

# At the nexus of work and togetherness: Family agriculture in Madura, Indonesia

Anita Kristina<sup>1\*</sup>, Muhamad Abdul Jumali<sup>2</sup>, Khairunisah Binti Kamsin<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Department of Economics, Faculty of Economics and Business, Universitas Trunojoyo Madura, Jl. Raya Telang 1, Kamal, Bangkalan, Indonesia 69162

<sup>2</sup>Department of Industrial Engineering, Faculty of Faculty of Engineering, Universitas PGRI Adibuana Surabaya, Jl. Raya Dukuh Menanggal 12, Surabaya, Indonesia 60234

<sup>3</sup>Faculty Management & Entrepreneurship, University College Sabah Foundation, Jalan Sanzac, Sembulan, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, Malaysia 88100

\*Corresponding author

E-mail address: [anita.kristina@trunojoyo.ac.id](mailto:anita.kristina@trunojoyo.ac.id)

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.21107/sml.v8i1.28712>

ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
<p><i>Keywords:</i></p> <p>work togetherness family agriculture traditional farmers sustainability of farming business</p>	<p>This study aims to explore how families understand and organize their work in agriculture in the midst of modern production challenges and changing agricultural practices, specifically in Madura, Indonesia. This research uses a qualitative research methodology with a phenomenological approach. This study analyzes the responses of informants to understand the lived experiences of farming families. Using the theory of symbolic interactionism, this research shows how farmers negotiate their work and family roles through the active construction and prioritization of shared meanings related to togetherness. These principles include a) a simple way of thinking, b) owning a traditional small farm, and c) not being primarily market oriented. Farmers foster a sense of work-related togetherness by forming strong family ties, resulting in a division of labor and wages based on family relationships. In the Madurese context, traditional agricultural practices are not only a means of livelihood, but also an integral part of the family's cultural identity and social structure. The findings of this study underscore the crucial role of shared meanings related to togetherness and family solidarity in sustaining traditional agriculture in the modern era. It also provides insights into the importance of family cohesion as a fundamental element of the resilience of traditional agricultural practices in Madura, Indonesia.</p>

Citation suggestion:

Kristina, A., Jumali, M. A., & Kamsin, K. B. (2025). At the nexus of work and togetherness: Family agriculture in Madura, Indonesia. *Simulacra*, 8(1), 49–62. <https://doi.org/10.21107/sml.v8i1.28712>

Received 1 January 2025; Received in revised form 14 March 2025; Accepted 5 April 2025; Published online 25 June 2025.

## Introduction

The family farming challenges include the efforts of small farmers to adapt to modern production methods (Giller et al., 2021), the need to master new technologies (Dhillon & Moncur, 2023), and the decline in agricultural productivity (Mehta, 2023). This decline is largely due to family members' diminishing interest in farming (Fauzi et al., 2023; Liu et al., 2023). Family farming continues to persist mainly because of a longstanding commitment to family-oriented work patterns (Githinji et al., 2024; Haller et al., 2023). In Indonesia, particularly in the Madura region, various farming practices are managed within families, through their everyday interactions, they interpret and react to these changes, and strive to survive by fostering social values, particularly emphasizing collaboration and togetherness in their work (Jelsma et al., 2024; Wulandhari et al., 2022).

The question arises: what is the meaning of work and family for rural farmers? How can family dynamics motivate farmers to employ their relatives to organize production in the face of modern agricultural market challenges? These questions will be explored through a symbolic interactionism analysis, which emphasizes how the meanings of 'work' and 'family' are constructed and negotiated through interactions among family members. The legitimacy of social values is paramount to them (Barboza et al., 2022). Norms such as hard work and cooperation are not only used abstractly but also internalized and actualized through daily interactions. Meanwhile, in an economic context, of course it can be linked to the availability of labor. Using family members as laborers is a natural choice, as families often share interaction, identity, and experiences in meeting their consumption needs (Gong et al., 2023; S.K Deshmukh et al., 2020). Workplace conditions can limit

family decisions about work and family responsibilities (Bednay et al., 2025; Molina, 2021). Consequently, the division of labor frequently leaves women (wives) in a difficult position, forced to choose between contributing to agricultural work and attending to household duties. This tension between work and family obligations reflects broader issues of gender conflict (Allen & French, 2023; Maseda et al., 2023). Such conflict highlights the limitations of power dynamics in both work and family settings (Dewitt et al., 2023; Schäfer et al., 2024).

