

The Eurasia Proceedings of Educational and Social Sciences (EPESS), 2026

Volume 52, Pages 97-106

IConSoS 2026: International Conference on Social Science Studies

When Climate Shocks Hit Home: Unpaid Care Work, Women's Double Burden, and the Gap in Indonesia's Social Protection Response

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Abstract: Climate shocks in Indonesia, such as floods, droughts, and extreme weather, have an impact on physical and economic damage, as well as on household life and social reproduction. This paper examines how these climate shocks can increase the burden of unpaid care work and contribute to the double burden on women, as well as the extent to which Indonesia's social protection system recognizes, reduces, and redistributes this care burden. This study employs a qualitative desk study and critical policy analysis, using feminist political economy (FPE) as an analytical lens and the Recognize, Reduce, and Redistribute (3R) to analyze policy documents related to the Family Hope Program (PKH), the Non-Cash Food Assistance (BPNT)/Food Assistance Program, and the transition from the Integrated Social Welfare Data (DTKS) to the National Socioeconomic Single Data (DTSEN), supported by an analysis of secondary literature. The analysis shows that disruptions to access to water, and potentially to food and health care, can increase caregiving needs, creating layered double burdens, while women also demonstrate adaptive agency rather than merely passive dependence. Recognition of care work in social protection is uneven: PKH recognizes groups in need of care, such as pregnant women, the elderly, and people with disabilities, without explicitly recognizing who provides that care, while the BPNT's targeting criteria do not yet acknowledge care needs. Both programs aim to reduce the material burden but the policies analyzed do not include measures designed to reduce the time or intensity of care work itself, and no explicit mechanism for redistributing care responsibilities outside the household was identified within the policy documents analyzed. Although DTSEN includes broader socioeconomic indicators, unpaid care work has not been identified as an explicit dimension in the targeting aspects analyzed. This paper points to the need for greater visibility of care responsibilities in the design of social protection and social data systems that accommodate vulnerabilities arising from or exacerbated by climate shocks.

Keywords: Unpaid care work, Double burden, Climate change, Social protection

Introduction

The threat of climate change is becoming increasingly evident in Indonesia. The Meteorology, Climatology, and Geophysics Agency (BMKG) has stated that the three hottest years on record in modern observations occurred between 2023 and 2025. The World Meteorological Organization (WMO) has also warned that the global average temperature for the 2026–2030 period is projected to be in the range of 1.3–1.9 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels. This has led to an increased risk of extreme weather, droughts, floods, and various climate-related threats to food security and public health (Noviana, 2026). The National Disaster Management Agency (BNPB) has recorded that from January 1, 2025, to December 31, 2025, Indonesia experienced 4,727 natural disasters. Most of these were hydrometeorological disasters, such as 2,009 floods, 1,329 forest and land fires (karhutla), 958 extreme weather events, 330 landslides, 37 droughts, and 28 instances of storm surges and coastal erosion (BNPB, 2025).

The National Disaster Management Agency (BNPB) has recorded that from January 1, 2026, to July 14, 2026, Indonesia experienced 1,201 natural disasters. Most of these were hydrometeorological disasters, such as 525 floods, 306 instances of extreme weather, 201 forest and land fires (karhutla), 97 landslides, 49 droughts, and 12

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- Selection and peer-review under responsibility of the Organizing Committee of the Conference

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instances of storm surges and coastal erosion. The damage caused by natural disasters in 2025 and 2026 included homes sustained severe, moderate, or minor damage. Damaged facilities included educational institutions, places of worship, and health care facilities. Offices and bridges were also damaged. The impacts of climate disruption have indeed caused widespread damage, and these effects extend beyond mere physical and economic losses (BNPB, 2026).

The impact of climate shocks extends beyond physical and economic effects; it also affects household life and social reproduction. For women who already bear domestic and caregiving responsibilities, these conditions can increase the demands and intensity of caregiving work. Several studies indicate that changes in environmental conditions and climate shocks can increase domestic work, caregiving, and other supportive activities—tasks predominantly performed by women (Aguilar et al., 2023; UN Women, 2022). Thus, in this study, climate shocks are understood as conditions that can exacerbate the burden of care work, particularly when basic household needs are disrupted.

