



RESILIENCE AND EVERYDAY LIFE IN BANYUMASAN FAMILIES: FAITH, HUMOR, AND MUTUAL COOPERATION

¹ Muhammad Fuad Zain, ² Syifaun Nada, ³ M. Yudha Ditta Wiratama

¹²³ UIN Saizu Purwokerto, Indonesia

*Corresponding Author: fuad.zain@uinsaizu.ac.id

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ABSTRACT

This study explores family resilience in the Banyumasan community through a socio-cultural perspective, drawing on Walsh's Family Resilience Framework, the Double ABC-X Model, and Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory. Employing a qualitative approach with interviews, participant observation, and documentation, data were collected from twelve households across peri-urban, highland, and lowland contexts, alongside community leaders, religious figures, and women's group activists. The findings show that resilience is anchored in *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation), egalitarian interaction, and the cultural symbolism of the Ngapak dialect. Belief systems shaped by Islamic faith and Banyumasan pragmatism facilitate meaning-making, while kinship-based networks and neighbourly solidarity sustain economic and social survival. Direct, humorous communication reduces ambiguity and enhances collective problem-solving. Livelihood diversification strengthens economic security, whereas migration simultaneously improves material welfare and strains relational and educational dimensions. By linking these dynamics to national policy indicators, the study demonstrates that Banyumasan families exemplify resilience processes that are both culturally distinctive and policy-relevant, offering insights for culturally grounded and migration-sensitive interventions.

Keywords: Banyumasan, Family Resilience, Socio-Cultural, Ngapak, Walsh Framework, Double ABC-X

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini mengkaji ketahanan keluarga dalam komunitas Banyumasan melalui perspektif sosio-kultural dengan merujuk pada Family Resilience Framework (Walsh), Double ABC-X Model, dan teori sistem ekologi Bronfenbrenner. Pendekatan kualitatif ditempuh melalui wawancara, observasi partisipan, dan telaah dokumentasi, dengan melibatkan dua belas rumah tangga dari konteks peri-urban, dataran tinggi, dan dataran rendah, serta tokoh masyarakat, pemuka agama, dan aktivis kelompok perempuan. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa ketahanan keluarga Banyumasan berakar pada nilai gotong royong, interaksi egaliter, serta simbolisme kultural dialek Ngapak. Sistem kepercayaan yang dipengaruhi iman Islam dan pragmatisme Banyumasan memfasilitasi pembentukan makna, sementara pola organisasi berbasis kekerabatan dan solidaritas bertetangga menopang keberlangsungan sosial-ekonomi. Komunikasi langsung bernuansa humor dalam dialek Ngapak mereduksi ambiguitas dan memperkuat kolaborasi penyelesaian masalah. Diversifikasi mata pencaharian meningkatkan ketahanan ekonomi, sedangkan migrasi menjadi faktor ambivalen: remitansi meningkatkan kesejahteraan material, namun perpisahan jangka panjang berpotensi melemahkan dimensi relasional dan pendidikan. Dengan mengaitkan praktik lokal pada indikator kebijakan nasional, penelitian ini menegaskan bahwa keluarga Banyumasan merepresentasikan proses ketahanan yang sekaligus bersifat kultural dan relevan secara kebijakan, serta membuka ruang bagi intervensi sosial yang peka budaya dan migrasi.

Kata Kunci: Banyumasan, Ketahanan Keluarga, Sosio-Kultural, Ngapak, Walsh Framework, Double ABC-X



INTRODUCTION

The family is universally acknowledged as the smallest yet most influential unit of society, whose strength or fragility directly shapes the continuity of communities, nations, and states. A weak marital bond—if not sustained by affection, communication, and responsibility—can lead to dysfunction, divorce, and the erosion of vital roles such as child care, education, and socialisation (Rustina, 2014).

Family resilience emerges when members understand and enact their roles in a balanced manner. In Indonesian policy, family functions extend beyond biological reproduction to encompass religious, socio-cultural, economic, educational, and environmental dimensions (Udoyono, 2019; UU No. 10/1992; Permen PPPA No. 6/2013; PPPA No. 7/2022). Within Islamic discourse, the notion of *ketahanan keluarga* resonates strongly with the ideal of a *sakinah* family, nurtured by enduring love (*mawaddah*) and grace (*rahmah*), and serving as a source of positive energy for children's development.

Resilience, however, is not solely spiritual or relational; it must also manifest in material wellbeing. In Indonesia, challenges remain acute at the physical and economic levels. The prevalence of stunting among children under five stood at 24.4% in 2021—approximately one in four toddlers—though it declined to 21.6% in 2022 (Kusnandar, 2021; MoH/SSGI, 2022). At the macro level, Indonesia recorded growth of 3.31% in Q2 2021, driven by exports, investment, and government spending, and poverty has steadily declined, with the headcount ratio reaching 9.54% in March 2022 (Annur, 2022). This duality illustrates a paradox: while aggregate indicators improve, wellbeing (*kesejahteraan*)—the ultimate aim of resilience—remains uneven and underexplored.

International scholarship frames wellbeing as a multidimensional construct encompassing positive affect, life satisfaction, and social flourishing (Diener, 2009). Policy discourse, by contrast, regards wellbeing as the outcome of resilience processes enabling families not only to withstand adversity but also to adapt and thrive. Yet in Indonesia, psychosocial wellbeing—central to resilience—remains insufficiently documented.

Contemporary social transformations further complicate family dynamics. Wives and mothers increasingly participate in the workforce, altering traditional gender divisions, while husbands and fathers are more engaged in caregiving, sometimes as primary caregivers. These shifts, visible across Indonesia including Banyumas, compel families to renegotiate roles, which may either fortify or destabilise resilience depending on communication, support, and adaptability.

