



RESEARCH ARTICLE

Negotiating Public and Domestic Roles: A Phenomenological Study of the Double Burden of Working Women in Madura

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Abstract

This article examines the lived experiences of working women in Paberasan, Madura, focusing on the gender-based double burden and reproduction of patriarchal habitus in everyday life. It explores how women negotiate paid employment, domestic responsibilities, family expectations, and local cultural norms that continue to position them as primary caregivers. This study employed a qualitative phenomenological approach. Data were collected through in-depth interviews, observations, and documentation. The findings reveal that women's participation in paid work does not reduce their domestic responsibilities, but instead expands their workload across productive and reproductive spheres. Female farmworkers engage in income-generating activities primarily due to economic necessity while continuing to shoulder childcare and household duties. In contrast, women in professional occupations enjoy greater flexibility in balancing public and domestic roles but remain constrained by cultural expectations that assign them primary responsibility for family care. These findings demonstrate that increased female labor force participation has not automatically transformed patriarchal relations in rural communities.

Keywords: Working Women, Double Burden, Patriarchal Habitus, Phenomenology, Madura.

Abstrak

Artikel ini mengkaji pengalaman hidup perempuan pekerja di Paberasan, Madura, dengan fokus pada beban ganda berbasis gender dan reproduksi habitus patriarki dalam kehidupan sehari-hari. Penelitian ini menganalisis bagaimana perempuan menegosiasikan pekerjaan produktif, tanggung jawab domestik, harapan keluarga, dan norma budaya lokal yang masih menempatkan perempuan sebagai penanggung jawab utama urusan rumah tangga. Penelitian menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan metode fenomenologi. Data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara mendalam, observasi, dan dokumentasi. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa keterlibatan perempuan dalam pekerjaan publik tidak mengurangi tanggung jawab domestik, tetapi justru memperluas beban kerja mereka pada ranah produktif dan reproduktif. Buruh tani perempuan bekerja terutama karena tuntutan ekonomi, namun tetap memikul tanggung jawab pengasuhan anak dan pekerjaan rumah tangga. Sementara itu, perempuan dengan profesi yang lebih mapan memiliki ruang yang lebih besar dalam mengelola peran publik dan domestik, meskipun tetap menghadapi ekspektasi budaya sebagai penanggung jawab utama keluarga. Temuan ini memperlihatkan bahwa peningkatan partisipasi kerja perempuan belum secara otomatis mengubah relasi patriarki dalam masyarakat pedesaan.

Kata kunci: Perempuan Pekerja, Beban Ganda, Habitus Patriarki, Fenomenologi, Madura.

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Introduction

The issue of working women cannot be separated from the problem of gender inequality in the division of productive and reproductive labor. In many societies, women's participation in paid or productive work is not always accompanied by an equitable division of domestic labor. Women often enter the public sphere as workers, merchants, laborers, or professionals, but at the same time, they continue to be positioned as primarily responsible for housework, child-rearing, family care, and maintaining social relationships within the family. These conditions demonstrate that women's work is not merely an economic issue but also a matter of power relations, gender norms, and cultural constructs. This view is also expressed by Sari et al. (2025), who note that in today's modern workplace, women face an increasing number of challenges in achieving more tangible equality. Discrimination, which is still frequently experienced, is becoming increasingly evident across various sectors, ranging from development, the labor market, and education to political participation.

Women are responsible for taking care of children and the household, and in music, they are not allowed to stand out" is a statement often made by residents of the village of Paberasan in Sumenep, Madura. These remarks are not only from men, but also from women living in the village. In a patriarchal society, the role and status of men in relation to women are strictly defined. According to Israpil (2017), patriarchal culture within the social system prioritizes the "paternal" lineage—in other words, men are considered the primary actors or subjects within the social system.

The role of men in patriarchal cultures, as described by Putri and Lestari (2015), is that men are always positioned to play a more dominant role and serve as the head of the household. As exemplified in Javanese culture, which still adheres to a patriarchal system, men play a role in the public sphere, while women are confined to the domestic sphere. In Javanese culture, there is the term "kanca wingking," which refers to a partner in managing household affairs, such as caring for children, cooking in the kitchen, doing laundry, and so on. Another term that defines a woman's role is "dapur, pupur, kasur, sumur," which refers to all household-related tasks that must be performed by women. Men are expected to focus solely on earning a living in the public sphere. As mentioned above, men hold a more dominant role than women. Why does this happen? Indonesian culture still adheres to stereotypes regarding the gender roles of women and men.

In the Indonesian context, the gender-based division of labor is still heavily influenced by sociocultural values that position men as heads of households and primary breadwinners, while women are confined to domestic roles. This construct does not always take the form of explicit prohibitions; rather, it often manifests itself through family advice, daily customs, cultural

expressions, and social judgments regarding women working outside the home. As a result, working women are often expected not only to be economically productive but also to meet the ideal standards of a wife and mother who is responsible for the household.

A simple example is that Indonesia is still dominated by male rather than female leaders. Furthermore, in the workplace, women are often still given fewer opportunities than men. There are many cases in Indonesia in which women are marginalized because they are consistently portrayed as victims of men. As reported in kemenpppa.go.id, the number of cases involving harassment and violence against women in Indonesia from January through December 2022 recorded 32,687 women who were victims of violence and whose cases were handled. Many cases that place women in a vulnerable position as victims of violence or male dominance reinforce the problems and structures of patriarchy.