The high proportion of women engaged in domestic and care work. Research conducted after flash floods in residential areas of Aceh found that 78 percent of women who served as household water providers faced difficulties obtaining clean water after the disaster, as water that appeared clear was actually contaminated with bacteria and heavy metals (Ersa, 2026). These conditions forced women to search for water, wait in line at aid distribution points, spend time purifying murky water, and sometimes walk farther to obtain water or food. These factors left women with little time, as their productive time was spent solely on meeting basic needs rather than on productive work (Ersa, 2026).

The relationship between climate shocks and care work has been discussed in the global policy literature as the “climate-care nexus”, a framework in which climate change and environmental degradation disrupt the care economy and increase the burden of domestic and community care work borne by women and girls (Aguilar et al., 2023). The climate-care nexus identifies the relationship between climate shocks, the increasing burden of unpaid care work, gender vulnerabilities, and gaps in social protection systems, aspects that need to be examined from perspectives that have previously been overlooked or excluded. Historically, unpaid care work has been systematically imposed on women.

The International Labor Organization (ILO, 2013) distinguishes between activities that fall within the scope of paid work, as defined by the System of National Accounts (SNA), and activities involving the production of goods for personal use, which are not included in official economic records even though they still constitute actual work that consumes time and energy. These caregiving activities are divided into three categories: First, direct/personal care, such as breastfeeding and caring for sick family members; Second, indirect care, such as cooking and cleaning; and Third, ancillary activities, such as gathering fuel, food, and water (Chopra & Zambelli, 2017; ILO, 2018).

Globally, women bear three-quarters of the total hours of unpaid care work (Charmes, 2019), and this burden hinders women’s participation in the formal labor market and limits their access to higher-paying managerial positions (Chancel et al., 2021). According to Razavi (2007), this gender inequality remains unacknowledged in the policy literature despite having long been documented by feminist scholars. Climate shocks are not merely about environmental and economic crises but also about crises that place a burden on the reproductive aspects of social life, aspects that have long been overlooked in policy-making.

The concept of the “double burden,” introduced by Hochschild and Machung (1989), describes women who work a first shift in a paid job and a second shift of unpaid work at home. However, this concept emerged from the context of middle-class households in urban areas of the United States, where the boundaries between formal and domestic work are relatively clear, both spatially and temporally (Brailey & Slatton, 2019). In the case of rural women in Indonesia who work in the informal sector, these two consecutive shifts sometimes become a single, layered burden—as Kabeer (2026) notes, unpaid care work in low-income countries extends beyond the typical household. Domestic, productive, and community burdens can occur simultaneously. When climate shocks occur, these layers of burden increase. Therefore, this paper uses the concept of the “double burden” in a modified, layered sense to analyze women’s experiences.

Climate shocks can increase households’ vulnerability and care burdens. In post-shock conditions, the Family Hope Program (PKH) and the Non-Cash Food Assistance Program (BPNT)/Food Assistance Program form part of the social protection schemes available to vulnerable households. Indonesia has a large-scale social protection architecture, including the Family Hope Program (PKH) and the Non-Cash Food Assistance (BPNT)/Food Assistance Program, which together will reach 16.5 million beneficiary families by 2025 (Kementerian

Sekretariat Negara, 2025) and will continue to be disbursed periodically through 2026 (Dayat, 2026). These programs are also supported by a targeting system currently undergoing transformation: Presidential Instruction No. 4 of 2025 mandates a transition from the Integrated Social Welfare Data (DTKS) to the National Socioeconomic Single Data (DTSEN), a database system that integrates demographic, social, and economic data from various official sources for the purpose of identifying beneficiaries (Regulation of the Minister of National Development Planning/Bappenas No. 7 of 2025). It should be noted that PKH and BPNT are not systems specifically designed to respond to climate shocks; however, both programs routinely engage with vulnerable communities through ongoing poverty-targeting mechanisms.