The Banyumasan community in Central Java offers a particularly compelling context for examining resilience. Renowned for its Ngapak dialect—captured in the adage *ora ngapak ora kepenak*—and for cultural values emphasising egalitarianism (*blakasuta*, openness, humour, directness), Banyumasan society reflects a distinctive synthesis of pragmatism and solidarity. Economic life is sustained by agriculture, small-scale industries, and emerging tourism, while traditions of *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation) and *slametan* (ritual feasting) reinforce dense networks of reciprocity. Yet families also face mounting pressures: persistent poverty (11.95% in 2024, ~207,800 individuals, above the national average), migration-driven dependence on remittances with its relational costs, and social change driven by urbanisation and higher education (UNSOED, UIN SAIZU Purwokerto).

Despite this cultural richness, scholarship on Banyumasan families remains limited. Most Indonesian studies of family resilience focus on urban or national contexts, seldom integrating local linguistic repertoires (Ngapak), religious-egalitarian values, and socio-economic adaptations into a holistic analysis.

This study addresses this gap by analysing how Banyumasan families sustain resilience across economic, social, and cultural domains. Specifically, it seeks to: (1) examine how Banyumasan belief systems, organisational patterns, and communication styles align with Walsh's Family Resilience Framework; (2) map processes of stress, resources, and adaptation within the Double ABC-X Model; (3) situate family practices within Indonesia's policy framework for family resilience (UU No. 10/1992; Permen PPPA No. 6/2013; PPPA No. 7/2022); and (4) explore how socio-cultural assets (Ngapak language, egalitarian values, *gotong royong*) both enable and constrain resilience amid poverty reduction and migration. By doing so, the study contributes empirically, through thick description of Banyumasan family life, and theoretically, by integrating cultural specificities into globally recognised resilience frameworks.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Definition of Family

The concept of family has historically been dynamic, shifting across linguistic, cultural, and policy frameworks. In the Indonesian context, the etymology of the word *keluarga* can be traced back to the Sanskrit terms *kula* (clan, kin group) and *warga* (members), originally referring to a collective of relatives bound by blood and obligation. Over time, the meaning expanded beyond kinship ties to encompass a household unit based on marriage, co-residence, and shared responsibilities. In

Javanese-Banyumasan traditions, this definition is particularly fluid, as family networks often extend to include *saudara sepupu* (cousins), in-laws, neighbours, and fictive kin (*dulur angkat*) who function as family in moments of crisis, celebration, or daily economic cooperation.

Scholarly perspectives underline the multidimensional nature of the family. Saifuddin, as cited in Aziz (2015), identifies the family as a social group characterised by shared residence, economic cooperation, and reproduction, unified either through marriage or socially sanctioned adoption. This resonates with anthropological understandings of kinship that emphasise both biological descent and social recognition. Furthermore, Indonesian governmental definitions, such as those articulated by the Ministry of Health in 1988, describe the family as the smallest unit of society under one roof, interdependent in daily life. This view was institutionalised in educational materials, where the family was portrayed as a nuclear triad—father, mother, and children—with distinct gendered roles: fathers as providers in the public sphere, mothers as caretakers of the domestic domain, and children as obedient recipients of parental guidance (Wiratri, 2018).

However, empirical realities in Banyumasan society illustrate a more complex and adaptive picture. While traditional ideals still hold normative weight, the economic transformations of the late 20th and early 21st centuries have destabilised rigid role divisions. Increasingly, fathers participate in caregiving, including cooking, childcare, and household chores, while mothers contribute significantly to income generation, whether through farming, trading, or small-scale entrepreneurship. Migration and urbanisation further complicate the family structure: grandparents often assume central caregiving

responsibilities when younger adults move temporarily for work, while remittances sustain household economies. Children, particularly adolescents, may also contribute through part-time labour or supporting family agricultural activities. These dynamics position the Banyumasan family not as a static unit but as a resilient, adaptive system, capable of reorganising functions in response to socio-economic stressors.

Theoretically, this resonates with Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory, which situates the family as both a microsystem and part of larger interdependent systems. At the micro level, roles are constantly negotiated within households; at the meso and exo levels, schools, markets, religious institutions, and migration networks shape family practices; and at the macro level, cultural norms (e.g., *gotong royong* and *blakasuta* communication) define the meaning of family solidarity. This ecological framing allows us to see family definition not merely as a descriptive category but as a relational construct, emerging at the intersection of cultural expectations, state policy, and socio-economic realities.

Finally, in measuring resilience, definitions of family must also move beyond the narrow nuclear model. The Banyumasan context demonstrates that extended and fluid family networks—grandparents, fictive kin, neighbourhood support systems—are critical in sustaining resilience across crises. Without acknowledging this broader social fabric, any measurement of family resilience risks underestimating the very structures that enable survival and adaptation.

Family Resilience

Family resilience can be understood as a dynamic process through which families withstand pressures, reorganize their structures, and continue pursuing wellbeing

under conditions of adversity. Within the Indonesian policy framework, this notion has been formally articulated in Law No. 10 of 1992 on Population and Family Development and further detailed in the Ministerial Regulation of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection No. 6 of 2013, which divides resilience into five dimensions: religious, physical, psychological, economic, and social. These dimensions provide a structural map, yet they gain interpretive depth when placed alongside international theoretical frameworks that conceptualize resilience not as a fixed condition but as a fluid set of adaptive mechanisms.

