

Gendered division of labor and women's double burden: A Bourdieusian perspective on rural plantation work

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Abstract:

Gender inequality within the family is evident in the unequal division of labor, where women engaged in productive work continue to bear a double burden because domestic responsibilities remain primarily assigned to them. This study aims to analyze how women's dual roles in the domestic and productive spheres within the plantation sector are formed and reproduced within rural gender structures. This study employs a qualitative interpretative approach through field research involving observation, interviews, and documentation. Data were analyzed inductively using Bourdieu's theoretical framework and validated through triangulation and member checking. The findings show that: (1) women perform dual roles, remaining primarily responsible for domestic work while also engaging in productive labor in the plantation sector, whereas men remain positioned as the main breadwinners within rural gender structures; and (2) women's productive work is reproduced through the interaction of patriarchal habitus, socio-cultural capital, and the social fields of the family and plantation, which continuously sustain gendered divisions of labor in rural life. The study concludes that women's involvement in plantation work does not necessarily transform unequal gender relations. Women continue to bear a double burden, while patriarchal relations are reproduced through the interaction of habitus, capital, and social fields. Theoretically, this study contributes to Bourdieu's perspective by demonstrating how internalized patriarchal dispositions contribute to the reproduction of gender inequality without direct coercion. Practically, it calls for critical gender education and village-level policies aimed at transforming internalized gender norms and promoting a more equitable distribution of domestic labor.

Keywords:

Gender Division of Labor;
Pierre Bourdieu; Habitus;
Patriarchy.



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INTRODUCTION

The division of roles between husbands and wives in households still exhibits gender inequality, in which women are often positioned within the domestic sphere. Normatively, husbands are responsible for providing for the household, whereas wives manage the household (Ningrum & Mas'udah, 2021; Lee, 2022). However, in the practical life of communities, particularly in rural areas, women also work in the public sector, such as coffee plantations, to support the family economy (Arlinghaus & Johnston, 2019; Sarkki et al., 2021; Hamlet et al., 2022). This condition indicates a shift in roles driven by economic necessity and the internalization of habitus, namely the social habits that are formed and transmitted within society (Lizardo, 2004; Carlhed Ydhag et al., 2021). Field data show that wives routinely accompany their husbands to work on the plantation every day, making the double burden a practice considered normal within the community. The gender division of labor is not entirely rigid but is negotiated through daily social practices (Maes et al., 2022). Therefore, a reinterpretation of policies and a more inclusive gender perspective that addresses social reality is required.

Based on previous studies, this research systematically identifies three main streams in the existing literature. First, the gender division of labor shows that women are predominantly responsible for domestic work while also playing a role in the informal family economy (Yavorsky et al., 2015; Auspurg et al., 2017; Zamberlan et al., 2021; Kusuma, 2021). Second, gender relations are negotiated, yet women often remain subordinated due to inequalities in culture, economy, and work systems (Mazei et al., 2015; Belingheri et al., 2021; Kinasih & Wulandari, 2021; Ruslin, 2022; Nohe et al., 2022). Third, gender inequality in agriculture is influenced by patriarchy, which positions women in low-paid, limited-opportunity work (Setiawan, 2017; Ikrami & Fatmariza, 2021; Anderson et al., 2021; Farhall & Rickards, 2021; Lawless et al., 2021; Vincent, 2022). Thus, previous studies still describe gender inequality normatively without explaining the mechanisms behind the reproduction of the tradition of women working in plantations. The novelty of this study lies in revealing how women's dual roles are reproduced through habitus, capital, and arena (Bourdieu), thereby sustainably perpetuating the gender-based division of labor in rural settings.