There are many statements claiming that “boys are the pride of the family, while girls are a blessing.” These statements have been shaped by Indonesian society throughout history and are embedded in Indonesian culture, which positions men as heirs to the throne and women as queens. This view is also echoed by Mulyadi (2011), who states that power for men is an absolute and inseparable aspect of cultural reality. Male strength and power have become elements that cannot be challenged through reality or textual discourse.

Many women are currently trying to demand their right to equality with men through feminist groups. According to Hariyati (2016), feminist groups advocate women’s equality. In this context, feminist groups have focused on issues faced by women. In Indonesia, feminist groups have spread across various regions, but raising awareness about equality presents many challenges, not only in challenging or opposing societal norms but also in working to raise awareness among other women themselves. The struggle by feminist groups to secure equal rights has not only been fraught with difficulties along the way but has also been met with significant negative stigma whenever women attempt to hear their voices in the public sphere. Among these challenges are being belittled, ignored, or even labeled as rebellious, disobedient, or defiant women; threats to their afterlife have even become a ‘spectrum’ for women striving for equality.

There are many examples of women facing issues related to patriarchy in Indonesia. This shows that patriarchal culture permeates all aspects of life in Indonesia. One example reported on gensindo.sindonews.com regarding various forms of discrimination against women involves body image. Currently, many women criticize others for not having what is considered an “ideal” physique, and there are many other such cases.

The issue of patriarchy is particularly interesting in this context, as it demonstrates that another indicator of patriarchy lies within the women themselves. In this regard, it is noteworthy that many women do not feel that they are constrained by patriarchal culture or male dominance and, in fact, welcome male dominance with open arms. This lack of awareness among women is referred to as hegemony. According to Surachman (2021), hegemony exists through a cultural approach involving individuals or groups that wield influence in society and are accepted by all members of that group. In this context, “society” can refer to religious institutions, schools, the media, cultural institutions, and so on. As it pertains to women, hegemony can be observed in all aspects of life and in various forms, such as within the family, the broader community, the workplace, and friendships.

Madura has a rich and deeply rooted culture that is reflected in its distinctive dialect, music, clothing, and local products. One area that has been particularly active in developing music is the village of Pabrasan in Sumenep, Madura. Music has become a defining feature of the culture of Pabrasan, Sumenep, and Madura. The musical group in Sumenep, Madura, is known as the “saronen” music group. The issue that arises is that all members of this musical group are male. This is because of the village’s deeply entrenched patriarchal culture. The perception that it is difficult for women to gain access to the public sphere is also evident in Paberasan Village life. A snapshot of life in this village reveals that women play no role in the saronen art form because many women prioritize domestic activities. Another issue is that women in the saronen group do not understand the patriarchal structure, and the lack of awareness regarding patriarchal culture results in the continuous perpetuation of this structure among their daughters.

Women’s limited ability to express themselves is a notable phenomenon in Sumenep and Madura and a topic worthy of research. Women’s restrictions on stepping outside the domestic sphere and attempting to join the saronen group are the reasons why researchers are interested in this phenomenon. Furthermore, traditions that restrict women’s lives have been passed down through generations because of women’s lack of awareness of the concept of patriarchy. Another issue is that many women from Sumenep, Madura, willingly bear a double burden that is, they work to make ends meet while also shouldering the responsibility of working outside the home and being “housewives.” One of the communities in Indonesia, in which patriarchal culture remains deeply entrenched, is the Madurese community. As stated by Ulummudin et al. (2022), women in Madurese culture still occupy a position that can be described as ambivalent. Why is this the case? Because in the traditions of some Madurese communities, particularly within the “taneyan lanjhang” settlement pattern, women are often positioned as active individuals whose role is to manage, shape, and care for all aspects

of family life. However, there are also many parts of Madura where patriarchal norms remain deeply entrenched. This creates a contradiction in how authentic Madurese culture views women.

This study focused on working women in Paberasan Village, Sumenep, Madura, because they face issues deeply rooted in patriarchal culture and the division of labor experienced by women living in that village. Based on the researcher's initial observations, there were several differing perspectives on the division of labor for women in the village. All informants selected were women who held dual roles but came from different backgrounds, which influenced the roles of women in the village. For instance, some women came from middle- to upper-class families but still chose to work because they were aware of women's equality in the public sphere, while others worked because of economic necessity and were expected to take on not just dual roles, but even more.

The village of Paberasan, Sumenep, Madura, was selected as the research site because it exemplifies the intersection of local culture, women's labor, and the reproduction of patriarchal values in daily life. This village has a social structure characterized by the strong role of the family, work in the informal sector and agriculture, and local cultural activities such as the saronen art form. Compared to other villages that might share similar rural characteristics, Paberasan was chosen because initial observations revealed a stark contradiction: women help support the family economy, yet social recognition of their work remains limited by domestic norms and expectations of obedience from their husbands or families.

Based on this background, this study aims to understand the experiences of working women in Paberasan Village, Sumenep, Madura, in coping with the double burden, to identify the forms of patriarchal culture reproduced in daily life, and to analyze how habitus, fields, and capital influence the way women interpret public work and domestic responsibilities. Thus, this study is not intended to shift the original focus of the research, but rather to clarify its contribution as a gender study of working women in the rural context of Madura.