Walsh's Family Resilience Framework identifies three core processes that resonate clearly in the Banyumasan setting. Belief systems shape how families interpret crisis. Hardship is often regarded as *cobaan* (a divine trial) that should be endured with *sabar* (patience) and *syukur* (gratitude), framed within the cultural ethic of *nrima* that gives positive meaning to suffering. Organizational patterns reflect flexibility and connectedness. Fathers increasingly participate in childcare and domestic labor, mothers engage in farming or trading, grandparents assume caregiving in contexts of migration, and neighbors contribute through practices such as *rewang* during life-cycle events. Social resources are reinforced through rotating savings groups (*arisan*), agricultural cooperatives, and mosque-based charitable networks. Communication and problem-solving occur in the register of *blakasuta* speech, a cultural orientation toward frankness and directness. Dialogue on family finances, marital disputes, or children's schooling is often conducted openly and accompanied by humor in the Ngapak dialect, reducing tension and enabling cooperative decision-making.

The Double ABC-X Model of McCubbin and Patterson offers a complementary lens.

Stressors (A) in Banyumas range from crop failures and fluctuating commodity prices to health crises, domestic conflict, or separation through migration. Resources (B) encompass both material and immaterial assets: land ownership, savings, kinship solidarity, religious authority, and access to state programs. Perception (C) is shaped by Islamic teachings and local wisdom, transforming adversity into a moral test with the potential for spiritual reward. Outcomes (X) vary along a continuum from maladaptation, expressed in marital conflict or nutritional decline, to resilient adaptation, expressed in the continuity of children's education, preservation of harmony, or even expansion of livelihood strategies. The Banyumasan case underscores how cultural idioms—humor, plain speech, and ritual solidarity—mediate the relationship between stressors, resources, and meaning, yielding forms of resilience that are simultaneously spiritual, material, and social.

Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory situates these processes within multiple, interconnected layers of environment. At the microsystem level, daily negotiations occur among parents, children, and grandparents. At the mesosystem level, families interact with schools, markets, neighborhood associations, and religious institutions. The exosystem includes the influence of village governance, local economic fluctuations, and remittance flows that indirectly affect household stability. The macrosystem embeds these dynamics in cultural norms, religious traditions, and historical legacies. The egalitarian ethos conveyed through the Ngapak dialect, the ritual of *slametan*, and the persistence of *gotong royong* create a cultural ecology in which resilience is collectively sustained.

Everyday practices in Banyumas illustrate these theoretical processes in tangible forms. Families set aside grain

reserves for community-based savings, neighbors bring food to households coping with illness, women organize savings groups to fund children's schooling, and men balance agricultural labor with caregiving responsibilities. Migration generates ambivalent consequences. While the absence of parents can create vulnerability in the psychological and educational domains, remittances from migrant labor strengthen economic stability, finance healthcare, and expand opportunities for housing or entrepreneurship. The outcome depends not on migration itself but on the ways in which families mobilize belief systems, redistribute roles, and maintain communication across distance.

Family resilience in Banyumas emerges through the fusion of cultural idioms, institutional supports, and adaptive strategies. The Ngapak language, with its humor and frankness, is not merely a marker of identity but a communicative tool that facilitates conflict resolution and solidarity. The practices of *gotong royong* and *arisan* provide structural resources embedded in community life. Rituals integrate spiritual legitimacy with social cohesion. Anchored in Walsh's framework, the Double ABC-X Model, and Bronfenbrenner's ecological perspective, resilience in this setting can be read as a process of adaptive reorganization that is simultaneously cultural, economic, and spiritual.

Family Resilience Measurement

Measuring family resilience requires moving beyond abstract definitions to concrete indicators that capture how families organize themselves, mobilize resources, and sustain wellbeing. In Indonesian policy discourse, family resilience is often assessed through the five dimensions outlined in the Ministerial Regulation of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection No. 6 of

2013: religious, physical, psychological, economic, and social. These categories provide a useful entry point, but they remain insufficient without systematic operationalisation that connects them to validated international instruments and theoretical models.

Sunarti and colleagues (2003) proposed a systems approach that frames family life in terms of inputs, processes, and outputs. Inputs encompass both tangible and intangible resources: physical assets such as housing, land, and food security; non-physical assets such as spousal relationship quality, parenting competence, and kinship networks. Processes involve the strategies families employ to confront stressors, including negotiation of roles, problem-solving styles, and mobilization of community support. Outputs reflect the observable outcomes in physical, social, and psychological wellbeing, measured not only by economic stability but also by indicators of harmony, child development, and intergenerational solidarity.

International scholarship provides additional refinement. Instruments such as the Family Resilience Assessment Scale (FRAS), the Family Resilience Scale-16 (FRS-16), and the Family Adaptability and Cohesion Evaluation Scale (FACES IV) identify specific constructs including communication, flexibility, meaning-making, and connectedness. While these instruments were developed in Western contexts, their core dimensions resonate with Banyumasan practices. For example, FRAS domains on social support and shared belief systems correspond closely with *gotong royong* and religiously grounded narratives of *sabar* and *syukur*. FACES IV measures of cohesion and adaptability align with the way Banyumasan families redistribute roles across generations and gender lines in response to economic stress.

Walsh's framework suggests that measurement should focus on processes rather than static traits. This means documenting how families create meaning from adversity, how they reorganize when faced with disruption, and how they sustain open communication. In practical terms, this requires collecting not only quantitative indicators but also qualitative narratives and direct observations. In Banyumas, resilience may be measured in the frequency of collective rituals such as *slametan*, participation in rotating credit associations, children's school retention despite economic hardship, or the persistence of caregiving functions among grandparents during parental migration.

Bronfenbrenner's ecological model reinforces the need for a multi-layered approach. At the microsystem level, indicators include the quality of parent-child communication, spousal cooperation, and intra-household role sharing. At the mesosystem level, measurement involves family engagement with schools, health services, and neighborhood organizations. At the exosystem level, access to village-level safety nets, remittance flows, and governmental social protection programs must be considered. At the macrosystem level, cultural markers such as the continued use of the Ngapak dialect, egalitarian norms, and communal rituals provide evidence of the symbolic resources that anchor resilience.