Social protection generally views households through economic lenses, such as poverty, consumption, or beneficiary status. In this context, unpaid care work—which underpins household well-being—does not always form the basis for policy-making. For example, in the PKH program, care needs are addressed in Ministry of Social Affairs Regulation No. 8 of 2026, specifically in the determination of certain beneficiary categories, such as pregnant women, children, the elderly, and people with disabilities. This regulation also mandates that Beneficiary Families (KPM) utilize health and education services and meet the needs of family members included in these categories. The regulation indicates that policymakers recognize the need for care in the design of this program, while simultaneously relying on women to carry out various caregiving activities. In this context, while individuals who effectively serve as unpaid care providers bear a significant burden of time and energy, this burden has not yet been explicitly recognized as a policy priority. Consequently, there is a gap between the recognition of care needs and the recognition of the care work required to meet those needs.

The literature has shown that climate shocks have gendered impacts, as women and men do not always have equal access, resources, and responsibilities when facing such shocks (UN Women, 2022). The Climate-Care-Nexus framework illustrates how climate change and environmental degradation disrupt the care economy and increase the burden of care, domestic, and community work borne by women (Aguilar et al., 2023). Empirical findings in Indonesia—such as the water crisis following the floods in Aceh and the conditions of fisherwomen along the coast who work 17 hours a day (Rindrasari, 2026)—provide a basis for the argument that climate shocks can increase unpaid care work and exacerbate women’s double burden (Hochschild & Machung, 1989; Kabeer, 2026).

The literature and policy documents on social protection have expanded significantly, addressing its role in reducing poverty, safeguarding consumption, supporting livelihoods, and responding to climate shocks and risks through an adaptive social protection approach (Bowen et al., 2020). In Indonesia, the PKH and BPNT/Food Assistance Program demonstrate that research and practices in social protection serve as instruments to address economic vulnerability. The relationship between the increase in unpaid care work resulting from climate shocks and the targeting design of social protection systems in Indonesia has yet to be fully researched and examined. These three areas—gender-based vulnerability due to climate change, unpaid care work, and social protection—have each evolved independently.

This study fills that gap by employing feminist political economy (FPE) as an analytical perspective and the Recognize-Reduce-Redistribute (3R) framework as an analytical tool to specifically assess the care dimension within policies—not merely asking whether policies are “gender-responsive,” but rather examining which workers absorb these shocks, and whether the policies have recognized, reduced, and redistributed that labor. To what extent does this social protection architecture—which covers a vast scale, even reaching millions of households—take into account the dimension of unpaid care work in its design, especially when that burden increases due to climate shocks.

In the context of social protection, the PKH and BPNT are part of the social protection system that interacts with vulnerable households. However, neither program was specifically designed as a response to climate shocks. Therefore, this study focuses its analysis on how care needs and care burdens are integrated into the existing social protection architecture. This study also aims to bridge the gap between the literature on gender and social protection and the climate policy movement, as well as to expand upon the direction opened up by Pratiwi et al. (2026), who analyzed how gender is reductively constructed in Indonesian climate policy, into the realm of social protection policy instruments that directly impact the daily lives of households—an area not yet addressed in such macro-level climate policy analyses.

Based on this background, this study poses two research questions: (1) How do climate shocks affect the burden of unpaid care work and the double burden faced by women in Indonesia? (2) How do Indonesia’s social protection systems—specifically the PKH and Food Assistance Program/BPNT programs, as well as the

DTSEN data targeting and updating system—as regular social protection instruments that interact with vulnerable households, identify, reduce, and redistribute the burden of unpaid care work?

Method

This article uses feminist political economy (FPE) as its primary analytical framework, supplemented by critical policy analysis based on a desk study. FPE was chosen because this framework explicitly explains how unpaid care work is unequally distributed due to gender power structures, and how those structures are shaped or produced by policy (Braunstein et al., 2011). This approach centers questions about who benefits, who bears the burden, and whose knowledge is recognized as part of the analysis (Kabeer, 2026). This framework is relevant because of climate shocks, the double burden, unpaid care work, and the design of social protection are interrelated issues. What are the assumptions regarding who bears the burden of post-disaster household recovery, and are these assumptions reflected in the design of policies that distribute aid? This approach was also chosen because the research questions in this study require an in-depth analysis of the design, objectives, and mechanisms of policies as outlined in official documents, rather than field measurements. Critical policy analysis is relevant because this method examines what is explicitly stated in policies, what is not explicitly visible, and whose responsibilities are assumed without being directly stated.