From a work-family perspective, the interplay between work and family on farms is unique because families concentrate consumptive and productive endeavors in the same physical space (Beriso et al., 2023). Families are able to adjust their own income needs and labor inputs in response to changing market conditions (Karabarbounis, 2024), increasing production and employing non-family labor, family members may move into managerial positions, organizing labor according to corporate principles (Mabaso et al., 2024). In the context of family farming, there is a distinct interaction between work and family life. Farmers and their families collaborate to meet their economic and productivity needs, united by a common goal (Ma et al., 2023; Yigit et al., 2024). The production methods employed by rural farmers tend to be minimal and straightforward (Ren et al., 2023). The family head consistently organizes the workforce and typically exerts authority over the division of labor, often guided by gender specialization (Han et al., 2024). This study highlights that in family farming in Madura, Indonesia, gender roles are functional and deeply intertwined with local cultural identities, where family unity is prioritized over work efficiency or economic gain, not only reflect social structures but are also maintained and interpreted through daily interactions. Through these interactions,

family members communicate and negotiate their expectations and responsibilities.

Historically, rural family farming has been structured around a patriarchal household model, where men (husbands) hold primary responsibility for the production process. In this arrangement, the roles of women (wives) and children tend to be confined largely to administrative tasks, while their contributions in utilizing other important production inputs are often overlooked. Women and children typically do not have control over production resources. Nevertheless, rural women's roles do contribute significantly to family farming (Kitole & Genda, 2024; Taye & Tesfaye, 2024). Male farmers have the flexibility to determine whether their family members will work outside the home or participate in production activities. However, this flexibility does not extend to their wives, who are expected to accompany them in production efforts. This is related to the cultural context, which is dominated by the issue of the relationship between work habits and environmental issues, including women's involvement in alternative agriculture and value-added production (Kitole & Genda, 2024).

This study enhances our understanding of the reliance on family labor within farming families in Madura. They are known for their strong family values and traditions that are passed down from generation to generation. Work in the agricultural sector often involves all family members, strengthening family ties and cooperation. Overall, agricultural work and family in Madura have deep meaning, tied to strong cultural values and traditions. Despite social and economic changes, the agricultural sector still plays an important role in their lives and persists with a work system that prioritizes togetherness. These families not only employ family members to reduce costs, but also as a means to strengthen social ties and preserve agrarian traditions in the face of challenging economic

conditions (Colnago & Dogliotti, 2020; Tatis Diaz et al., 2022). However, there is often a struggle to balance agricultural work with family life, as they strive to work and prosper together. The significance of family farms extends beyond economics; it also influences social values related to the sustainability of rural agricultural production and the overall economic environment. While these farming families typically operate on a medium to small economic scale and are not primarily focused on profit, they have a strong motivation to employ their wives and other family members based on the ideology of familial togetherness (Chen et al., 2024; Ustunel et al., 2023).

Farming in Madura is characterized by economic challenges and simple agricultural practices (Santoso et al., 2020). This is particularly evident in the Aeng Panas Village, which has significant potential related to the *siwalan* tree (Palmyra palm). In this village, the majority of farmers (90%) rely on *siwalan* products as their main source of livelihood. They primarily process the *siwalan* into brown sugar, which constitutes a small but essential industry and has been a cornerstone of the village economy for many years. The definition of family farming has been examined in various studies, particularly regarding family farming resilience (Tiny et al., 2022; van der Lee et al., 2022). In this context, family farming refers to all agricultural production and processing activities conducted by a single family, including parents, children, and extended family members. This study aims to deepen our understanding of how farming families in impoverished and remote rural areas, such as Aeng Panas Village, Madura, sustain traditional work practices while promoting the values of family togetherness as using a family interaction in a amidst modern production challenges.

Family togetherness in managing agricultural production is largely influenced

by the blending of family roles. The agrarian lifestyle reflects choices related to gender labor roles (Unay-Gailhard & Bojnec, 2021), which may also manifest in the diversification of agricultural products. The characteristics of rural agricultural workers are often marked by a distinct division of tasks among men and women, parents and children. However, the bonds of family togetherness enable them to sustain agricultural production through simple and traditional methods, fostering decisions to remain united regardless of the circumstances. In this context, an important innovation of this study is the recognition that the sustainability of family farming in remote areas like Madura relies not only on economic factors but also on the strength of values related to togetherness and family ties. These findings contribute to the discussion on sustainable agricultural models by demonstrating that togetherness and solidarity can be more critical than the adoption of modern technology in securing the sustainability of rural farming enterprises.

Consequently, this study offers a fresh perspective on how family farming can thrive in the modern era by reinforcing social ties and family unity. It adds a new dimension to the academic discourse on agricultural sustainability, especially in impoverished and remote rural areas, by emphasizing that non-economic factors, such as family togetherness and solidarity, play a significant role in the economic and social resilience of traditional farming. This article explores the importance of family solidarity in sustaining traditional farming in Madura, Indonesia.

## Method

This type of research was included in qualitative with an economics sociology approach, emphasizing understanding the symbolic interactionism of the meaning of work for Madurese farming families.