Accurate measurement also requires addressing empirical inconsistencies. Data on poverty, stunting, and educational access must be carefully drawn from authoritative sources such as BPS (Statistics Indonesia) and SSGI (National Survey on Nutritional Status). For instance, while national stunting rates stood at 21.6 percent in 2022, local variations in Banyumas are critical to understanding how physical resilience is challenged. Similarly, poverty trends reveal that while the

overall rate declined to around 12.8 percent in 2022, many families remain vulnerable to shocks, and these vulnerabilities intersect with resilience indicators in education and health.

The act of measurement must therefore be conceived as both technical and cultural. Technical indicators quantify inputs, processes, and outputs; cultural interpretation situates these indicators within the values and practices that give them meaning. Measuring whether a household owns land or livestock only partially captures resilience. A more nuanced approach examines whether these assets are mobilized within networks of reciprocity, whether their use is guided by principles of *gotong royong*, and whether they contribute to intergenerational wellbeing rather than short-term survival.

Family resilience in Banyumas is best measured by combining structured instruments, policy-based indicators, and ethnographic observation. This blended methodology captures resilience not only as a state to be assessed but as an ongoing process rooted in belief systems, organizational flexibility, and communicative practices that are deeply embedded in the socio-cultural fabric of the Banyumasan community.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study employed a qualitative design to capture the lived experiences of Banyumasan families and situate them within their cultural and ecological contexts. A purely quantitative approach would not have revealed the symbolic meanings of *gotong royong*, the egalitarian humour of the Ngapak dialect, or the nuanced negotiations of gender roles within households. Accordingly, the research relied on in-depth interviews, sustained participant observation, and immersion in everyday family and community life.

Fieldwork was conducted across diverse settings in Banyumas Regency. In peri-urban Purwokerto, families were engaged in small-scale trade and education-related services. Highland villages in the north relied on agriculture and pine resin tapping, while southern lowlands were characterised by coffee cultivation and remittance-based households. By entering households across these ecological zones, the study was able to observe how resilience strategies vary with environment yet remain grounded in a shared Banyumasan ethos.

Participants were recruited through purposive sampling to represent varied family forms and experiences. Twelve households participated, including nuclear families with both parents present, extended families where grandparents assumed childrearing responsibilities, and households affected by parental migration. Additional key informants included religious leaders, village heads, and women's group activists. In total, twenty-eight individuals (balanced by gender) contributed, enabling a multi-voiced perspective on resilience.

Data were gathered through semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and documentation. Interviews, lasting 60–90 minutes, were conducted in both Indonesian and Ngapak, and explored coping with economic pressures, cultural values during crises, and family decision-making. The researcher also attended community events such as *arisan*, *tahlilan*, and *slametan*, where resilience practices were enacted collectively. Observations were systematically recorded, with attention to language use, role distribution, and expressions of humour and solidarity.

Thematic analysis was conducted through repeated readings of transcripts and field notes. Codes such as *nrima* (acceptance), "direct talk," "migration," and "remittances" were clustered into themes aligned with

Walsh's domains of resilience—belief systems, organisational patterns, and communication—as well as PPPA indicators of family resilience. Interpretation was further informed by the Double ABC-X model, which explains adaptation to cumulative stressors, and by ecological systems theory, which situates households within networks of neighbours, markets, mosques, and cultural institutions.

Validity and trustworthiness were enhanced through source triangulation, participant validation, peer discussions to refine coding, and reflexive note-taking to minimise bias. Reporting adheres to the COREQ standards for qualitative research. Ethical protocols were strictly observed: informed consent was obtained, pseudonyms ensured anonymity, and community entry followed customary procedures with village leaders and mosque officials.

This narrative methodological approach seeks not only to present data but to illuminate how Banyumasan families enact resilience in their everyday contexts—simultaneously economic, cultural, and relational.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Overview of Banyumas Regency

Banyumas Regency occupies a distinctive place in Central Java, not only because of its geographical size and historical role but also because of its cultural and social identity. Established as part of the Banyumas Residency during the Dutch colonial period through the resolution of the Dutch East Indies Council on 22 August 1831, Banyumas historically served as the administrative center for five regencies: Purbalingga, Banjarnegara, Banyumas, Cilacap, and Purwokerto. This legacy has contributed to a strong sense of regional identity that continues to shape social and political dynamics.

The regency spans approximately 1,335 square kilometers and, according to official statistics, had a population exceeding 1.8 million in 2022. Population density averages around 1,300 inhabitants per square kilometer, with significant clustering in Purwokerto, the regency's urban hub. Religious affiliation is overwhelmingly Muslim at more than 98 percent, with small Christian, Catholic, Buddhist, and Hindu minorities. Religious homogeneity has reinforced the central role of Islam in everyday life, expressed both in formal worship and in local syncretic traditions that integrate Javanese rituals with Islamic values.

The educational landscape reflects both diversity and stratification. Formal education spans from kindergartens to higher education institutions. At the tertiary level, Jenderal Soedirman University (UNSOED), officially founded in 1963, stands as a flagship public university, complemented by UIN Prof. Kiai Haji Saifuddin Zuhri Purwokerto, which achieved full university status in 2021 after decades as a state Islamic institute. Alongside these, Muhammadiyah University Purwokerto, Amikom University, Telkom Institute of Technology Purwokerto, and several Nahdlatul Ulama-affiliated universities broaden the higher education landscape. In addition to formal education, Banyumas is home to numerous Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*), which not only provide religious instruction but also act as nodes of socialization, leadership training, and economic activity. Institutions such as Darussalam Dukuhwaluh and Zamzam Muhammadiyah Modern Islamic Boarding School have regional influence that extends beyond the regency.

