute to nurturing family and community harmony through hard work, sacrifice, and the communal values of *gotong royong* deeply embedded in village culture.

The social meaning and value of independence in the lives of Kebondalem women

Women in Kebondalem Village, Banyuwangi, perceive their dual roles not as a form of coercion but as an expression of responsibility and social values deeply integrated into their daily lives. The dual activities of managing household duties, working in the informal sector, and participating in social engagements are regarded as natural and honorable. For these women, work is not merely an economic necessity but also an act of devotion to their families and communities. One informant mentioned that the exhaustion from selling every day fades away upon seeing her children continue their education and live decently. This perspective reveals that work for Kebondalem women carries a strong moral dimension, with family responsibility serving as the foundation of every activity. Even those living without partners remain committed to sustaining their families and providing for their children through hard work. Values such as sincerity, patience, and mutual cooperation (*gotong royong*) are social ethics passed down from one generation to the next. This aligns with the findings of [Puspitasari et al. \(2024\)](#), who explain that Javanese women interpret domestic and public work as a balanced expression of mutual respect between men and women. In Kebondalem, the same values are evident in how women embrace their dual roles not as burdens, but as part of the social harmony that strengthens family life and reinforces the social structure of the village.

Talcott [Parsons' \(1955\)](#) theory of functionalist feminism helps explain how women in Kebondalem balance their productive and reproductive roles within a complementary social system. Parsons emphasized that the social functions of individuals, both men and women, operate in an integrated manner to maintain societal stability. The women of Kebondalem perform expressive functions by fostering household harmony, educating children, and maintaining the family's emotional balance, all while fulfilling their productive roles as income earners. They continue to work outside the home, trading or selling food, while ensuring their family's needs are met. Some husbands also assist with domestic chores, such as sweeping or washing, though to a lesser extent, reflecting a naturally evolving form of domestic collaboration. This phenomenon indicates that gender relations in Kebondalem are adaptive: women do not lose their autonomy, and men are not entirely dominant. The women's statement that "any work must be done with sincerity so that it feels light" illustrates their belief in social balance, where work is seen as a moral responsibility rather than merely an economic obligation. Thus, the meaning of the double burden for Kebondalem women is not one of suffering but rather an expression of dedication, love, and social devotion that sustains family continuity and upholds the harmony of village life.

Conclusion

Women in Kebondalem Village, Banyuwangi, play a vital role in sustaining the economic and social stability of their families by maintaining a balance between domestic and public responsibilities. They not only contribute as supplementary breadwinners but also ensure household stability, nurture their children, and actively participate in social activities within their community. This phenomenon reflects Caroline Moser's concept of the double burden, wherein women simultaneously perform productive, reproductive, and social roles. However, this dual burden is not always perceived as a form of inequality; rather, it serves as an adaptive strategy rooted in moral awareness and a strong sense of responsibility toward family welfare. In the context of Talcott Parsons's functionalist feminism theory, this balance of roles demonstrates a complementary division of functions between men and women that helps preserve social harmony. The social dynamics in Kebondalem reveal a cooperative pattern of labor, where men and women work side by side in economic activities without negating each other's roles. Women engaged in trading, farming, gardening, or running microenterprises regard work not merely as a source of income but as an expression of dedication to their families and communities. Their resilience, independence, and adaptability in facing economic constraints highlight that social endurance is built not only upon economic structures but also on values of community mutual cooperation (*gotong royong*) and gender solidarity. The double burden experienced by women in Kebondalem Village represents the social strength of rural women, capable of harmoniously balancing domestic and public roles, fostering strong family structures, and sustaining community stability amid changing times.

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