The sources are grouped into two categories. First, social protection policy documents, including regulations on the PKH (Ministry of Social Affairs Regulation No. 8 of 2026), regulations on Food Assistance Program/BPNT (Ministry of Social Affairs Regulation No. 4 of 2023), regulations regarding DTSEN (Presidential Instruction No. 4 of 2025; Regulation of the Minister of National Development Planning/Bappenas No. 7 of 2025), and Regulation of the Central Bureau of Statistics No. 6 of 2025 on the Compilation and Management of the National Single Social and Economic Database. Second, secondary empirical evidence in the form of media articles, reports from nongovernmental organizations, and academic studies on the impact of climate shocks on women in Indonesia.

This study employs Feminist Political Economy (FPE) as an analytical perspective and the Recognize-Reduce-Redistribute (3R) framework as its analytical framework. The analysis was conducted through a thematic review of policy documents and secondary evidence using the feminist political economy perspective. The study examines how policies define vulnerability and care needs, how the positions of care recipients and providers are reflected in policy design, and whether there are mechanisms that can reduce or redistribute caregivers' workloads. The findings were then mapped within the Recognize, Reduce, and Redistribute framework (Elson, 2017). This analysis was used to examine the position of care work within policy design. This study is a qualitative desk study that utilizes secondary data analysis and scientific literature. Therefore, the scope of this study is limited to published data and does not involve fieldwork, interviews, or direct surveys.

Results and Discussion

Climate Shocks, Unpaid Care Work and Women's Double Burden

Climate shocks not only result in economic, environmental, and livelihood impacts but also increase the need for and burden of unpaid care work within households. When climate shocks disrupt the provision of basic needs—such as clean water, food, and health services—household activities that were previously routine become more time-consuming and labor-intensive. These factors lead to more intensive care work. The impacts of climate change are already being felt directly. Extreme weather, rising temperatures, rising sea levels, and increased carbon dioxide levels have a direct impact on physical and mental health, particularly among vulnerable groups such as women and children. Demographic shifts toward an aging population will also increase vulnerability to degenerative diseases (Indriani, 2024).

Empirical evidence from climate events in Indonesia shows that climate shocks result in damage to nature, the environment, and the economy, and even place an additional burden on women. For example, in the aftermath of the Aceh floods, 78 percent of women—who serve as the primary providers of household water—faced difficulties in accessing clean water, had to wait in long lines, and sometimes encountered water that appeared clear but was actually contaminated with bacteria and heavy metals (Ersa, 2026). A similar situation occurred in Central Java, specifically in Demak, where the National Disaster Management Agency recorded 31 disaster incidents by the end of January 2025, including tidal flooding that damaged clean water infrastructure and affected 10,000 residents in Demak Regency (Pratiwi et al., 2025). The reviewed evidence indicates that climate

shocks can increase the need for care, both for immediate family members and extended family. Women bear the burden of this care due to pre-existing divisions of labor. In the reviewed literature, climate shocks can exacerbate the imbalance in unpaid care work that already existed before the disaster occurred.

When analyzed through the Feminist Political Economy (FPE) framework, these findings reveal that the patterns that emerge are not merely geographical and economic in nature; rather, the division of care work was already gendered even before the onset of climate shocks. The International Labor Organization (ILO, 2013) distinguishes care work into three categories: direct or personal care, indirect care, and ancillary activities such as collecting clean water and fuel (Chopra & Zambelli, 2017; ILO, 2018). Climate shocks, such as water crises following floods, exacerbate this “ancillary” category, where women—who were already responsible for domestic tasks—face increased burdens, such as traveling farther distances to obtain water, waiting in line for water aid, or spending time purifying available water (Ersa, 2026). Upon analysis, climate shocks exacerbate pre-existing gender inequalities.