This study aims to analyze how women's dual roles in the domestic and productive spheres within the plantation sector are formed and reproduced within rural gender structures. This study also seeks to understand how patriarchal habitus, socio-cultural capital, and relations within the family and plantation arenas contribute to the sustainability of the gender-based division of labor. The research questions posed to address this are: (1) how do women perform dual domestic-productive roles within a gender structure that positions men as the primary breadwinners? (2) How is the tradition of women working reproduced through the interaction of patriarchal habitus, socio-cultural capital, and the arenas of family and plantation? Theoretically, this study enriches gender studies by integrating Bourdieu's perspective on habitus within the rural context. In practical terms, this study has implications for women's empowerment policies by recognizing both reproductive and productive work and encouraging a more equitable division of labor within households and the plantation sector.

The core argument of this study is that the gender division of labor in Dusun Curah Leduk is not merely an economic phenomenon, but a social practice systematically reproduced through the mechanisms of habitus, capital, and arena (Bourdieu). The findings reveal layered inequalities: at the domestic level, women bear the burden of reproductive work without equal recognition; at the productive level, their participation in plantations adds to their burden without shifting men's status as primary breadwinners. Ironically, cultural capital in

the form of strong values of obedience and compliance becomes a barrier to emancipation, while weak economic capital limits women's bargaining position. The arenas of family and plantation function as asymmetric fields of power that perpetuate subordination. Thus, women's empowerment is insufficient merely by providing economic access; it must dismantle the patriarchal habitus and the underlying arena structures that sustain it.

METHOD

Research Approach

This study employed a naturalistic interpretive paradigm using a qualitative field research approach (Kakkuri-Knuuttila et al., 2008; Ninan, 2020). The focus was on understanding the meanings of actions and the underlying factors shaping women's social practices in assisting their husbands with coffee plantation work. A qualitative method was selected because it enables in-depth and holistic examination of complex social phenomena that cannot be reduced to a single factor, as human actions are shaped by multiple interconnected social, cultural, and economic dimensions (Busetto et al., 2020). This approach allowed the researcher to capture the nuanced interplay between habitus, capital, and social arenas within the rural context, thereby revealing how gendered labor division is reproduced systematically rather than merely described as a static condition.

Research Site

The study was conducted in Curah Leduk Hamlet, Banyuanyar Village, Kalibaru District, Banyuwangi Regency, Indonesia. This location was purposefully selected because the local community has maintained a long-standing tradition of wives working alongside their husbands in coffee plantations, a practice reproduced across generations. This phenomenon is particularly significant for investigation because women's dual roles are widely accepted and performed without overt resistance, providing a valuable context for examining how patriarchal habitus is reproduced and sustained within rural social life. The absence of visible contestation allows researchers to uncover the subtle mechanisms through which gender-based labor division becomes naturalized and perpetuated over time, revealing how habitus operates through routine daily practices rather than explicit coercion.

Data Collection

Data were collected using three complementary techniques. First, participant observation was conducted by engaging directly in community activities, including plantation work and household routines, allowing the researcher to experience firsthand the daily practices of women's dual roles. Second, in-depth interviews were carried out with three families, community leaders, and religious leaders to capture diverse perspectives on gender-based labor division. Third, documentation was gathered through photographs of daily activities as well as relevant books and scholarly journal articles to support contextual understanding. These methods were employed simultaneously to generate rich and comprehensive data, facilitate cross-validation, and strengthen the triangulation of information sources, thereby enhancing the credibility and trustworthiness of the qualitative findings.

Data Analysis

Data were analyzed inductively through the stages of data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing (Azungah, 2018). Interview, observation, and documentation data were organized into thematic categories, including habitus, capital, social arena, and women's dual-role practices. Bourdieu's theoretical framework was employed to interpret how patriarchal values are internalized and reproduced within everyday social practices (Uhlmann & Uhlmann,

2005; Sato et al., 2016). The analytical process was iterative and cyclical, involving continuous movement between empirical field data and theoretical interpretation until a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon was achieved. This recursive approach ensured that emerging findings were continuously refined and grounded in both empirical evidence and theoretical concepts, thereby enhancing the analytical depth and interpretive rigor of the study.