The analysis in this study will involve a qualitative approach, with an interpretive phenomenological method, namely exploring the meaning of togetherness and work based on the construction of the informants' thinking. Because the study focuses on the subjective meaning of togetherness and the role of work in the family, phenomenology helps explore the life experiences and perceptions of family members towards their roles in agriculture. Data collection was carried out through in-depth interviews to obtain the experiences of informants focused on identifying family farming motivations and the characteristics of the division of labor in family farming. We analyzed the information provided by informants, with the characteristics of informants, namely palm sugar farmers who have narrow land, have been producing for more than 20 years, who have workers who are all family members, assisted by their siblings, have small businesses from processing palm trees into brown sugar, have production activities including processing carried out in a traditional scope. Consent to be an informant was obtained from each informant before they participated in the study. This study upholds research ethics, ensuring voluntary participation, adequate information provision, and the rights of informants are kept safe.

The analytical framework of this research follows the phenomenological method (Husserl, 1977), identifying all information derived from the informants' lived experiences, coding the available data, and categorizing it into thematic findings. It also seeks to uncover hidden meanings to ultimately reveal the significance of collaboration among farming families. The participants in this study comprised multigenerational farming families, all of whom identified as natives of Aeng Panas village in Madura. This community is characterized by a strong cultural identity



rooted in the Madurese race and ethnicity. Their agricultural activities primarily focus on *siwalan* farming, which represents a key aspect of their village's potential, alongside the production of brown sugar from *siwalan*. Interviews with the informants, which lasted between one and three hours, included a range of questions covering their farming experiences, stories, and patterns of labor division within the family. A total of 18 informants participated: 6 *siwalan* farmers, 6 wives of farmers, 4 children of farmers, and 2 other family members who assisted them. Most participants were married couples (father and mother) as well as biological children and siblings, all expressing enthusiasm and pride in their work. This study emphasizes the meaning of togetherness in production, motivation to farm, the division of labor both at home and on the farm, gender cooperation and conflict, as well as intergenerational conflicts.

## Results and Discussion

### *Simple way of thinking*

Among the six farmer informants who are heads of families, they shared that their decision to engage in palm sugar farming is a natural one. In their village, there are many palm sugar trees, and this practice has been passed down through generations. Family is the key motivation behind their work. This tradition of using family members as the primary workforce dates back to their grandparents. They married local women who were also accustomed to village farming life. The decisions of the farming family heads to engage in palm sugar production are not based on the availability of natural resources, but also on meanings inherited from their generation. Through interactions with their parents and grandparents, they learn the meaning of “work” as part of family identity that must be preserved. We can understand

how these meanings are constructed and passed down through daily interactions, forming a shared understanding of their roles as farmers.

On the other hand, the six farmer wives conveyed that assisting their husbands in their work is a personal choice. Sutinah, 52 years old, expressed her thoughts:

*Yes, we wives in this village help our husbands a lot. We aspire to improve our economic situation. Instead of spending money to pay others, we prefer to assist our husbands without any compensation because we genuinely enjoy the work.*

The wives help their husbands happily. They do it for the good of the family. All informants (6 wives) said that their way of thinking is simple in farming. They emphasized that family togetherness is one of the main motivations for their decision choices. Although the issue of fulfilling economic needs is also their reason, the long-term benefit they want is to maintain family closeness to be more important than economic gain. In fact, they describe being together every morning, the husbands climb the palm trees, while the wives and their sisters process the palm trees into brown sugar. The kitchen is their production space, and that's where they gather to discuss their business. Sutinah's statement that they help their husbands because they want to improve the family's economy, and they really enjoy the work demonstrates how the meaning of ‘works’ is negotiated in the interaction between husband and wives (Rao, 2022). ‘Enjoying the works does not only mean personal satisfaction, but also an expression of family values and togetherness (Tian, 2024). Other informants also talked about experiences of conflict they encountered. Quarrels also often occur related to their choice to work. If the wife works outside the agricultural sector and does not accompany her husband, this often gives rise to conflict

in their household, to avoid this conflict, the wives decide to work to help their husbands on the farm and do not choose to work with other people.

Experience regarding informants highlights the significance of efforts to strengthen family ties. For instance, when the workers, particularly the sisters, require financial assistance, they turn to the farmer's wife for help, recording it as compensation for their work. This illustrates a straightforward wage relationship based on work contributions and debts incurred. However, the work patterns they demonstrate exhibit a division of labor by gender. Husbands undertake the heavier tasks in the fields, such as picking *siwalan* fruit by climbing 30-meter-high trees, while wives, daughters, and sisters handle kitchen duties, including the labor-intensive process of making brown sugar, which can take between three to five hours daily. The demanding agricultural work falls primarily on the husbands, while the women concentrate on production. An example of this is Soleh and Siti, a farming couple aged 54, who cultivate their land and process their crops full-time without including their sons in the farming work. This viewpoint suggests that traditional work roles do not always result in gender conflict. The conflicts that arise when wives work outside the agricultural sector demonstrate how the meaning of work and family can be negotiated and interpreted differently (Sheridan et al., 2023).