Literature Review

Gender and Patriarchal Culture

Before delving into the analysis of patriarchal hegemony and women's roles in the public and domestic spheres, the researcher first explains the broader concepts of gender and patriarchy. In common parlance, gender refers to the social constructs of what it means to be a woman and what it means to be a man. Sex differs from the definition of sex, which is associated with biological characteristics. However, gender is a factor that supports the verification of sex. According to Rockhmansyah (2016), the terminological definition of gender is the cultural expectations associated with the male and

female sexes. Gender is a cultural concept used to distinguish the behaviors, roles, mentalities, and emotional characteristics of women and men, as developed by society. Simply put, gender is the identification of both men and women.

According to Rokhmansyah (2016:3), the concept of gender stems from various sources, including sociocultural, religious, and state factors. Gender identity is not innate, as it is biological sex but rather a social construct. The construction of women is a product of social identity wrapped in myths and beliefs. The development of the concept of gender includes (1) gender difference, (2) gender gap, (3) genderization, (4) gender identity, and (5) gender roles. This societal subordination of women to men gave rise to the ideology of patriarchy in society. According to Yanuarius (2021:2), power relations in social life are closely linked to both femininity and masculinity. Gender-based social practices tend to reflect a patriarchal dominance. The Latin word for patriarchy, "Patriarchia," means "rule by the father."

Patriarchy refers to male dominance over women in all matters, whether in daily life, the household, or social life. The more strongly a society reinforces the culture of male dominance over women, the greater is the likelihood of injustice committed by men against women. Patriarchy does not merely describe the role of male power in society, but also how men exercise control over women within that society. The term "patriarchy" refers to a social system and set of practices in which men are seen as exploiting, oppressing, and controlling everything women do. Men are also seen as using their power to control women in both the public and domestic spheres (Yanuarius, 2021:9).

The Habitus of Working Women

According to Bourdieu, the concept of habitus is a 'mental or cognitive structure' used by actors to navigate social life. This context points to the existence of actors with internalized patterns that serve as a means of experiencing, understanding, perceiving, and evaluating the social world. Through these schemas or patterns, actors can produce a series of actions or values. Dialectically, (Ritzer & Goodman: 2004: 121) habitus is "the product of the internalization of the structure of the social world; thus, habitus varies depending on an individual's position in society. However, not everyone has the same habits. People who occupy the same position in their social lives tend to have similar habits. Therefore, habitus is not a singular entity, but can be described as a collective phenomenon involving a multitude of social habits, meaning that these habits cannot be uniform across subjects, their lives, and the structures they inhabit.

Habitus, as discussed in Kleden's work (Sutrisno & Hendar Putranto: 2005: 177), requires further elaboration. There are several key elements of habitus, including (1) a product of history, a set of traits that endure over time

and are acquired through practice, and (2) specific social conditions. The conditions for its formation are structured social structures; (3) the nature of these structures shapes people's perceptions, expressions, and actions; (4) habitus essentially occurs within specific (transferable) social conditions; and (5) it is not the result of rational deliberation; it is unconscious and therefore preconscious. Spontaneity (6) is orderly and structured, but not in the sense of following specific rules. Habitus is not merely a state of mind, but also a bodily state and a site where history is embedded. (7) Habits may be directed toward specific goals or outcomes, yet there is no conscious effort to achieve them, nor is any intellectual effort expended to do so. These schemas are the building blocks that form the habitus itself, making it a mental and cognitive structure through which people engage in social situations.

Field (environment/domain): Bourdieu views the field relationally rather than structurally. This is because the field does not regard relationships within it as intersubjective relationships between individuals; rather, it is a network of relationships between objective positions within it and the consciousness and will of individuals. (Adib, 2012) Habitus is not based on actors or agents which in this context can be individual agents or institutions as these agents are governed by the structure of the field.

Method

This descriptive study intended to provide an overview of the reality of a specific situation related to various phenomena that occur both in actuality and on a regular basis. The problem-solving procedures employed in descriptive research describe the current state of the research subjects and objects based on facts (Sugiono, 2009). This study employed a qualitative approach using phenomenological methods. This approach was chosen because the study sought to understand the subjective experiences of working women in interpreting their work, domestic responsibilities, family relationships, and patriarchal norms in Paberasan Village, Sumenep, Madura. Phenomenology is used to explore informants' life experiences as they live and interpret them in their daily lives.

The subjects of this study were working women living in Paberasan Village, Sumenep, Madura. The objects of this study were the culture and burdens faced by working women in Paberasan Village, Sumenep, Madura. The research location is where the researcher conducted the study on the objects of investigation. For this qualitative analysis, the researcher selected a location in Sumenep Regency, East Java Province, specifically, Paberasan Village, Sumenep, Madura.

The types of data used in research employing a qualitative approach are primary and secondary data. Primary data are data obtained directly from the source. In this study, the primary data consisted of data obtained directly from interviews or field observations. Secondary data, on the other hand, are

data obtained from documents, official records, scholarly publications, personal documents, and other supporting data relevant to this study. In this study, the primary data source was informants, that is, individuals who could provide the necessary information. Given the focus of this qualitative study, data were collected from women living in Pabrasan Village, Sumenep, Madura, who were interested in music and joined the Saronen Group.