Politically, Banyumas demonstrates strong continuity with Central Java's broader landscape. The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) has historically dominated local elections, controlling a majority of

subdistricts and legislative seats. The composition of the local parliament reflects this dominance but also shows pluralism, with representation from PKB, Gerindra, Golkar, PKS, PPP, and PAN. Political life in Banyumas is thus marked by a combination of strong ideological loyalty to nationalist-secular parties and the persistence of Islamic political identities, though the latter tend to operate in coalition.

Geographically, Banyumas is situated between mountains and lowlands, creating a diverse ecological setting. Mount Slamet, one of Java's highest peaks, dominates the northern landscape, while the southern part is characterized by limestone hills and fertile plains. The Serayu River, originating in the highlands of Banjarnegara, traverses the regency before emptying into the southern coast. Its basin provides fertile soil for rice cultivation, sustaining the agrarian economy that continues to employ a majority of households. At the same time, the river constitutes both an opportunity and a barrier: while it fertilizes the land, its strong flow isolates certain communities and complicates transportation.

The socio-economic base of Banyumas is rooted in agriculture, with rice, corn, cassava, and horticultural crops such as chilies and tomatoes serving as primary commodities. Livestock rearing, small-scale industries, and handicrafts complement farming. In recent decades, coffee cultivation has become a significant livelihood strategy, particularly in areas such as Cingebul, where land clearing programs encouraged diversification away from dependence on migration. Some communities continue to rely on resin tapping and forest products, though these tend to yield lower income compared to agricultural or urban employment. Tourism provides an additional, though still underdeveloped, sector of growth, anchored by destinations such as

Baturraden, Purwokerto Square, and natural attractions including waterfalls and limestone caves.

The regency also faces pressing social challenges. Data from the Banyumas branch of the Integrated Service Center for Women and Children (UPTD PPA) reveal persistent cases of domestic violence and child abuse. Reports indicate a gradual increase in the number of cases between 2020 and 2022, with economic stress and post-divorce custody disputes frequently cited as triggers. These challenges highlight the intersection of economic vulnerability, shifting gender roles, and family instability, situating the discussion of family resilience within a wider context of structural pressures.

Culturally, Banyumas is often distinguished from other Javanese regions by its egalitarian ethos, humor, and frankness. The Ngapak dialect, widely spoken across Banyumas, Purbalingga, Cilacap, and Banjarnegara, functions not only as a linguistic identity but as a social equalizer. Unlike the stratified speech levels of standard Javanese, Ngapak is characterized by directness, a lack of hierarchical linguistic registers, and a distinctive intonation that projects openness. This linguistic feature reinforces the perception of Banyumas society as egalitarian, non-elitist, and critical of aristocratic hegemony, a cultural orientation that has historical roots in resistance to Mataram's centralized control.

The overview of Banyumas Regency therefore reveals a landscape of contrasts: agricultural traditions coexisting with modern education and industry, political dominance alongside plural representation, religious homogeneity tempered by syncretic practices, and cultural egalitarianism embedded in linguistic expression. These elements together form the socio-historical backdrop against which family resilience must be situated, for the capacity of

Banyumas families to adapt and endure cannot be understood apart from the geography, economy, politics, and culture that frame everyday life.

Poverty Rates in Kabupaten Banyumas

Poverty in Banyumas Regency must be understood not merely as a deficit of income but as a multidimensional deprivation encompassing nutrition, education, health, security, and participation. Scholars such as Ravallion (2012), Alkire and Foster (2011), and Misturelli and Heffernan (2010) emphasize that poverty cannot be reduced to monetary insufficiency alone but must be examined through the lens of vulnerability, deprivation of capabilities, and limited opportunities. This perspective is particularly relevant in Banyumas, where poverty intersects with agrarian livelihoods, cultural practices, and migration patterns.

Statistical data from the Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS Banyumas) provide a clearer picture of poverty dynamics over the last decade. The following table summarizes changes in the poverty line, the number of poor people, and the percentage of the population classified as poor between 2012 and 2022:

Table 1. Poverty Line and Poverty Rates in Banyumas Regency, 2012–2022

Year	Poverty Line (Rp/capita/month)	Number of Poor People (thousand)	Percentage of Poor Population
2012	271 800	303.9	19.44
2013	295 742	296.8	18.44
2014	309 106	283.5	17.45
2015	320 585	285.9	17.52
2016	344 514	283.9	17.23
2017	357 748	283.2	17.05
2018	366 442	226.2	13.50
2019	385 140	211.6	12.53
2020	406 250	225.8	13.26
2021	417 086	232.9	13.66
2022	441 520	220.5	12.84

Source: BPS Banyumas (2022)

The table reveals several important trends. In 2012, the poverty rate was 19.44 percent, with more than 300,000 people living below the poverty line. A gradual decline followed, reaching 12.53 percent in 2019, driven by a combination of agricultural productivity, non-farm income diversification, and government social protection programs. This pre-pandemic period marked the most significant reduction in poverty levels within a decade.

However, the COVID-19 pandemic disrupted this trajectory. Between 2019 and 2021, the percentage of poor households increased again, rising from 12.53 percent to 13.66 percent. The crisis disproportionately affected informal sector workers, daily laborers, and smallholder farmers dependent on unstable markets. Lockdowns and reduced mobility also exacerbated food insecurity and interrupted children's access to education, deepening vulnerabilities in the dimensions of physical and educational resilience.

By 2022, the poverty rate had fallen again to 12.84 percent, equivalent to around 220,500 people. This rebound illustrates the capacity of families to adapt through diversified livelihood strategies, social support networks, and remittances from migration. Yet, the data also underscore continuing fragility. Even with recovery, poverty levels remain above those of more industrialized regencies in Central Java, and significant disparities persist between rural and urban areas.

The monetary poverty line itself increased from Rp 271,800 per capita per month in 2012 to Rp 441,520 in 2022. While the increase partly reflects inflation and recalculated consumption baskets, it also demonstrates how poverty thresholds evolve, capturing the rising cost of living. Households once categorized as non-poor may slip below the line under new benchmarks, which complicates longitudinal comparisons and

emphasizes the importance of multidimensional analysis.