The accumulation of care work across these various categories exacerbates what (Hochschild & Machung, 1989) conceptualized as the “double burden”—a condition in which working women undertake a first shift in the paid labor market and a second shift consisting of unpaid work at home. However, this concept emerged from the context of middle-class households in urban areas of the United States, where the boundaries between formal and domestic work are relatively distinct in terms of space and time (Brailey & Slatton, 2019). For fisherwomen in climate-affected coastal areas of Indonesia, these two shifts are no longer sequential but have merged; as noted in a study by Brawijaya University (as cited in Rindrasari, 2026), fisherwomen work up to 17 hours a day, dividing their time between domestic and productive activities simultaneously (Rindrasari, 2026). This situation can be described as a layered double burden. This is also consistent with Kabeer (2026), who notes that unpaid care work in low-income countries extends far beyond the boundaries of the formal household. This accumulation can contribute to time poverty, although the degree and consistency of this condition likely vary across households and regions.

Although the above discussion explains how climate shocks increase the burden on women, it is important not to portray women as passive victims. Women’s strategies for securing water in Aceh, the shift of some fisherwomen to casual labor when catches decline due to tidal flooding and coastal erosion, and other such actions, represent a form of adaptive agency that actively ensures the sustainability of household needs. Nevertheless, this agency does not mean that the burden they bear is reduced; the tasks they undertake and the increase in women’s time, energy, and unpaid labor represent costs that are not accounted for in conventional economic measurements.

Social Protection Response to Climate Shocks

PKH and BPNT are regular social protection programs, not programs specifically designed to address climate shocks. However, since both programs serve households that are already vulnerable, they are relevant for assessing whether women’s care burdens are taken into account. Has this increased care burden been considered in determining the beneficiary households (KPM) for PKH or BPNT?

PKH

Recognize: Minister of Social Affairs Regulation No. 8 of 2026 establishes eligibility for PKH beneficiary households (KPM) based on the health component—pregnant women, children up to 7 years of age who are not yet in school, the elderly, and persons with disabilities—as well as the education component for school-age children. Under this regulation, KPM are required to utilize health care services for families with pregnant women, children up to 7 years of age who are not yet enrolled in school, the elderly, and/or people with disabilities; this regulation indicates that there are family members who need to be escorted, accompanied, or assisted in accessing health and education services. However, the analyzed document does not explicitly state who provides this unpaid care. Thus, while the needs and recipients of care are already evident in the PKH design, the care providers have not received the same recognition.

Reduce: The 2026 PKH explicitly states the goal of reducing the financial burden on Beneficiary Families (KPM), so that this assistance can help the community and alleviate the economic burden on households. PKH support services, which include Family Capacity-Building Meetings (P2k2), commitment verification, and data updates, provide guidance on mental and spiritual well-being, financial management, health and nutrition, social

welfare, administrative assistance, mediation, family education, motivation, and advocacy. These activities have the potential to indirectly alleviate some of the pressures on households; however, none have been explicitly designed to reduce the burden of care—such as child care services, elder care, or disability support—which would directly reduce the time KPMs spend on these caregiving activities. Thus, the 2026 PKH is explicitly material and administrative in nature, meaning that while the program can reduce households' material pressures, it does not yet reduce the unpaid care work itself.

Redistribution: There is no explicit mechanism in Minister of Social Affairs Regulation No. 8 of 2026 that redistributes care responsibilities from women/households to the state, public services, the community, or the market. The role of social workers in assisting PKH beneficiaries is facilitative and administrative, ensuring that beneficiaries fulfill their obligations and facilitating access to empowerment programs. This aspect was not explicitly identified in the policies examined.

BPNT/Food Assistance Program

Recognize: Minister of Social Affairs Regulation No. 4 of 2023 establishes the eligibility of Beneficiary Families (KPM) for the Food Assistance Program solely based on criteria of poverty, living conditions that are inhumane, and/or social issues, as well as their enrollment status in the Integrated Social Welfare Database. Unlike the PKH program, which explicitly defines benefits based on categories of individuals requiring care—such as pregnant women, children under 7 years of age who are not yet enrolled in school, the elderly, and people with disabilities—the Food Assistance Program lacks a similar component structure; eligibility for beneficiaries is determined based on the household's socioeconomic status. Furthermore, this regulation does not yet recognize care needs or acknowledge who provides such care.