Data Trustworthiness

The trustworthiness of the data was ensured through source and methodological triangulation. Source triangulation was conducted by comparing information obtained from wives, husbands, community leaders, and religious leaders (Jespersen & Wallace, 2017). Methodological triangulation involved cross-checking findings derived from interviews, participant observation, and documentation (Modell, 2005). In addition, member checking was undertaken by verifying the findings with key informants to confirm the accuracy of the interpretations (Kristiningrum et al., 2021). These procedures helped ensure that the researcher's interpretations accurately reflected the social realities experienced by the people of Curah Leduk Hamlet. By applying these rigorous validation strategies, the study minimized potential bias and enhanced the credibility, dependability, and confirmability of the qualitative findings.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Result

Geographical characteristics of Curah Leduk Hamlet, Banyuwangi village

Curah Leduk Hamlet is a rural community with an agrarian landscape in a mountainous area, surrounded by plantations and agricultural land. The livelihoods of the local population are closely shaped by the availability of natural resources in the region. Economic, social, and cultural activities are largely centered on the use of agricultural and plantation land, which serves as the primary source of income and sustenance for the local community.

Table 1

Mapping of Conditions in Curah Leduk Hamlet, Banyuwangi Village

Aspect	Description of Findings
Geographical Location	Curah Leduk Hamlet is part of Banyuwangi Village, located in a mountainous area and classified as an enclave surrounded by plantation areas.
Regional Characteristics	The hamlet is dominated by coffee plantations and agricultural land, which serve as the community's main sources of livelihood.
Natural Resources	The area has approximately 3,057.192 hectares of coffee plantations, which constitute the community's main economic potential.
Community Livelihoods	Most residents work as coffee farmers, rice-field farmers, and managers of other agricultural land.
Land Tenure	Since 2002, the community has held management rights to plantation land previously managed by Perhutani.
Agricultural System	In addition to coffee as the main commodity, the community cultivates intercropping crops such as bananas, cassava, chilies, and pumpkins to meet daily economic needs.
Socio-Economic Conditions	Community life is highly dependent on the agricultural and plantation sectors; therefore, all family members, including women, are involved in agricultural production activities.
Family Work Culture	Agricultural activities are carried out collectively by family members, particularly husbands and wives who work together in the plantations.

Source: Prepared by the author (2023).

Table 1 shows that Curah Leduk Hamlet is a mountainous enclave dominated by coffee plantations covering approximately 3,057 hectares. Since 2002, residents have managed former Perhutani land, with their main livelihoods consisting of coffee and rice farming, as well as land cultivation. In addition to coffee, they cultivate intercropping crops such as bananas, cassava, chilies, and pumpkins. Economic dependence on the agrarian sector encourages all family members, including women, to actively participate in agricultural production. Farming activities are carried out collectively, particularly by husbands and wives who work together in the plantations. This family-based economic structure shapes a distinctive pattern of gendered work relations, in which women are not only associated with domestic roles but also constitute an integral part of the productive labor force.

Based on the findings, the agrarian structure in Curah Leduk Hamlet creates specific conditions that shape women's involvement in the productive sector. The dominance of coffee plantations covering thousands of hectares serves as the economic foundation, requiring the maximum mobilization of family labor. Intercropping practices reflect an economic adaptation strategy that further reinforces the need for collective work. The husband-wife labor relationship in the plantation is not merely a technical division of tasks, but rather a reflection of a deeply rooted agrarian habitus. Although women are involved in productive labor, the land tenure structure of former Perhutani land and family-based management patterns continue to reproduce men's position as the primary managers. Thus, the plantation field functions as a social arena that continuously perpetuates a gender-based division of labor.