Individuals who adhere to consistent traditional attitudes and behaviors tend to experience the most conflict (Bornatici & Heers, 2020). In this context, conflict is viewed as an adaptive strategy to maintain family food security and sustain agricultural production. Moreover, families emphasize their ability to minimize labor costs by utilizing family members as the main workforce, especially when faced with limited resources and low production outcomes. While the

contribution of family labor is often viewed through a wage lens (Chu & Zhang, 2023), these findings highlight non-wage labor. The involvement of family members in work typically requires voluntary participation (Kehinde et al., 2021). The practice of using family labor without formal wages and emphasizing 'family togetherness' as motivation. There is a meaningful symbolic, farmers continuously negotiate to ensuring the sustainability of their traditional farming practice (Cambra González, 2025).

### *Owning a traditional small business*

In this finding, it shows that family is an important thing in managing agricultural products. Farmers are very proud of their families, because they are able to work together to form a small business, producing brown sugar from the palm fruit they plant. This small business is able to contribute to supporting the family economy and has become a long-standing family tradition. The success of this small business is not optimal economically, because this business is run with simple mechanization, and the results obtained are also small (according to orders and limited only to the area around the village). However, with these limitations, they can assess that the success of this business is achieved when close family ties continue to support the family economy. As conveyed by Ahmad (54 years old):

*I am very proud of this business, we can do it together, it is beneficial for the family. We can also make time and meet with our sons and daughters and also relatives who work here.*

In the context of symbolic interaction that humans act based on the meaning they give to objects and situations (Husin et al., 2021). This meaning is not inherent in the object itself but is formed through social interaction. The pride felt by Ahmad and other farming families is not merely a personal emotion, but

also an expression of meanings constructed and exchanged through interactions. 'Working together' becomes a symbol of togetherness and family identity, which they consider more important than mere economic gain. Meeting with children and relatives shows how social interactions and family relationships become an integral part of their work experience. The meaning of success in this context is not measured by financial profit, but by the strengthening of family bonds and the preservation of tradition. This perspective highlights the importance of family resources in the development of their agricultural enterprise. Despite its simple management, the business holds significant value due to the close-knit identity fostered by togetherness.

Farmers note that this small agricultural venture is successful thanks to the support of their family, and uniquely, it has managed to endure several generations. For these families, the agricultural business has flourished largely because of their familial strength. Many believe that agricultural decisions are primarily made by the farmers, who are the heads of their families. Their wives take on responsibilities related to agricultural production; for instance, farmers decide when to plant and when to harvest palm fruit, while their wives determine how much palm fruit will be processed into brown sugar. This decision-making pattern is deemed successful when it involves cooperation, coordination, and specialization of roles based on sex, gender, and generational lines. The strategy of specialized labor extends not only across generations but also serves to meet the family's consumption needs. However, family consumption activities can become tense due to decision-making conflicts concerning job choices (Kulbida et al., 2024) and traditional reasons within rural families (Lin & Qi, 2023). The gender and generational division of labor not only reflects economic efficiency, but also the

norms maintained and interpreted through interactions.

The role specialization that divides tasks related to the function of farming has called for gender specialization because it was found that women (wives and sisters) work in the kitchen to process brown sugar, record orders, do marketing, and do physical work related to brown sugar processing, stirring for hours. While high-risk work is done by their husbands (farmers). This division also shows that there are consequences of togetherness in managing family consumption, not just the selection of consumption of goods and services, but in the choice of work about how the family can still interact with it (Nielsen et al., 2020), how they see themselves, and how they want to be perceived by others (Vickerstaff & Van der Horst, 2021). This is in line with the public perception of the pattern of division of labor between men and women, where men dominate rough and risky work, and women in the domestic sphere (Gómez-Pellón, 2024). The specific gender roles in agricultural endeavors (Ogbari et al., 2024), where men perform heavy labor and women process palm sugar, reflect norms maintained through interaction. 'Roles' and 'identities' are internalized through interaction (Kish Bar-On & Lamm, 2023). Public perceptions of gender-based labor divisions also influence how farming families interpret and enact their roles. This study sheds light on the manner in which farming families in Madura construct and maintain their agricultural practices. The concepts of "family," "work," and "success" are not static but are subject to continuous negotiation (Mendonca et al., 2023).

### *Not being primarily market-oriented*

This finding underscores the concept of local agricultural production that is not focused on market demands or economic gain. The informants shared that their

processes for producing brown sugar are not professionally structured and still rely on traditional methods passed down through generations. They believe that family members can effectively carry out the production, even using simple equipment and techniques. The prevailing mindset among them is that their efforts are not aimed at fulfilling market needs or commercial interests. Product promotion is conducted conventionally, primarily through word of mouth. Farmers produce brown sugar only in response to incoming orders, leading to fluctuating production levels that are not sustainable over the long term. They adhere to a philosophy of maintaining a balance between production and consumption without prioritizing the accumulation of commercial profits. They sell their products at low prices to ensure affordability for local consumers, without meticulously calculating the operational costs involved in production. Their approach is largely habitual. As Arif, a 57-year-old farmer, stated:

*I don't understand how to calculate the selling price. I never calculate the costs; I just keep a record. The price follows my neighbors; it has always been that way. Our resources come not just from sales; the important thing is that everyone is healthy and together.*

Arif's statement illustrates that their business is not just a business that seeks maximum profit but is more about fulfilling social and emotional needs. The philosophy held tightly by the farmers is that sustenance does not come entirely from the sale of products, but from the value of health and togetherness in the family. They also tend to sell products in retail, and any number of orders will be fulfilled, without minimum limits. This practice shows flexibility in serving consumers and emphasizes that their orientation is more on social values and family traditions than economic

efficiency. Their market access is limited to local communities, and products are not marketed on a wider scale. In addition, habits and production systems that have not changed from generation to generation show that they prioritize the sustainability of the family business over business expansion. The practice of direct marketing and retail sales reflects how social interactions and personal relationships become an integral part of their business. The decision to maintain traditional production and marketing systems, despite facing modernization challenges, shows how the meanings of 'sustainability' and 'tradition' are more important than business expansion. Family tradition becomes a symbol identity (Charina et al., 2022) that must be preserved, even when facing economic pressures. The farmer's decisions to maintain traditional production methods and focus on family togetherness are not merely economic choices, but also expression of meaning constructed and exchange through daily interaction (Boccoli et al., 2023). Thus, it can be interpreted that historically farmers have "forced" their farming efforts to survive, even without any economic benefits. The standard of profit for them is no longer oriented towards the market, but towards the importance of health and family togetherness. They identify market orientation only as economic transactions that are limited to the surrounding community. Their "function" to regulate production transactions is only limited to social power, no longer oriented towards the economy (Fontefrancesco, 2023). Within an economic framework, the emotion of togetherness is embedded in a social context, which shapes and is shaped by the social structure and dynamics of society. What is more unique, they are slowly changing the family economy through production that is carried out together. This business concept requires hard work and strong efforts because farmers still think



about their children's education. As Imam (54 years old) said:

*I want to teach my children that they must be successful, not like their father, I have to think hard, work hard on how they can still go to school and college.*

Imam's statement shows that the long-term orientation of farming families is starting to shift. They work hard to fund their children's education, with the hope that their children will have a better future outside the agricultural sector. However, this effort also poses challenges for the sustainability of farming businesses, because it is likely that the younger generation will not continue the farming business that has been built across generations. Currently, the farmers' commitment to survive, for ideological reasons, speaks of sustainability as a motivation and also as a business strategy. Although farmers are aware that brown sugar production can generate profits, they do not prioritize achieving profits. Their business orientation prioritizes family and togetherness values. They work together in the production process and feel the meaning of togetherness as part of their lives. Even if they get money or a large profit, it is only a gift from God. This point of view also reflects the religious belief that sustenance is a gift from God and does not depend entirely on human effort. If there is a big profit obtained, they consider it as a blessing from God, not as a result of economic calculations or business strategies. Thus, this business orientation is independent of the market economy pattern and closer to the family work pattern.

The stories of farming families demonstrate the narrative of the importance of family in work. However, over time, the production and marketing patterns carried out by these farmers face challenges. Furthermore, with the emergence of modern technology and business practices, simple

production systems and word-of-mouth marketing may no longer be relevant in the future. The sustainability of these businesses will depend on whether the next generation is able to maintain traditional values while adopting new practices to face the challenges of the global economy. This concept reminds us that in the context of a local economy, social values, and traditions are often the determining factors in decision-making. A family-based work system allows farmers to survive even without large profits. This simple production and marketing is a way for them to build a balanced life, where hard work and togetherness are more valued than capital accumulation. We can see how Madurese farmers build and maintain their family farming practices. They have meaning of success, profit, tradition, and future are continuously with interaction in their family. These interactions strengthen family identity, reinforce values and ensure the sustainability of agricultural traditions, even when facing modernization challenges (Branje, 2022).

## Conclusion

Overall, the family agriculture that emerged in this study refers to the narrative findings of work-togetherness. The paradigm that emerged in the work-family narrative involves the division of roles in gender and across generations. There is a reliance on unpaid labor and significant involvement from family members in agricultural production efforts. The shared experiences convey a simple approach to survival, emphasizing flexibility in labor and a functional division of responsibilities, which can include both physical tasks and administrative duties. Many families expressed that economic profit is not their primary concern, instead, they prioritize togetherness and the health of the family. This research demonstrates that the

sustainability of family farming in Madura not only depends on economic factors, but also on symbolic interactions that reinforce the meanings of 'work' and 'family'. Through these interactions, farming families build and maintain values of togetherness and solidarity, which form the basis for the sustainability of traditional agricultural practices.