Reduce: The food assistance program explicitly states its objective of reducing the financial burden on beneficiary households (KPM) in meeting their food needs as one of their basic needs. This is an explicit form of reduction codified in the regulations; however, it refers to a reduction in financial expenditure, not a reduction in the time, effort, or intensity of care-related work associated with meeting these food needs (such as cooking, preparing meals, and ensuring the nutritional intake of family members). Distribution mechanisms via electronic data capture, biometrics, USSD/SMS, or QRIS have the potential to shorten transaction times for KPM, although the regulation does not explicitly state this as a goal for reducing the burden of care work. Thus, their contribution to reducing the burden of care is indirect and potential, rather than by design.

Redistribution: There is no explicit mechanism in this regulation that redistributes care work responsibilities from women/households to the state, public services, the community, the market, or other household members. This regulation does indeed provide for a mechanism to replace a KPM administrator if the registered administrator is unable to interact with the distributing bank or POS; however, this provision is purely administrative and cannot be interpreted as a redistribution of caregiving responsibilities, as there is no indication that this replacement also constitutes a redistribution of the caregiving workload within the household. The social assistance outlined in Articles 21–23 is also limited to administrative support—such as card activation, eligibility verification, and education on benefit usage—rather than service providers taking over part of the caregiving responsibilities. This aspect was not explicitly identified in the policies examined. These three dimensions indicate that PKH and BPNT operate as household welfare support programs that rely on the presence of caregivers without formally acknowledging them.

DTSEN

The Integrated Social Welfare Data (DTKS) serves as one of the data sources integrated into the National Socioeconomic Single Data (DTSEN). By definition, the DTSEN is the result of combining and matching (integrating) various data sources, including Regsosek (Socio-Economic Registration), DTKS (Integrated Social Welfare Data), P3KE (Targeting for the Accelerated Eradication of Extreme Poverty), and population data (Central Bureau of Statistics Regulation No. 6 of 2025). In the DTSEN, households are ranked based on their relative well-being and grouped into 10 deciles. Central Bureau of Statistics (Badan Pusat Statistik/BPS) explains that this ranking uses the Proxy Means Test (PMT) method, taking into account various socioeconomic characteristics collectively, including housing conditions, drinking water sources, fuel and energy for cooking, asset ownership, electricity supply and consumption, family composition, education, employment, health, and disability (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2026). DTSEN has identified several family characteristics related to care needs, but it is not yet clear whether the care work performed by household members—particularly the time

and burden involved—constitutes a separate dimension in the ranking. Presidential Instruction No. 4 of 2025 mandates the strengthening of mechanisms for the periodic verification, validation, and updating of data by the ministries and agencies concerned. The shift toward an increasingly digitized data system must also be considered from the perspective of access. For households facing additional care burdens, the need to access, update, or correct data through specific mechanisms can pose a challenge if time, digital access, digital literacy, or administrative capacity are unevenly distributed. In this study, this issue is identified as a potential secondary access barrier, rather than a primary finding regarding the DTSEN.

Synthesis of Findings: When viewed through the FPE lens, the findings indicate that policy attention to those who perform unpaid care work remains limited. By focusing on the individual care recipients (pregnant women, the elderly, and people with disabilities) without directly acknowledging who provides that care, this policy design implicitly positions women as providers of assistance to other family members, rather than as care workers whose labor and time also require policy support. While care needs and the groups requiring care are indeed reflected in policy, those who actually perform this care work—including the time and labor they invest—have not yet been clearly recognized as a focus of policy attention.