The research informants consisted of five women living in Paberasan Village who had experience in both working and fulfilling domestic roles. The informants were selected purposefully based on the following criteria: (1) women residing in Paberasan Village, (2) women with experience working or contributing to the family economy, (3) women who currently or previously fulfilled domestic roles as wives or mothers, and (4) women willing to share their life experiences through in-depth interviews. Differences in occupation, age, and socioeconomic background were intentionally maintained so that the study could capture the variety of experiences among working women rather than just one type of experience.

Table 1. Summary of Research Informants

No	Initials	Age	Employment	Income
1	SAM	45 years	Farm laborer/farmer	< Rp500,000/month
2	SAN	40 years	Farm laborer/farmer	< Rp500,000/month
3	AMN	50 years	Farm laborer/farmer	< Rp500,000/month
4	RAT	35 years	College professor	Rp2,000,000– Rp5,000,000/month
5	DWI	31	Online business	Rp2,000,000– Rp5,000,000/month

Source: Researcher's analysis.

The techniques used to collect data included conducting interviews, observations, and documentation with female workers living in Paberasan Village, Sumenep, Madura. A phenomenological method of data analysis was used in this study. According to Miles and Huberman (1992), there are four stages of analysis: data collection, presentation, and conclusion drawing. The first stage in phenomenological research is data reduction, which involves categorizing and sorting field notes, interview results, and documentation. This study employs a phenomenological approach as it explores the compelling aspects of the lived experiences of women living in Sumenep, Madura. The selected participants were women from diverse backgrounds, including working women, homemakers, and young or unmarried women. The aim is to determine the extent to which women in Sumenep, Madura are influenced by patriarchal culture.

Result

Patriarchal Culture and the Double Burden Faced by Working Women

The concept of patriarchal culture is indeed deeply ingrained in Indonesian society, but what is particularly interesting is the diversity of women's understanding of and attitudes toward this culture. Patriarchal culture shackles women through discriminatory treatment. Inequality between women and men is one of the barriers that prevents individuals from having equal access. This is largely because government policies are insensitive to women's needs and women often become victims of these policies. The concept of patriarchal culture reinforces the notion that men are considered stronger and more powerful than women. In the domestic sphere, wives (women) often face limitations in making choices and expressing their desires because decisions tend to prioritize the wishes of their husbands (men) (Sakinah and Siti: 2017).

Male dominance over women has permeated almost every aspect of women's lives. One area where this is frequently observed is the public and domestic sphere. As Tuwu (2018) noted, stereotypes about women's roles in the domestic and public spheres reflect the division of labor assigned to women. The domestic sphere refers to household chores; in this context, domestic work is often considered non-income-generating, even though it involves responsibilities such as caring for children, managing the home, providing for the family's needs, and cooking. Meanwhile, the public sphere refers to work outside the home, specifically engaging in productive activities outside the home. However, women who choose to work in the public sphere are still burdened by domestic chores.

The issue that then arises is whether when women work, they can reduce or abandon their domestic responsibilities in an effort to achieve equality with men, or whether this actually leads to further discrimination against women by trapping them in dual roles and burdens as they enter both the public and domestic spheres simultaneously. The four informants in this study live in Sumenep, Madura, and come from different backgrounds; however, they share one commonality: they all have children and work in various fields. The research findings indicated that all informants had work experience, but their reasons for working and how they interpreted their work differed. SAM, SAN, and AMN work as farm laborers or farmers because of their families' economic needs. All three came from farming families with limited economic means. SAM explained, *"I work because our family's finances are barely enough. If I didn't work, it would be hard to meet our daily needs."* SAN made a similar statement, emphasizing that working in fields or gardens is not an ideal choice but part of the family's survival strategy.

Unlike the three informants mentioned above, RAT worked as a lecturer because she had a clear career path from the beginning and was supported by a family background accustomed to working in the public sphere. The RAT stated, *"I was already working before I got married. I really wanted to be a career woman, and for me, raising children is a shared responsibility."* This statement reveals the presence of stronger cultural and social capital, particularly education, family experience, and spousal support.

DWI is different. Before getting married, she used to work in public spaces, but after getting married and having children, she mostly ran an online business from home. DWI said, *'I am still the one who does most of the housework. Well, what can I do? It's just a wife's duty and responsibility.'* This quote indicates that working at home does not automatically reduce the burden of domestic work. In contrast, the home becomes a space where productive work, child-rearing, and domestic chores all pile up.

Based on the statements of the five informants above, there are significant differences. Family circumstances and cultural norms shaped by the family are closely linked to women's decisions regarding their future. This view is also echoed by Tuwu (2018), who states that family culture and life have a strong influence on the spread of patriarchal ideology. From a sociocultural perspective, women working in the public sector cannot automatically dismantle male dominance within the patriarchal system.