The agricultural production of farmers reflects a blend of traditional values and economic realities. Market orientation is not the primary goal of their business. Instead, they prioritize family values and social sustainability. Farming serves not only as an economic activity but also as a marker of identity and a commitment to family heritage. However, the challenges ahead are becoming more pronounced. With ongoing social and economic changes, the younger generation may lose interest in continuing the agricultural business. This could lead to a significant transition or even a halt in these practices in the future. Rooted in a philosophy that emphasizes togetherness, hard work, and gratitude, this farming business represents not only a source of livelihood but also a symbol of family struggle and love. To remain relevant in the future, adaptation to contemporary times is necessary, but this should not come at the expense of the fundamental values that have been passed down through generations.

This study presents novelty by highlighting the role of symbolic interaction in the sustainability of family farming in Madura. Unlike previous research, that generally focuses on economic or technological factors. The result of the study shows that the meanings of work and family are constructed and maintained through daily interaction, which strengthens family identity and cultural values. Madurese farmers interpret and respond to modernization challenges through the klens

of traditional values, thus providing a deeper understanding of the dynamics of family farming sustainability in a strong cultural context. The study has a limitation, there is its specific focus on the context of family farming in Aeng Panas Village, Madura. The findings may not be fully generalizable to other regions with different social and economic characteristics. Additionally, this study emphasizes qualitative aspects through in-depth interviews, thus not including quantitative analysis that could provide broader statistical data. For further research, with mixed methods and wider geographical coverage can provide a more comprehensive understanding.

This study recommend agricultural development programs that not only focus on increasing productivity, but also on strengthening the values of family togetherness and solidarity. Government and non-governmental organizations can support initiatives that promote intergenerational knowledge transfer, preservation of agricultural traditions, and development of sustainable community based agricultural enterprises.

## **Declaration of Ownership**

This article is our original work.

## **Conflict of Interest**

There is no conflict of interest to declare in this article.

## **Ethical Clearance**

This study was approved by the institution.

## References

- Allen, T. D., & French, K. A. (2023). Work-family research: A review and next steps. *Personnel Psychology*, 76(2), 437–471. <https://doi.org/10.1111/peps.12573>
- Barboza, J., Seedall, R., & Neimeyer, R. A. (2022). Meaning co-construction: Facilitating shared family meaning-making in bereavement. *Family Process*, 61(1), 7–24. <https://doi.org/10.1111/famp.12671>
- Bednay, D., Fleiner, B., & Tasnádi, A. (2025). An indifference result for social choice rules in large societies. *European Journal of Operational Research*, 321(1), 208–213. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ejor.2024.09.018>
- Beriso, G., Amare, A., & Eneyew, A. (2023). Women empowerment in agricultural activities and its impact on farming household food security: The case of Anna Sorra District, Guji Zone, Oromia Regional State, Ethiopia. *Cogent Food & Agriculture*, 9(2), 2263952. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311932.2023.2263952>
- Boccoli, G., Gastaldi, L., & Corso, M. (2023). The evolution of employee engagement: Towards a social and contextual construct for balancing individual performance and wellbeing dynamically. *International Journal of Management Reviews*, 25(1), 75–98. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ijmr.12304>
- Bornatici, C., & Heers, M. (2020). Work-family arrangement and conflict: Do individual gender role attitudes and national gender culture matter? *Social Inclusion*, 8(4), 46–60. <https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v8i4.2967>
- Branje, S. (2022). Adolescent identity development in context. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, 45, 101286. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2021.11.006>
- Cambra González, A. (2025). Can co-op supermarkets lead the way to sustainability? Potentials and challenges in the shift from food difference to food democracy in Spain. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13678779241306442>
- Charina, A., Kurnia, G., Mulyana, A., & Mizuno, K. (2022). The impacts of traditional culture on small industries longevity and sustainability: A case on Sundanese in Indonesia. *Sustainability*, 14(21), 14445. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su142114445>
- Chen, F., Sun, Z., & Zhao, Y. (2024). The effects of social capital and family income on farmers' participation in rural public goods provision. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 109, 103332. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2024.103332>
- Chu, L., & Zhang, Q. (2023). Do women's working hours inputs yield higher household economic welfare than men's? *Heliyon*, 9(11), e21437. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2023.e21437>
- Colnago, P., & Dogliotti, S. (2020). Introducing labour productivity analysis in a co-innovation process to improve sustainability in mixed family farming. *Agricultural Systems*, 177, 102732. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.agsy.2019.102732>
- Dewitt, S., Jafari-Sadeghi, V., Sukumar, A., Aruvanahalli Nagaraju, R., Sadraei, R., & Li, F. (2023). Family dynamics and relationships in female entrepreneurship: An exploratory study. *Journal of Family Business Management*, 13(3), 626–644. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JFBM-01-2022-0013>
- Dhillon, R., & Moncur, Q. (2023). Small-scale farming: A review of challenges and potential opportunities offered by technological advancements. *Sustainability*, 15(21), 15478. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su152115478>
- Fauzi, N. F., Andriyani, S. D., & Utami, A. Y. (2023). The decreasing interest of farmers in soybean farming in Puger sub-district, Jember Regency. *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, 1131(1),