Conclusion

In the examined literature, climate shocks in Indonesia can increase the burden of unpaid care work. Disruptions to livelihoods and basic household needs result in additional demands that must be met through direct and indirect care, as well as ancillary care activities such as the provision of water and food. This increase also exacerbates time poverty. The concept of a “double burden” recognizes the demands of productive and reproductive labor; however, during climate shocks, the overlap between domestic, productive, and community/adaptation responsibilities creates layered burdens. Women in the reviewed literature demonstrate forms of adaptive agency in implementing household survival strategies amid these climate shocks. Indonesia’s social protection system interacts with households experiencing material and socioeconomic vulnerability. However, the consequences of these shocks on care work have not been explicitly reflected in the aspects analyzed in policy design, adaptive responses, or the targeting mechanisms examined. The PKH and BPNT programs have functioned as large-scale household welfare support, but based on the available results, this function has not yet transformed into carework-sensitive social protection. Through an analysis using the “recognize, reduce, redistribute” framework, the findings of this study indicate that: (1) Recognition is uneven across programs: PKH explicitly recognizes care needs and recipients (though it does not recognize care providers), while BPNT has not yet made care needs the basis for targeting. (2) The reduction in the burden is limited. Cash and food assistance are forms of material aid that do not automatically reduce the time, effort, or intensity of care work. (3) The redistribution of care responsibilities is largely not explicitly identified in the policy documents analyzed; no mechanisms were found in the analyzed documents that redistribute responsibilities from women/households to the state, public services, the community, or the market. The transition from the DTKS to the DTSEN reflects stronger integration of data infrastructure; however, within the dimension of targeting analyzed in this study, unpaid work has not yet been explicitly accounted for.

Recommendations

Strengthen Recognition of Care Responsibilities

The analysis shows that PKH explicitly identifies individuals in need of care, but care providers and the time burdens they bear have not yet been incorporated into the policy design. Therefore, social protection vulnerability assessments could consider care responsibilities and time burdens as part of the assessment of household vulnerability. When climate shocks occur, household vulnerability is not only related to economic conditions but also to the additional caregiving responsibilities that must be fulfilled.

Reducing Unpaid Care Burden through Care-Support Services

Cash and food assistance can help reduce the economic burden on households, but they do not directly reduce the time, effort, and intensity of caregiving. Therefore, social protection can be strengthened by linking it to services that have the potential to reduce the burden of caregiving more directly, such as child care support, elder care services, support for people with disabilities, and reproductive health services.

Redistributing Care Through Public and Community-Based Services

The redistribution of caregiving responsibilities can be strengthened through public and community-based services, so that caregiving needs are not borne entirely by households. At the same time, caregiving responsibilities need to be understood as shared responsibilities within the household, so that they are not continuously shouldered primarily by women. Men's involvement in caregiving is also an important part of this division of responsibilities.

Making DTSEN and Data Updating More care and Access-Sensitive

On the data/targeting front, the possibility of incorporating indicators related to caregiving responsibilities and vulnerability into the assessment could be considered, to the extent that it is methodologically and administratively feasible. On the access side, mechanisms for updating data—whether through digital or conventional channels—need to be designed with the understanding that not all households have equal time, digital access, digital literacy, or administrative capacity, especially for those currently bearing the burden of additional caregiving responsibilities in the aftermath of a shock. This recommendation is not intended to halt digitization but rather to guide data management that is care-sensitive and access-inclusive. All of these recommendations indicate that women are actively implementing various adaptation strategies at the household level. The issue is that these strategies risk becoming overly reliant on the unpaid care work performed by women. Therefore, efforts to strengthen social protection must be directed so that households' adaptive capacity is not continually sustained by women's additional time and labor without adequate policy support.

Scientific Ethics Declaration

* The author declares that the scientific ethical and legal responsibility of this article published in EPESS Journal belongs to the author.

Conflict of Interest

* The author declares that there is no conflict of interest

Funding

* The Writing and Publication of this article were supported and funded by Lembaga Pengelola Dana Pendidikan (LPDP) Indonesia

Acknowledgements or Notes

* This article was presented as an oral presentation at the International Conference on Social Science Studies (www.iconsos.net) held in İstanbul/Türkiye on September 17-18, 2026.

* The researcher would like to express their sincere gratitude to the Lembaga Pengelola Dana Pendidikan (LPDP) for granting permission and providing full funding support for this research and conference.

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To cite this article:

Utami, S.P (2026). When climate shocks hit home: Unpaid care work, women's double burden, and the gap in Indonesia's social protection response. *The Eurasia Proceedings of Educational and Social Sciences (EPESS)*, 52, 97-106.