The culture embraced by a family plays a decisive role in shaping a woman's personality, decision-making, and ability to determine her own future. Patriarchal culture stems from cultural constructs that are continuously passed down and disseminated without any awareness of their inherent domination. In the experiences of SAM, SAN, and AMN, the burdens faced by women are not only twofold, but often occur simultaneously. They worked while caring for their children and grandchildren. SAM explains, *"When I work, my child comes with me. I can't leave them behind, because taking care of children is still a mother's duty."* AMN also notes that work in the field is often done while supervising children or grandchildren. These conditions demonstrate that women's public work in the agricultural sector does not truly separate them from their domestic responsibilities.

In RAT, the dual burden is more manageable because of the division of roles with her husband and support from family. She mentioned that when she is at work, she tries to focus on her job, while at home, she focuses on her child. When her children were young, support from her in-laws served as social capital that enabled RAT to maintain her career. This differs from SAM, SAN, and AMN, which face limitations in economic and social capital, making it more difficult for them to negotiate the division of domestic labor.

DWI exemplifies a double burden in the domestic sphere. Online work allows her to remain economically productive, but working from home blurs

the line between economic and domestic work. DWI produces, manages, and sells products while caring for children and managing households. This demonstrates that working from home does not necessarily make life easier for women. In fact, it can render women's work invisible and devalue them.

In the five statements above, the interviewees shared nearly identical views regarding the construction of what it means to be a woman, mother, or wife within a household. According to SAM, SAN, MN, and DWI, being a woman requires distinguishing between domestic and public roles. A woman's obligations within the patriarchal framework lie in domestic roles, such as cooking, cleaning the house, and caring for children. This has even become the norm for the four sources mentioned above, as evidenced by the statement, "I think it's normal." This acceptance of male dominance, propagated through culture, ensures the continued success of patriarchal culture, which will not disappear (Sakinah and Siti: 2017).

The RAT's interpretation of patriarchy differs slightly from that of the other four informants because it focuses more on decision-making. RAT parents placed greater emphasis on the fact that decisions within the household rest with the man or husband. This is considered normal within a patriarchal system, as the concept of patriarchy holds that decision-making regarding household activities is the direct responsibility of the husband (the man) (Azizi, Hikmah, and Pranowo: 2012).

The five interviewees were women who worked in somewhat different fields, each with their own reasons for working. These women were employed and married, and all had children. The interviewees' decision to work created a dual role for these women. When women agree to work, they are prepared to shoulder a double burden in this context; this burden means that women are not only given domestic responsibilities (cooking, caring for children, cleaning the house, etc.) but must also enter the public sphere, where women still face significant challenges due to the dominance of men in that space.

The double burden typically experienced by women is that they must wake up earlier to prepare meals and attend to the needs of their husbands and children, and then work from morning until evening. After returning home from work, women are still responsible for cleaning the house, helping their children with homework or school assignments, preparing dinner, and caring for their husbands and children until they fall asleep, and this often happens every day. The five informants in this study had different reasons for deciding to shoulder this double burden. As explained by SAM, SAN, and AMN: *"We are very poor, so we are forced to work to make ends meet. Our husbands are also farmers who work on other people's rice fields."* Meanwhile, RAT explained, *"My husband and I both work; I was already working before we got married because my dream has always been to have a career as a woman. Taking care of the children is a shared responsibility, not just the wife's."* DWI

shares this perspective on the traditional division of labor for women, explaining that *"I'm still the one who does most of the housework. Well, what can I say? That's just the role and responsibility of a wife."*

Based on the three types of responses from the informants, there are significant differences in terms of decision-making that influence women's workloads. SAM, SAN, and AMN explained that women are forced to endure a double burden due to economic pressures. The use of the word "forced" indicates that, in this context, working women are not present solely based on their own desires and capabilities; rather, due to certain circumstances, they are also required to contribute to the family. This differs from the situation described by informant RAT, in which the double burden is experienced out of her own volition and with the support of her husband or family. RAT can share the workload with her husband or other men. Meanwhile, the DWI informant views the existence of a double burden on women as a consequence of women choosing to work. DWI believes that women's primary obligation lies in domestic responsibilities; when women choose to work in the public sphere, this becomes an additional responsibility, and they must not neglect their domestic duties.

Based on the above observations, it is evident that female workers in Sumenep, Madura, embrace the double burden they face with open arms. In this context, the five informants SAM, SAN, AMN, and DWI did not perceive discrimination regarding the division of roles for women. This perspective is evident in their responses to the above case, which views domestic roles for women as an absolute necessity that can only be fulfilled by women. Among the five informants mentioned above, there is the issue of not only facing a double burden but also more, as stated by SAM, SAN, and AMN: *"We always bring our children to work, so while we work, we also take care of them. Every day, my child comes with me, not with my husband, because, well, what else can I do? It's a mother's duty."* Meanwhile, the RAT explained, *"When I am at work, I am focused on work and never think about home; when I am at home, I focus on my child and never think about work. Back when my child was little, I used to leave my child with my in-laws."* In contrast, DWI explained, *"I spend more time at home managing everything from there, so I run my online business while also taking care of my child and the household."*

Based on the responses from SAM, SAN, and AMN, there is evidence of a sense of compulsion in fulfilling public roles. Through their responses, SAM, SAN, and AMN explain the burden women face due to economic pressures: they are forced not only to bear the double burden of working in the public sphere and then returning home to do housework but are also required to perform both public and domestic work simultaneously. According to Tuwu (2018), women's work is often viewed as a side job, as men perceive women's employment as merely a means to assist their husbands in their

work and supplement their husbands' income. Often, when husbands have irregular jobs such as fishermen, farmers, farm laborers, or other casual work, their wives (women) take advantage of opportunities to work, and this is where the burden women face is not merely a double burden but goes far beyond that.