When examined through the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI), poverty in Banyumas encompasses more than income. Stunting, for example, remains a critical issue, with the 2022 *Survey Status Gizi Indonesia* (SSGI) reporting a prevalence of 20.8 percent in Central Java, slightly above the national target. Educational deprivation persists, particularly in rural subdistricts where dropout rates increase during economic downturns. Asset-based analysis also reveals inequalities: land fragmentation reduces average farm size, while households with remittances are more likely to sustain investments in housing, health, and education.

Government interventions, including conditional cash transfers and village-level social assistance, have provided a buffer. In 2023, approximately 140,629 households in Banyumas received direct cash aid, totaling over Rp 185 billion. These programs offer short-term relief but do not resolve structural drivers such as agricultural dependency, limited diversification of employment, and unequal access to higher education.

The trajectory of poverty in Banyumas illustrates both resilience and fragility. Families deploy coping strategies such as diversification of livelihoods, reliance on kinship-based reciprocity, and participation in rotating savings groups (*arisan*). At the same time, structural vulnerabilities—land scarcity, market volatility, educational barriers, and health risks—continue to limit upward mobility. For the study of family resilience, poverty must therefore be conceptualized not only as an economic indicator but also as a multi-layered determinant that interacts with cultural practices, gender roles, and institutional frameworks.

Socio-Economic Overview of the Banyumas Community

The socio-economic profile of Banyumas Regency reflects a hybrid structure in which agrarian traditions coexist with emerging sectors such as trade, small industries, education, and tourism. Agriculture remains the backbone of the regional economy, employing the majority of households, but diversification into services and migration-related income streams has become increasingly important for family resilience.

Geographically, Banyumas encompasses both fertile lowlands and hilly terrains, with the Serayu River and its tributaries playing a central role in shaping livelihoods. Approximately 64,800 hectares of rice fields are cultivated annually, producing an average of 5.17 tons of unhusked rice per hectare (BPS Banyumas, 2022). In addition to rice, corn, cassava, chili, and tomato production form part of the agrarian base, while livestock rearing supplements household income. However, land fragmentation has reduced average farm size, compelling many families to combine farming with wage labor, seasonal migration, or engagement in informal trade.

The economic diversification of Banyumas is also evident in small and medium-scale enterprises. Home-based industries such as food processing, traditional snacks, batik, handicrafts, and textiles contribute to household income while preserving local cultural identity. Pine resin tapping in Kedunggede, for example, sustains basic family needs but cannot finance larger expenditures, prompting households to seek supplementary income from urban labor markets. Similarly, in Cingebul village, coffee cultivation has emerged as a strategic alternative to reliance on migration, allowing families to build assets locally and reduce dependency on remittances.

Tourism provides an additional though still underdeveloped source of economic growth. Natural attractions such as Baturraden, Curug Cipendok, and Pancuran Pitu, alongside cultural destinations including Banyumas Square and local performing arts, generate employment in hospitality and trade. Visitor numbers, however, remain volatile and seasonal, highlighting the need for investment in infrastructure and promotion. The underutilization of tourism potential reflects broader challenges of regional economic planning, where agriculture dominates policy priorities despite opportunities in eco-tourism and cultural industries.

Education constitutes both an opportunity and a challenge in the socio-economic landscape. The regency hosts several prominent universities, including Jenderal Soedirman University (UNSOED), UIN Prof. K.H. Saifuddin Zuhri (UIN SAIZU), Muhammadiyah University Purwokerto, and Amikom University. These institutions attract students from across Central Java and beyond, creating a service economy around housing, food, and retail. At the same time, disparities persist between urban and rural areas. While Purwokerto has dense educational infrastructure, peripheral subdistricts face limited access to secondary schools, contributing to dropout rates that correlate strongly with poverty levels.

The socio-economic fabric is also strained by social problems, including domestic violence, child neglect, and labor migration. Data from UPTD PPA Banyumas indicate rising cases of gender-based violence: 96 cases were recorded in 2020, 116 in 2021, and 128 in 2022, with economic stress and custody disputes identified as primary drivers. Child protection issues remain pressing, as more than 100 cases of violence against children were reported in 2022 alone. These phenomena underscore the

interconnection between economic vulnerability, family breakdown, and resilience deficits in psychological and relational dimensions.

The religious and cultural context further shapes socio-economic life. Islam is the dominant religion, adhered to by more than 98 percent of the population, and exerts strong influence on community organization. Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*) serve as centers of education, moral formation, and sometimes microfinance, reinforcing family and community resilience. At the same time, local traditions such as *slametan* and *tasyakuran* reflect syncretic practices that integrate Islamic values with Javanese customs, sustaining social cohesion and providing informal safety nets.

Social stratification in Banyumas is less rigid compared to other Javanese regions, a feature often attributed to the egalitarian ethos embedded in the Ngapak dialect. The lack of hierarchical speech levels fosters a sense of equality that permeates social interactions and community decision-making. This cultural orientation influences economic behavior as well, where mutual aid (*gotong royong*) continues to function as a mechanism of resource sharing, from building houses to financing weddings. In times of crisis, such practices supplement formal state assistance and contribute to collective resilience.

Taken together, the socio-economic overview of Banyumas illustrates a community navigating the intersection of tradition and modernity. Agricultural livelihoods remain dominant but are increasingly supplemented by education, migration, tourism, and small industries. Social challenges such as domestic violence and educational inequality reveal the strains of economic transition, while cultural cohesion, religious institutions, and egalitarian values provide countervailing

forces that strengthen family resilience. The result is a socio-economic environment marked by both vulnerabilities and adaptive capacities, situating Banyumas as a compelling case for understanding how local contexts mediate family resilience in Indonesia.