Division of labor between men and women in Curah Leduk Hamlet

The division of labor between men and women in Curah Leduk Hamlet, Banyuanyar Village, reflects a gendered social structure that has become deeply embedded in the local community. Domestic activities, including household management, cooking, childcare, washing, and cleaning, are predominantly performed by women, whereas men are more strongly associated with the public sphere. At the same time, women also participate actively in agricultural activities, particularly coffee plantation work, creating a dual workload that combines reproductive and productive labor.

A female informant (wife) described her daily workload as follows:

"After cooking and cleaning the house, I go to the plantation with my husband. We usually leave around seven in the morning and return in the afternoon."

Her statement illustrates that women's productive work begins only after completing their domestic responsibilities. Although women work alongside their husbands on the plantation, their economic contribution is not necessarily recognized as equivalent to men's. As another female informant explained:

"On the plantation, we work together, sometimes hoeing, fertilizing, and also harvesting. But the one considered the breadwinner is still my husband."

This distinction demonstrates that participation in productive labor does not automatically translate into recognition as an economic provider. Women contribute directly to agricultural production and household income, yet the social identity of "breadwinner" remains primarily associated with men. A community informant further explained that this division of labor has been established across generations:

"Since long ago, women have indeed taken care of the household; that is normal here. Men work outside."

The statement indicates that gendered labor arrangements are not perceived merely as individual choices but as socially accepted practices. Women are expected to manage

domestic responsibilities while simultaneously contributing to agricultural production, whereas men continue to occupy the socially recognized position of household breadwinner.

Table 2

Division of Labor Between Men and Women in Curah Leduk Hamlet

Main Theme	Subtheme	Findings	Implications
Construction of Gender Roles in the Family	Position and obligations of wives	Wives are expected to be obedient, submissive, and responsible for household affairs as part of their role in the family.	Gender relations are formed in ways that place women in a subordinate position in family decision-making.
Division of Domestic Labor	Management of household work	Domestic work, such as cooking, childcare, washing, and cleaning the house, is dominated by women, while husbands' involvement remains relatively minimal.	Household labor is concentrated on women, limiting their time and opportunities to develop themselves in other spheres.
Women's Participation in the Public Sphere	Involvement in the agricultural sector	In addition to managing household responsibilities, women work alongside their husbands on coffee plantations and in agricultural fields to support the family's economy.	Women contribute to the family economy, yet their contributions often do not receive equal recognition.
Women's Dual Workload	Domestic and productive roles	Women perform two roles simultaneously: managing household work and working in the agricultural sector from morning until afternoon.	This increases women's physical burden and working time compared to men in everyday life.
Normalization of the Gender Division of Labor	Habitus and reproduction of patriarchal culture	The division of labor that places women in the domestic sphere and men in the public sphere is regarded as normal, inherited across generations, and accepted by the community.	Patriarchal values continue to be reproduced, making gender inequality in the division of labor difficult to change.

Source: Prepared by the author (2023).

Table 2 demonstrates that the division of labor in Curah Leduk Hamlet is organized around an unequal gender-role structure. Women are expected to assume primary responsibility for domestic activities, while men remain more strongly associated with work outside the household. However, women also participate in coffee plantations and agricultural work, meaning their productive responsibilities are added to rather than replaced by their domestic duties. Consequently, women experience a double workload that extends from household responsibilities to agricultural labor from morning until afternoon.

The findings further indicate that this arrangement is widely regarded as natural and appropriate because it has been passed down through generations. From a Bourdieusian perspective, the normalization of these practices indicates the operation of patriarchal *habitus*, whereby socially constructed gender expectations become internalized and reproduced through everyday practices. Women's domestic responsibilities and agricultural contributions are therefore not simply the outcomes of individual decisions but are embedded within a broader social structure that defines appropriate roles for men and women.

At the domestic level, women bear a disproportionate share of reproductive labor. At the productive level, their participation in agricultural activities demonstrates a substantial economic contribution, but this contribution is not matched by equal social recognition or bargaining power. The coexistence of these two forms of labor reveals that women's participation in the productive sphere does not necessarily eliminate gender inequality.