The Habitus of Working Women in Madura

Madura women remain confined to a deeply entrenched patriarchal narrative shaped by religious authorities. Hidayati (2012), in her study of Madura women titled * *, states that few women dare to step beyond their domestic spheres, let alone work in the public sphere to assert their presence and existence. Being a housewife, submitting to their husbands, and fulfilling the rights of husbands who hold no authority over themselves within their families and social circles is an inevitability that nearly all Madurese women accept as "fate." This fact is also explained by Niehof (1985) and Bouvier (2002) (as cited in Hidayati, 2012), who revealed the existence of women in daily life and how tightly entrenched the power dynamics of men over women are in Madura. Kusumayanti (2019) observes that women's voices are stifled by the hegemonic walls of religion and patriarchy, which are often continuously accepted as normal and have thus become ingrained in the sociocultural fabric.

From Bourdieu's perspective, the environment constitutes habitus. Bourdieu (in Ritzer and Goodman: 2004) views the environment as an arena of struggle: "The environment is a battlefield" nothing less than a "market" where forms of capital are displayed and utilized yet the environment plays a crucial role. In the context of working women in Madura, family and social environments constitute the habitus of these women.

Habitus or a field is created through practice as a mediator between objectivism and subjectivism. Habitus can also give rise to practice, and the two are interrelated. Habitus can also be described as repeated habit. RAT's choice to become a working woman in the field of education as a mother of two children from an upper-middle-class economic background was a personal decision, as both her parents had worked since she was a child, and she received support and permission from her husband. Her husband's permission played a crucial role in shaping her into an independent working woman. The RAT's life as a working woman is the result of negotiations with her husband as they share domestic responsibilities. RAT does not fulfill her roles as a working woman, mother, or wife at the same time. In contrast, SAM and AMN, who come from lower-middle-class economic backgrounds, have been bean sprout farm laborers since they were young; AMN, in fact, continues in this work to this day, even though she now has grandchildren.

Both women explained that economic necessity was the primary factor that drove their work. While RAT chose to become a working woman of her

own accord, AMN began working as a bean sprout farm laborer at a young age—before she was married—because her parents told her to. While performing their work as bean sprout farm laborers, both women often care for their children and grandchildren simultaneously. These activities are sometimes carried out in bean sprout fields or at home.

The activities carried out by AMN and SAM are not much different from those of DWI, a homemaker with one child who also sells cake online. From baking the cakes to selling them, she does everything at home while caring for her child and managing household chores. When it comes to household chores, DWI and her husband still share responsibilities, especially in evenings. Before getting married, the DWI worked in the public sphere. After getting married and having a child, her husband asked her to focus on caring for their child and handling domestic duties.

Discussion

Patriarchal Culture and the Double Burden on Working Women

The concept of the double burden on women is more closely related to RAT's perspective because RAT took on that work out of a conscious desire to achieve self-actualization in the public sphere while also performing domestic work with her husband's assistance. Meanwhile, discrimination against women is considered more severe because women are expected to fulfill both roles simultaneously without any assistance from their husbands. However, the issue that arises concerns women's awareness of the discrimination they experience. The double burden alone already turns women into tools for perpetuating patriarchy, let alone an even heavier burden. Women often view discrimination against female workers in a patriarchal society as a normal part of life, believing that it is their duty and responsibility to accept such tasks.

The absence of such awareness among women indicates the existence of women's hegemony. The concept of hegemony refers to how women dominate other women, which ultimately backfires them. Hegemony can simply be defined as the domination of false ideology over actual reality. According to Littlejohn, as cited in Sari and Haryono (2018), ideology is not solely determined by the economic system but is embedded in all aspects of life within society. One of the originators of this theory of hegemony is Antonio Gramsci, who emphasized that dominant groups emerge through a peaceful process without violence or coercion. According to Antonio Gramsci, capitalist power and domination are achieved not only through material means (the economy and production) but also through a strong hegemonic force.

According to Witono (2022:5) in his book, hegemony, as defined by Gramsci, manifests itself through two criteria: "domination" and "intellectual and moral leadership." In this context, Gramsci seeks to define hegemony as cultural leadership exercised by the ruling classes. Hegemony is not merely

about the relationship between domination through the use of violence, but rather a relationship of consent based on (political) and ideological leadership, as well as intellectual and moral leadership.

A similar view is expressed by Rofiah (2021: 89), who explains that Gramsci focuses on hegemony in terms of collective ideas rather than social structures. Hegemony can be defined as “cultural leadership” that dominates society and is applied within a patriarchal system. According to Eriyanto (2001:104), hegemony also emphasizes the mode of implementation and the forms of expression through which these mechanisms operate in shaping the dominated subjects. Thus, in this context, if dominated subjects are successfully influenced and their nature and minds are shaped, then the process of hegemony has taken place. Hegemony is characterized by normality and voluntariness because one of its strengths lies in the creation of a dominant way of thinking that is regarded as the truth, while other discourses are deemed incorrect. According to Eriyanto, Gramsci’s perspective emphasizes social life as a struggle to gain public acceptance.