012016. <https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/1131/1/012016>
- Fontefrancesco, M. F. (2023). Affective economy: A theoretical outline. *Encyclopedia*, 3(3), 1020–1027. <https://doi.org/10.3390/encyclopedia3030074>
- Giller, K. E., Delaune, T., Silva, J. V., Descheemaeker, K., van de Ven, G., Schut, A. G. T., van Wijk, M., Hammond, J., Hochman, Z., Taulya, G., Chikowo, R., Narayanan, S., Kishore, A., Bresciani, F., Teixeira, H. M., Andersson, J. A., & van Ittersum, M. K. (2021). The future of farming: Who will produce our food? *Food Security*, 13(5), 1073–1099. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12571-021-01184-6>
- Githinji, M., van Noordwijk, M., Muthuri, C., Speelman, E. N., Kampen, J., & Hofstede, G. J. (2024). “You never farm alone”: Farmer land-use decisions influenced by social relations. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 108, 103284. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2024.103284>
- Gómez-Pellón, E. (2024). Family farming and gender in a valley in northern Spain. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 110, 103340. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2024.103340>
- Gong, Y., Chen, C., Tang, X., & Xiao, J. (2023). The relationship between work-to-family conflict and conspicuous consumption: An identity theory perspective. *Psychology Research and Behavior Management*, 16, 39–56. <https://doi.org/10.2147/prbm.s388190>
- Haller, M., Klösch, B., & Hadler, M. (2023). The centrality of work: A comparative analysis of work commitment and work orientation in present-day societies. *SAGE Open*, 13(3), 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1177/21582440231192114>
- Han, W., Zhang, Z., & Zhang, X. (2024). How does household farmland rental behavior affect gender differences in labor division and livelihood strategy? Insights from the household production theory. *Land Use Policy*, 147, 107362. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2024.107362>
- Husin, S. S., Ab Rahman, A. A., & Mukhtar, D. (2021). The symbolic interactionism theory: A systematic literature review of current research. *International Journal of Modern Trends in Social Sciences*, 4(17), 113–126. <https://doi.org/10.35631/ijmtss.417010>
- Husserl, E. (1977). *Phenomenological psychology*. Springer. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-010-1083-2>
- Jelsma, I., Turinah, Gay, F., Ollivier, J., & Rapidel, B. (2024). Collective action, replanting and resilience: Key lessons from 40 years of smallholder oil palm cultivation in the Ophir plantation, Indonesia. *Agricultural Systems*, 213, 103801. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.agtsy.2023.103801>
- Karabarbounis, L. (2024). Perspectives on the labor share. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 38(2), 107–136. <https://doi.org/10.1257/jep.38.2.107>
- Kehinde, A. C., Olufunmilayo, O., & Damilare, S. I. (2021). The effects of family relation and parental influence on the career choice of student (A case study of Irepodun/Ifelodun local government Ekiti State). *European Modern Studies Journal*, 5(2), 32–43. <https://journal-ems.com/index.php/emsj/article/view/203>
- Kish Bar-On, K., & Lamm, E. (2023). The interplay of social identity and norm psychology in the evolution of human groups. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*, 378(1872), 20210412. <https://doi.org/10.1098/rstb.2021.0412>
- Kitole, F. A., & Genda, E. L. (2024). Empowering her drive: Unveiling the resilience and triumphs of women entrepreneurs in rural landscapes. *Women’s Studies International Forum*, 104, 102912. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2024.102912>