Instead, productive participation can coexist with persistent domestic expectations, thereby intensifying women's workload.

Women's work tradition through habitus, capital, and field: A Bourdieusian perspective

The tradition of women working in Curah Leduk Hamlet cannot be understood solely as an economic strategy for fulfilling household needs. Rather, it constitutes a social practice shaped by the interaction of *habitus*, *capital*, and *field*, as conceptualized by Pierre Bourdieu. Women's participation in coffee plantation labor has developed through a long process of internalizing social values and expectations, which are subsequently reproduced through everyday interactions within the family and the broader rural community.

The interview findings indicate that rural women internalize their roles as wives, expected to obey their husbands and manage household affairs. One informant stated:

"As a wife, I have to follow my husband and continue taking care of the household."

This understanding of the wife's role is closely connected to women's participation in productive activities. Another informant explained:

"I go to the plantation because I want to help my husband so that our family's needs can be met."

The two statements demonstrate how domestic responsibility and economic contribution are combined within women's socially expected roles. Women do not necessarily perceive their participation in plantation work as a challenge to traditional gender arrangements. Instead, working alongside their husbands is understood as part of their responsibility to support the family while maintaining their domestic obligations.

After completing domestic work, women continue working on plantations with their husbands until the afternoon. Their productive labor is therefore incorporated into an already established gendered division of responsibilities. In this context, women's work on coffee plantations is not merely an economic activity but a practice shaped by internalized dispositions, available forms of capital, and the social fields in which they live and work.

Table 3

The Tradition of Women's Work: Forms of Practice through Habitus and Field

Theme	Empirical Findings	Implications
Habitus	Women internalize rural gender norms that define them as wives responsible for domestic work, obedience to their husbands, and assistance with plantation work.	Patriarchal habitus normalizes gendered labor divisions and makes inequality difficult to question.
Capital	Women possess cultural capital in obedience, domestic competence, and diligence, and social capital through mutual cooperation. However, their economic capital is relatively weak because their productive labor is not fully recognized as family income.	Cultural and social capital sustain established practices, while limited economic capital constrains women's bargaining position.
Field	Family, rural community, and coffee plantations function as interconnected fields in which women perform domestic and productive roles within male-dominated norms.	Gendered field structures reinforce unequal power relations and restrict women's access to more equal positions.
Practice	Helping husbands on coffee plantations is a normalized practice that arises from the interaction among habitus, capital, and field. Women combine domestic work with plantation labor but remain unrecognized as the main breadwinners.	The practice produces a double workload, limited economic recognition, and intergenerational reproduction of gender inequality.

Source: Prepared by the author (2023).

Table 3 shows that women's work tradition in Curah Leduk Hamlet is shaped by the interaction of patriarchal habitus, cultural and social capital, economic capital, and gendered

social fields. Women's obedience, domestic competence, mutual cooperation, and willingness to assist their husbands constitute cultural and social capital that sustain established practices. However, their relatively weak economic capital, reflected in the limited recognition of productive labor as household income, restricts their bargaining position. The family, rural community, and coffee plantation operate as interconnected spheres in which men hold dominant economic positions, while women combine domestic responsibilities with productive work under established gender norms.

From a Bourdieusian perspective, women's plantation work demonstrates the interaction of habitus, capital, and field in producing and reproducing social practices. Although women exercise agency through their participation in productive labor, this agency operates within structural conditions that define appropriate gender roles and determine whose labor receives recognition. Consequently, women's economic participation does not necessarily transform gender relations. When productive work occurs within an unchanged patriarchal habitus and gendered field, it can instead be incorporated into existing expectations, generating an additional workload. The practice of assisting husbands on coffee plantations is therefore normalized rather than questioned as an unequal arrangement.