The statement above further reinforces the responses from the informants, who view the double burden borne by female workers in Paberasan Village, Sumenep, Madura as a matter of course. These informants treated stereotypes as something that naturally occurred and was experienced by women. This is evident in the statements of several informants regarding “the duties and responsibilities of a mother.” Some informants repeatedly explained that women who choose to work while continuing to perform domestic duties and, in some cases, carry out both simultaneously face these challenges.

The lives of working women are almost in line with Gramsci’s thinking, which is a development of Marx’s idea regarding the existence of a false consciousness based on gender, race, class, and so on. Gramsci argued that society can be easily exploited by a social system supported by society itself. The existence of dominant groups within society succeeds in shaping public consciousness in such a way that people remain unaware of domination. According to Gramsci, the public is vulnerable to influence owing to power imbalances that are often invisible (Sari and Haryono, 2018).

The question that then arises is: Which dominant groups have succeeded in shaping public awareness? Regarding the issues faced by working women in Paberasan Village, the dominant groups that shape public awareness are men, cultural groups, and others. Why are men the dominant group? In Paberasan Village, patriarchal culture remains deeply ingrained across all aspects of the community’s economy and culture. In this village, it is not only the economic sector that discriminates against women but also culture, specifically, music. Paberasan Village has a music group that actively pursues self-expression; however, within this group, women are not allowed

to showcase their talents or are severely restricted in their ability to express themselves.

Women assert their presence through work or involvement in the public sphere. However, another problem arises: even though women achieve equality in terms of recognition and status in society, this can actually backfire. Baudrillard (2010), in his book **The Agony of Power**, also discusses the notion of power that leads to hegemony in society, tracing the emergence of hegemony to the existence of domination based on slavery, obedience, and alienation, which then enter the realm of “hegemony.” In the world of “hegemony,” every human being becomes a captive and even an accomplice of global industry.

In practice, culture is an industry that plays a crucial role. As Witono (2022:37) notes, culture plays a vital role in shaping the consciousness of every individual. In this context, targeted individuals or groups are marginalized, exploited, and even oppressed by groups belonging to the ruling class. In his book, Winanto attempts to interpret Gramsci’s assertion that a “*new civilization*” emerges through a cultural revolution, which is then followed by a social revolution. Cultural revolution creates an intellectual foundation that raises public awareness and promotes the infiltration of other societies or groups. It is believed that this process will bring about social change based on hegemony or “counter-hegemony.”

Hegemony is regarded as a form of control over ideologies, values, concepts, and norms that are internalized by non-dominant classes until they gain acceptance and are recognized as a force. In the context of gender, the theory of hegemony, as applied to patriarchy, is dominated by the notion that men hold more power and occupy positions in the public sphere, while women bear responsibility in the domestic sphere. This way of thinking and domination results in women feeling involved in and responsible for the patriarchal system that has been instilled in them (Rofiah, 2021:90).

According to Utami et al. (2018), hegemony within the patriarchal sphere is described as a process that is passed down from generation to generation, or continues indefinitely. This is because the subordination of women in the public sphere stems from an agreement among women themselves, which serves as the root cause of patriarchy becoming increasingly entrenched and powerful. Through this, it can be seen that agreement among women (the hegemonic group) is a consequence of the strengthening of patriarchal ideology.

The research findings show that women’s work in Paberasan Village cannot be interpreted solely as an increase in economic participation. From a gender perspective, women’s involvement in public work can only be considered progress if it is accompanied by changes in power relations and the division of domestic labor. In SAM, SAN, AMN, and DWI, women work but

remain primarily responsible for domestic work. This situation indicates that women's participation in public work has not yet led to equality, as patriarchal structures continue to dictate the division of roles at home.

The double burden experienced by informants shows that women's bodies and time are family resources that are constantly drawn upon. Women are expected to work when family finances are limited. Yet, when domestic work needs to be done, women remain primarily responsible. Within a patriarchal framework, women's work is viewed as supplementary to the family economy rather than as primary work of equal value to men's work. Consequently, women's contributions often do not receive proportional recognition.

For middle-class informants, such as RAT, public work is more closely linked to self-actualization and career development. However, the RAT's experience shows that women's work must still be negotiated through family consent. This indicates that educational and economic capital can expand women's scope of action, but does not always eliminate patriarchal norms. Equality is more likely to occur when there is a division of domestic labor and social support, not merely when women have jobs. In the case of DWI, online businesses highlight the paradox of women working in the digital economy. On the one hand, working from home provides women with an opportunity to earn income. On the other hand, because it is done from home, this work is easily perceived as flexible and not as demanding as public sector work, so domestic responsibilities remain entirely the burden of women. Thus, the domestic sphere becomes an arena that unites productive and reproductive labor, yet continues to obscure the intensity of women's work.

The Habitus of Madurese Working Women

In the context of this study, women's work is a practice that both shapes and is shaped by their habits. Bourdieu (2004: 121) highlights the mediating function of practice when he defines habitus as "a system of dispositions that is both structured and structuring, shaped by practice and constantly oriented toward practical functions; while practice tends to shape habitus, habitus also helps to unify and generate practice."