- Kulbida, M., Kemps, E., Williamson, P., & Tiggemann, M. (2024). The role of decision-making and impulsivity in beverage consumption. *Appetite*, 195, 107233. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appet.2024.107233>
- Lin, X., & Qi, Y. (2023). Influence of consumption decisions of rural residents in the context of rapid urbanization: Evidence from Sichuan, China. *Sustainability*, 15(23), 16524. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su152316524>
- Liu, J., Fang, Y., Wang, G., Liu, B., & Wang, R. (2023). The aging of farmers and its challenges for labor-intensive agriculture in China: A perspective on farmland transfer plans for farmers' retirement. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 100, 103013. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2023.103013>
- Ma, W., Marini, M. A., & Rahut, D. B. (2023). Farmers' organizations and sustainable development: An introduction. *Annals of Public and Cooperative Economics*, 94(3), 683–700. <https://doi.org/10.1111/apce.12449>
- Mabaso, C., Lesabe, F., & Govender, C. (2024). Harmonious, Africanized, and modern employment relations model in strategic employment relations. *SA Journal of Human Resource Management*, 22(0), 15–28. <https://doi.org/10.4102/sajhrm.v22i0.2230>
- Maseda, A., Iturralde, T., Aparicio, G., & Cooper, S. Y. (2023). Building bridges between gender and family business literature to advance women's empowerment. *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, 38(8), 1029–1074. <https://doi.org/10.1108/GM-02-2022-0056>
- Mehta, N. (2023). Agricultural development in recent decades and welfare challenges. *Agricultural Economics Research Review*, 36(1), 87–101. <https://epubs.icar.org.in/index.php/AERR/article/view/143787>
- Mendonca, A., Redkar, A., & Ranganathan, T. (2023). Negotiating working motherhood and doing work from home at the intersection of class, gender and crisis in India. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 99, 102793. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2023.102793>
- Molina, J. A. (2021). The work–family conflict: Evidence from the recent decade and lines of future research. *Journal of Family and Economic Issues*, 42(1), 4–10. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10834-020-09700-0>
- Nielsen, J. D., Thompson, J. A., Wadsworth, L. L., & Vallett, J. D. (2020). The moderating role of calling in the work–family interface: Buffering and substitution effects on employee satisfaction. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 41(7), 622–637. <https://doi.org/10.1002/job.2469>
- Ogbari, M. E., Folorunso, F., Simon-Ilogho, B., Adebayo, O., Olanrewaju, K., Efebudu, J., & Omoregbe, M. (2024). Social empowerment and its effect on poverty alleviation for sustainable development among women entrepreneurs in the Nigerian agricultural sector. *Sustainability*, 16(6), 2225. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su16062225>
- Rao, A. H. (2022). Relational work in the family: The gendered microfoundation of parents' economic decisions. *American Sociological Review*, 87(6), 1094–1120. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00031224221132295>
- Ren, C., Zhou, X., Wang, C., Guo, Y., Diao, Y., Shen, S., Reis, S., Li, W., Xu, J., & Gu, B. (2023). Ageing threatens sustainability of smallholder farming in China. *Nature*, 616(7955), 96–103. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41586-023-05738-w>
- Santoso, W., Asmara, K., & Abidin, Z. (2020). Measuring the financial literacy of farmers food crops in the poor area of Madura, Indonesia. *European Journal of Agriculture and Food Sciences*, 2(6). <https://doi.org/10.24018/ejfood.2020.2.6.138>

- Schäfer, I., Khoudja, Y., & Grunow, D. (2024). Gender attitudes and the new cultural divide in Europe. *Social Science Research*, 122, 103042. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2024.103042>
- Sheridan, A., Newsome, L., Lawson, A., Charry, S., & Field, S. (2023). Changing scripts: Gender, family farm succession and increasing farm values in Australia. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 100, 103024. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2023.103024>
- Tatis Diaz, R., Pinto Osorio, D., Medina Hernández, E., Moreno Pallares, M., Canales, F. A., Corrales Paternina, A., & Echeverría-González, A. (2022). Socioeconomic determinants that influence the agricultural practices of small farm families in northern Colombia. *Journal of the Saudi Society of Agricultural Sciences*, 21(7), 440–451. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jssas.2021.12.001>
- Taye, T. T., & Tesfaye, W. M. (2024). Time poverty and women's participation in non-farm work: Evidence from rural Ethiopia. *Scientific African*, 26, e02343. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sciaf.2024.e02343>
- Tian, L. (2024). From individual to collective: The public expression of individual stories in installation art and the ecological implications of environmental art. *Frontiers in Art Research*, 6(12), 29–33. <https://doi.org/10.25236/far.2024.061205>
- Tiny, G., Lucas, M. R., Henriques, P. D., & Marta-Costa, A. (2022). Family agriculture, sustainable development and ethnographic linear programming: A review. *International Journal of Horticulture, Agriculture and Food Science*, 6(3), 1–8. <https://doi.org/10.22161/ijhaf.6.3.1>
- Unay-Gailhard, İ., & Bojnec, Š. (2021). Gender and the environmental concerns of young farmers: Do young women farmers make a difference on family farms? *Journal of Rural Studies*, 88, 71–82. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2021.09.027>
- Ustunel, A. O., Bolak Boratav, H., & Fişek, G. O. (2023). Negotiating power and relationship throughout marital life: Narratives of middle-aged women from Turkey. *Journal of Family Studies*, 29(3), 1319–1345. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13229400.2022.2045211>
- van der Lee, J., Kangogo, D., Gülzari, Ş. Ö., Dentoni, D., Oosting, S., Bijman, J., & Klerkx, L. (2022). Theoretical positions and approaches to resilience assessment in farming systems: A review. *Agronomy for Sustainable Development*, 42(2), 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13593-022-00755-x>
- Vickerstaff, S., & Van der Horst, M. (2021). The impact of age stereotypes and age norms on employees' retirement choices: A neglected aspect of research on extended working lives. *Frontiers in Sociology*, 6, 686645. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fsoc.2021.686645>
- Wulandhari, N. B. I., Gölgeci, I., Mishra, N., Sivarajah, U., & Gupta, S. (2022). Exploring the role of social capital mechanisms in cooperative resilience. *Journal of Business Research*, 143, 375–386. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2022.01.026>
- Yigit, F., Rantamäki-Lahtinen, L., & Sipiläinen, T. (2024). How does perception of success change between family and solo farmers: A perspective from strategic resources and entrepreneurial orientation. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 110, 103359. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2024.103359>