Banyumasan Egalitarian Attitudes and Dispositions

The socio-cultural identity of the Banyumasan people is deeply marked by an egalitarian ethos that distinguishes them from other Javanese communities. This egalitarianism is most visibly encoded in the *Ngapak* dialect, a linguistic variant of Javanese that retains directness, openness, and a lack of hierarchical gradations common in the courtly speech of Yogyakarta and Surakarta. The well-known slogan *ora ngapak ora kepenak* (“without Ngapak, life feels incomplete”) reflects not only pride in linguistic distinctiveness but also a deeper cultural orientation toward honesty (*blakasuta*), straightforwardness, and equality in social relations.

Linguistically, the Banyumasan dialect resists the elaborate system of speech levels (*ngoko*, *madya*, *krama*) that traditionally structure Javanese communication along hierarchical lines of age, social status, and nobility. Instead, *Ngapak* speech tends to flatten these distinctions, reflecting what anthropologists such as Geertz (1973) describe as a cultural system where symbols embody historical meanings and shape patterns of social interaction. In this sense, language functions not merely as communication but as a performative enactment of egalitarian social values.

The origins of this egalitarian ethos can be traced to historical and geographical conditions. Unlike the courtly centers of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, Banyumas developed on the periphery of Mataram

influence, often resisting central authority and cultivating a reputation for independence. Historical accounts (Herusatoto, 2008) suggest that Banyumas people were shaped by frontier life along fertile but often contested river valleys. In such conditions, cooperation and direct communication were more functional than maintaining courtly etiquette. This history produced a cultural disposition emphasizing frankness, egalitarian decision-making, and resilience in adversity.

From a philosophical perspective, Max Scheler's value theory provides a useful framework for understanding Banyumasan egalitarianism. Scheler (1926) distinguishes four levels of values: pleasure values, vital values, spiritual values, and religious values. Banyumasan culture integrates these levels through practices that affirm equality. Pleasure values are evident in the humor and playfulness embedded in everyday *Ngapak* speech, which resists pretension. Vital values are realized in communal agricultural labor and *gotong royong*, ensuring the vitality of community life. Spiritual values manifest in the preference for honesty over formality, and religious values appear in the integration of Islamic ethics with local traditions. Together, these values construct a system where egalitarianism is not accidental but philosophically rooted in both cultural and religious orientations.

This egalitarian disposition is also visible in cultural practices and artistic expressions. Traditional Banyumasan performances such as *ebeg* (bamboo horse dance), *lengger* dance, *calung* music, and *begalan* rituals all emphasize collective participation rather than elite consumption. Unlike courtly arts designed for noble audiences, Banyumasan arts are performed in open communal spaces, accessible to villagers regardless of class or status. As Suhardi (2013) argues, this openness

reinforces the cultural logic of togetherness, blurring lines between performer and audience, sacred and profane, elite and commoner.

Religion, particularly Islam, further shapes egalitarian attitudes. Although Banyumas society reflects the classic Javanese typology of *santri* and *abangan* (Geertz, 1960), the dominance of egalitarian *Ngapak* culture moderates sharp distinctions. Religious practices such as *slametan*, *tasyakuran*, and *siraman* are inclusive communal rituals where participation is not restricted by clerical hierarchy but guided by shared belief in harmony and divine blessing. In contemporary times, pesantren (Islamic boarding schools) coexist with cultural traditions, providing moral guidance while accommodating local practices such as *cowongan* (rain rituals), which have been reinterpreted through Islamic philosophy (Supriyanto, 2023). This syncretism sustains social cohesion and ensures that religious life strengthens rather than disrupts egalitarian cultural dispositions.

Egalitarianism also plays a role in shaping gender relations within Banyumasan families. While gendered divisions of labor persist, with men traditionally associated with public roles and women with domestic responsibilities, the cultural emphasis on cooperation and *blakasuta* communication often allows for more flexible arrangements. Wives frequently engage in trade, farming, or small business, while husbands contribute to childcare and domestic chores, particularly in contexts of economic stress or migration. Such flexibility reflects an egalitarian negotiation of roles that supports family resilience, aligning with Walsh's Family Resilience Framework, which highlights adaptability, communication, and shared belief systems as key protective processes (Walsh, 2016).

Migration, globalization, and media exposure are reshaping these dispositions but have not eroded their foundations. Out-migrants from Banyumas often retain pride in their *Ngapak* identity, reproducing egalitarian social practices in urban or overseas communities. At the same time, younger generations exposed to hierarchical Javanese norms or globalized lifestyles negotiate hybrid identities, combining pride in *Ngapak* directness with awareness of external expectations. This adaptability reflects Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory, where cultural identity is shaped through continuous interaction between microsystems (family, community), mesosystems (schools, workplaces), and macrosystems (national culture, globalization).

In sum, Banyumasan egalitarian attitudes and dispositions function as cultural capital that reinforces resilience. By resisting rigid hierarchies and emphasizing equality, honesty, and cooperation, Banyumasan families and communities cultivate social cohesion and adaptive capacity in the face of economic, social, and cultural change. This egalitarian ethos provides both a symbolic identity—articulated through language, arts, and rituals—and a practical resource for navigating daily challenges, situating Banyumas as a unique locus for studying the intersections of culture, resilience, and social transformation.

Family Resilience in Socio-Cultural Banyumasan Society

Family resilience within the Banyumasan community is best understood as the capacity of households to sustain stability, adapt to adversity, and transmit cultural continuity amidst economic pressures, social transformation, and shifting cultural landscapes. Drawing on Walsh's Family Resilience Framework (2016), three

interrelated domains—belief systems, organizational patterns, and communication processes—are clearly visible in the Banyumasan context, but they are articulated through distinct local socio-cultural logics.