The work performed by these women constitutes a form of existence as agents equipped with internalized patterns that serve as instruments for perceiving, understanding, becoming aware of, and evaluating the social world. The activities carried out by women in Madura, particularly in the village of Paberasan, give rise to a series of actions or values. Bourdieu dialectically refers to this as habitus: a product of the internalization of social structures, such that these habits change depending on an individual's position within social life. Not everyone possesses the same habits. Different individuals create different habits. People with the same social status often share similar habits or habits. Therefore, it cannot be uniform across all individuals, as

habits are not the only factor; they can also be described as “collective phenomena.”

DWI's experience of a role transition from initially being a working woman in the public sphere to being pressured by her husband to focusing on domestic work supports Kleden's assumption that habitus can be transferred to other contexts, even though it is fundamentally shaped by specific social conditions. In this case, the negotiations DWI engaged in with her husband altered the habitus and social conditions she had previously established. Other elements (Sutrisno & Putranto, 2005:177) are evident in the experiences of SAM, AMN, and SAN as bean sprout farm laborers. They have been doing this since they were young. In SAM's case, becoming a bean sprout farm laborer was an act of obedience to his parents' orders, compelling him to continue the work that his parents and himself had been doing since childhood. In this context, habitus is viewed as a historical product that persists over a long period and is acquired through practices within specific social conditions, thereby producing a pre-existing structure within which these habits are produced. This shapes the perceptions, expressions, and actions of SAM, SAN, and AMN as agents within social and family structures. Consequently, it becomes a structured structure.

This habitus is preconscious because it is not the result of rational deliberation but rather a spontaneous, subconscious activity or habit carried out regularly and in a patterned manner; however, it is not a form of obedience to specific rules. This element of habitus aligns with the experiences of SAM, AMN, SAN, RAT, and DWI. These working women come from diverse families and social backgrounds. Without realizing this, these differences constitute a habitus that shapes them as independent individuals; they also act as agents who create a habitus for their environment. (Adib, 2012:99) Habitus is not merely a state of mind but also a state of the body that determines a person's perceptions, expressions, and actions.

The activities carried out by Madurese women in this study may be directed toward specific goals and outcomes, but they do not make a conscious effort to achieve them. This finding reinforces the boundary between women's subjectivity and objectivity in social contexts. Bourdieu (Ritzer & Goodman, 2004) refers to social and environmental conditions in this context as “fields,” viewing them relationally rather than structurally. This environment constitutes a network of relationships among the objective positions within it and is not based on individual consciousness or will. Therefore, this environment or field is a network of relationships between the objective positions within it. This implies that the existence of inherent connections is not assumed. Actors or agents in these positions can be individual agents or institutions and are governed by the structure of the

environment. The field is a “battleground” that generates various forms of capital, which are then utilized by certain agents to secure their survival.

Conclusion

Based on the results of the analysis conducted by the researcher, several interesting findings were identified regarding working women in Paberasan Village, Sumenep, and Madura. Working women in this village have a limited understanding of the public sphere in which they operate. This is because working women in the village not only bear dual roles but also face a burden that is twice as heavy when they decide to enter the public sphere and take on the responsibility of earning a living. Another interesting finding is that, due to the deeply entrenched patriarchal culture in the village, women are confined to domestic roles within the patriarchal system to which they adhere; thus, when women attempt to step even slightly outside that zone, they continue to face discrimination—even more severe than what is expected of them in their traditional roles.

Another finding is that this is partly a result of women’s lack of awareness of discrimination in the workplace and their roles and responsibilities within the family. Working women in Paberasan Village, Sumenep, Madura, remain under the hegemony of patriarchy, particularly culture-based patriarchy. Habitus-related practices are also observed, as these are the result of the habitus they themselves have experienced. Furthermore, women unconsciously contribute to shaping the habitus of working women. The contribution of this study lies in its interpretation of the experiences of rural women workers in Madura as a gender issue that relates not only to economic labor but also to the reproduction of patriarchal habitus. This study demonstrates that patriarchy operates subtly through customs, family advice, social recognition, and women’s acceptance of traditional gender norms. Thus, this study enriches the fields of gender studies, women’s labor, and local culture by highlighting the complexity of women’s agency within rural patriarchal structures.

The limitations of this study lie in the small number of informants and the focus on a single village; therefore, the findings cannot be generalized to all Madurese women. This study also did not conduct an in-depth comparison of the perspectives of men, community leaders, or young men regarding women’s work and the division of domestic roles. Recommendations for future research include expanding the number of informants, comparing several villages with different social typologies, and incorporating the perspectives of husbands, families, religious leaders, and cultural figures. Future research could also examine women’s strategies for building gender awareness, the forms of negotiation regarding the division of domestic labor, and the role of local communities in promoting more equitable gender relations.

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Author Contribution Statement

F.B.A.C.P contributed to the conceptualization of the research topic, formulation of the research problem, development of the theoretical framework, field data collection, and preparation of the initial manuscript draft. H.F.N.K contributed to the methodological design, data validation, data analysis, and interpretation of findings. N.G.A contributed to the literature review, strengthening of the gender perspective, manuscript revision, and final editing. All authors discussed the research findings, reviewed the manuscript critically, approved the final version of the article, and agreed to be accountable for all aspects of the work.

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