The findings further indicate that women's work is not merely a rational economic strategy but reflects the dialectical relationship between social structure and individual agency. Patriarchal dispositions are internalized through repeated socialization and reinforced through everyday family and community practices. Cultural and social capital associated with obedience, domestic competence, mutual cooperation, and assistance to husbands can paradoxically sustain existing gender arrangements, while limited recognition of women's economic contributions weakens their bargaining position. The family and plantation thus function as asymmetrical fields of power. Meaningful change requires not only expanding women's economic opportunities but also addressing the habitus, cultural expectations, and field structures that normalize unequal labor and reproduce gender inequality across generations.

Discussion

The study of the division of labor between men and women in Curah Leduk Hamlet, Banyuanyar Village, reveals two main findings. First, women perform dual roles as the primary actors responsible for domestic work while also participating as productive workers in the plantation sector, whereas men remain positioned as the main breadwinners within the rural gender structure. Second, the tradition of women's work is reproduced through the interaction of patriarchal habitus, socio-cultural capital, and the fields of the family and plantation, which continuously sustain the gender-based division of labor in rural life. Thus, women's involvement in the productive sector has not yet been accompanied by a transformation toward more equal gender relations. Instead, women's dual roles contribute to the reproduction of patriarchal relations through the interaction of habitus, capital, and social fields, allowing inequalities in both domestic and productive labor to persist across generations.

This finding reflects a broader social issue in Indonesia, where gender inequality in the division of labor remains a structural challenge. Women's labor force participation remains lower than that of men, and the unequal distribution of domestic work is one of the factors that inhibits women's participation (Rimkute & Sugiharti, 2022; Bose et al., 2022). Furthermore, studies by Chen et al. (2018) and Sinclair et al. (2022) reveal that, in rural areas, women often experience a double burden without receiving equal economic recognition. Similar phenomena have also been identified in various agrarian regions of Indonesia, where

patriarchal norms continue to constrain women's access to resources and participation in decision-making processes (Ali & Naylor, 2013; Chigbu, 2019). Thus, the case of Curah Leduk Hamlet is not an isolated phenomenon but reflects a broader pattern of gender inequality that remains embedded in rural Indonesian society.

From Pierre Bourdieu's perspective, women's participation in assisting their husbands with coffee plantation work can be understood as the outcome of the interaction between habitus, capital, and social fields that shape their practices (Karima et al., 2022; MacKenzie et al., 2022). The habitus of rural women is formed through a long process of internalizing social values, which generates the belief that women are responsible for domestic work and bear a moral obligation to support their husbands (Jenderedjian & Bellows, 2021; Das & Mishra, 2021). This habitus operates within the family and rural social environment, continuously reproducing gender-based divisions of labor. Cultural capital, manifested in values such as obedience, diligence, and dedication to the family, together with social capital in the form of solidarity and cooperation, reinforces women's participation in these established roles (Ritzer & Goodman, 2004). Consequently, women's involvement in productive labor should not be viewed merely as an individual choice but as a social practice emerging from the interplay between social structures and life experiences that have become internalized within their habitus (Ritzer, 2014).

This study demonstrates that understanding social reality requires more than measuring quantitative indicators or observing external behavior; it also requires an in-depth examination of the cognitive structures and dispositions that underlie social actors' everyday practices (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Krisdinanto, 2014; Musarrofa, 2019). Gender inequality is not always produced through overt coercion but can also emerge through the subtle and long-term internalization of social values, making unequal practices appear normal and difficult to question (Prastyowati, 2019; Gurieva et al., 2022). Therefore, critical consciousness is important for social transformation. The study also highlights the importance of an emic approach that recognizes the perspectives and lived experiences of research participants while maintaining a structural analysis of the social conditions that shape those experiences (Ritzer & Goodman, 2004).