At the level of belief systems, resilience is grounded in a shared worldview that integrates Islamic ethics with local cultural idioms. The frequent use of *slametan*, *tasyakuran*, and *siraman* rituals illustrates how families invoke spiritual resources to frame adversity as meaningful and surmountable. These practices reaffirm solidarity and divine providence, aligning with Walsh's emphasis on shared belief systems as sources of hope and transcendence. In Banyumas, however, such beliefs are expressed through egalitarian and inclusive rituals, reflecting the cultural ethos of *Ngapak* egalitarianism.

Organizational patterns of Banyumasan families reveal resilience through adaptability and role flexibility. Economic realities—particularly land fragmentation, underemployment, and fluctuating agricultural yields—compel families to diversify livelihood strategies. Women frequently participate in trade, food processing, and small-scale entrepreneurship, while men contribute to childcare or seasonal migration. Unlike rigid patriarchal models found in some rural Javanese communities, Banyumasan households often negotiate roles in pragmatic and cooperative ways, ensuring that family survival is prioritized over gendered role prescriptions. This dynamic aligns with the Double ABC-X Model of family stress and adaptation, which highlights how stressors (*A*), resources (*B*), and perceptions (*C*) interact to produce either crisis (*X*) or resilience. In Banyumas, the flexible pooling of resources across genders and kinship lines reduces vulnerability to crisis.

Communication processes constitute another central pillar of Banyumasan resilience. The *Ngapak* dialect, characterized by directness and *blakasuta* honesty, fosters open dialogue within households and communities. Unlike hierarchical Javanese speech systems that sometimes inhibit intergenerational communication, *Ngapak* speech encourages transparency and emotional expressiveness, reducing misunderstandings in times of stress. This direct communicative style strengthens problem-solving capacities, echoing Walsh's framework, which identifies clarity, emotional sharing, and collaborative decision-making as resilience-promoting processes.

Resilience in the Banyumasan socio-cultural context also relies on collective structures. The ethos of *gotong royong* functions as a vital external resource, extending family resilience into the communal sphere. During weddings, funerals, or agricultural tasks, neighbors mobilize labor and resources, reducing the burden on individual households. In crisis situations such as illness or crop failure, these communal safety nets act as buffers, supplementing limited state welfare programs. Such practices resonate with Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory, wherein resilience is not merely an individual or household trait but emerges from interactions across multiple ecological layers.

Nevertheless, resilience is uneven and fragile in certain domains. Migration, while providing remittances that strengthen economic resilience, simultaneously strains relational and educational dimensions of families. Children of migrant workers may experience reduced parental supervision, leading to vulnerabilities in education or psychosocial well-being. Religious resilience is also challenged by competing interpretations of piety, where younger

generations exposed to urban or globalized norms negotiate tensions between traditional rituals and modern religious expressions. These fractures confirm that resilience is not a static state but a dynamic process, vulnerable to structural and cultural disruptions.

Empirical evidence also underscores the importance of socio-economic determinants in shaping resilience. Families with diversified income sources—combining farming, trade, and wage labor—demonstrate higher resilience across educational and health dimensions. By contrast, households dependent solely on small landholdings or casual labor remain highly vulnerable to shocks. Stunting prevalence in Central Java, reported at 20.8 percent in 2022 (SSGI, 2022), reveals how economic deprivation directly undermines physical resilience despite strong cultural and communal support systems. Similarly, domestic violence cases recorded by UPTD PPA Banyumas highlight the fragility of psychological resilience under conditions of economic stress and marital conflict.

At the cultural level, egalitarianism operates as a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it facilitates role flexibility, open communication, and cooperative survival strategies. On the other hand, the rejection of hierarchical structures sometimes hampers formal organization, particularly in the adoption of institutional interventions such as government family resilience programs. Households may prefer local solutions and kinship-based reciprocity over bureaucratic programs, leading to partial engagement with state initiatives. This selective adaptation reveals the tension between local cultural logics and national policy frameworks.

Taken together, family resilience in Banyumas emerges not as an abstract construct but as a lived negotiation of cultural, economic, and religious resources. It

is simultaneously strengthened by egalitarian cultural dispositions, communal solidarity, and adaptive gender roles, while being weakened by structural poverty, migration pressures, and health vulnerabilities. This complexity demonstrates that resilience cannot be fully understood through descriptive accounts alone but must be situated within theoretical frameworks that capture its dynamic and multi-layered character. The Banyumasan case illustrates how global theories of resilience—Walsh, Double ABC-X, Bronfenbrenner—intersect with local socio-cultural systems, producing unique configurations of strength and fragility that continue to evolve in the face of modernization and globalization.

CONCLUSION

Family resilience in Banyumas is a dynamic process embedded in cultural, economic, and religious life. Households draw strength from egalitarian values, *gotong royong*, Islamic-Javanese rituals, and the *Ngapak* dialect that fosters direct communication and cooperation. These resources align with Walsh's framework on belief systems, organizational adaptability, and communication, while also reflecting the Double ABC-X Model in managing stress, pooling resources, and achieving adaptation. Yet resilience is uneven: poverty and stunting undermine physical and educational well-being, migration enhances income but strains family cohesion, and domestic violence cases reveal fragility in psychological domains.

National policy frameworks (UU No. 10/1992; Permen PPPA No. 6/2013; PPPA No. 7/2022) define five dimensions of resilience—religious, physical, psychological, economic, and social. Banyumas families express these dimensions in local forms: inclusive rituals, agricultural sufficiency, *blakasuta* dialogue, livelihood diversification, and communal solidarity. However, reliance on kinship

reciprocity and uneven access to state programs expose gaps between national policy and local practice. Resilience in Banyumas is therefore best understood as locally anchored and culturally mediated, combining universal principles with distinctive socio-cultural assets while remaining vulnerable to structural constraints.

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