This study is consistent with the research of Zhu et al. (2022) and Oktavia et al. (2022), which shows that the internalization of patriarchal values through family socialization is a key factor in the reproduction of gender inequality in rural communities. However, this study differs from Skarpenes (2014), which emphasizes formal education as a potential tool of emancipation. In Curah Leduk Hamlet, formal education does not automatically transform women's established habitus or gendered labor practices. Meanwhile, Huggett et al. (2022) found that community interventions based on gender discussions were effective in changing gender-related mindsets. By contrast, the present study indicates that forms of cultural capital associated with obedience, conformity, and domestic responsibility may reinforce established gender relations and make change more difficult. Thus, this study is positioned between structuralist approaches that emphasize male domination and agency-oriented approaches that emphasize women's individual choices, offering Bourdieu's dialectical perspective as an integrative framework for understanding how structure and agency interact in the reproduction of rural gender inequality (Nash, 1999; Kelly, 2016; Turnbull et al., 2019).

Based on these findings, four action plans are recommended. First, the village government should integrate gender-awareness education into routine community programs, such as women's religious gatherings and residents' forums, with a focus on critically reflecting on internalized patriarchal gender roles. Second, agricultural extension agencies should measure and recognize women's working-time contributions in village productivity statistics

so that the economic value of women's productive labor becomes more visible. Third, women's farmer groups should be established or strengthened to provide spaces for women to discuss their experiences, build collective awareness, and negotiate a fairer division of labor within their households. Fourth, policies supporting women's access to microenterprise credit should be developed through accessible requirements, enabling women to strengthen their economic capital and expand opportunities beyond agricultural labor. Periodic evaluations should be conducted to assess changes in gender-role perceptions, labor practices, women's economic recognition, and participation in household decision-making.

CONCLUSION

The study concludes that women's involvement in the productive plantation sector does not necessarily transform unequal gender relations. Instead, women bear a dual burden: they remain primarily responsible for domestic work while also participating in the workforce, whereas men continue to be positioned as the main breadwinners. This tradition is continuously reproduced through the interaction of patriarchal habitus, socio-cultural capital, and the fields of the family and plantation. Women's economic participation, therefore, coexists with, and may contribute to, the reproduction of patriarchal relations when it is not accompanied by a fair redistribution of domestic labor. These findings reflect a broader structural problem in Indonesia, where patriarchal norms in rural areas continue to shape women's access to resources, decision-making, and recognition of their economic contributions, making the Curah Leduk case illustrative of broader patterns of rural gender inequality.

This study contributes to the application of Bourdieu's perspective by demonstrating that women's work practices are not merely individual choices but are shaped by the long-term internalization of gendered dispositions within the habitus. The study further shows that gender inequality can persist without explicit coercion, operating through the normalization of gendered practices and the reproduction of established roles through cultural and social capital within the rural field. Practically, these findings highlight the need for interventions that not only promote women's economic participation but also address the underlying gendered dispositions and unequal division of domestic labor. Empowerment programs should include critical gender education for both women and men, as well as village-level policies that reinterpret the norm of mutual cooperation to support equitable participation rather than perpetuate women's dual burden.

This study has several limitations, particularly its focus on a single hamlet within a specific agrarian context; therefore, the transferability of its findings should be examined in other rural areas with different livelihood bases, such as fisheries or tourism. In addition, the study places greater emphasis on women's perspectives and does not explore men's viewpoints in sufficient depth, particularly their interpretations of gender roles and their responses to potential changes in the division of labor. Future research should therefore examine concrete strategies for disrupting the reproduction of patriarchal habitus, including formal education and community-based gender interventions. Participatory action research could also be employed to examine whether collective processes of critical reflection can help transform gendered social relations and promote a more equitable redistribution of domestic labor.

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AUTHOR CONTRIBUTION STATEMENT

Muhammad Arif Mustaqim: Conceptualization; Data Curation; Formal Analysis; Investigation; Methodology; Project Administration; Writing Original Draft; Validation; Visualization; Writing Review & Editing.

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