

From Village Flowers to Strategic Leaders: An Analysis of *Triple Role Synergy*, Customary Law, and Hegemonic Reproduction Discourse on the Limited Access of Balinese Women in Batubulan Traditional Villages

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Objective: To critically analyze the synergistic factors (gender, structural, and sociological) that limit Balinese women's access to career opportunities to strategic leadership positions in the indigenous village system, even though they have economic empowerment.

Methodology/approach: This study uses a Critical Qualitative approach with a Descriptive Case Study design in Batubulan Traditional Village, Gianyar. Data were collected through in-depth interviews with 7 professional women. The analysis utilizes *Triple Role Theory*, Cultural Hegemony, and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

Results/findings: This restriction is caused by the interaction of three barriers: 1. Triple Burden (Career, Domestic, Customary) causes *Structural Time Poverty*, paralyzing political participation. 2. Awig-Awig creates a Formal Exclusion by requiring *the status of Purusa* (male) for strategic roles. 3. Hegemonic discourse and social surveillance by *Orte Pisaga* (neighbors) upholds obedience, transforming structural oppression into moral obligation.

Limitations: This study is limited to the context of the specific traditional governance of Batubulan Traditional Villages, which limits the generalization of findings across the Bali region.

Contributions: This research provides a multi-dimensional framework (Gender-Law-Sociology) to understand the persistent political exclusion of educated women in modernized traditional societies, providing direct information on gender studies, anthropology, and local governance policies.

Novelty: The explicit linkage and analysis of Triple Burden, Formal Exclusion through Awig-Awig, and social surveillance mechanisms by *Orte Pisaga* as one interlocking system that creates *Structural Time Poverty* in the Balinese context.

Keywords: *Balinese Women, Customary Law, Dual Role, Hegemony, Strategic Access*

1. Introduction

1.1 Background of the Problem

Bali, known globally as the "Island of the Gods" and a tourism magnet, has constructed and maintained a certain ideal image of local women. This image is often emphasized in cultural and tourism promotion materials, which feature a woman who is beautiful, motherly, graceful, and has infinite patience. This image, which emphasizes aesthetic and adherence values, creates a strong sociological pressure, forming what can be conceptualized as the "Trap of the Village Flower Image". This image, in the end, serves as a calming cultural commodity, but on the other hand, locks women in passive and supportive roles (Kharisma Oktarina & Komalasari, 2022). The existence of this image is inseparable from how global and local societies define the "ideal Balinese woman," a definition that subtly demands the restriction of public ambitions for the sake of domestic and customary harmony.

A profound contradiction arises when this ideal image is confronted with the practical reality of the daily life of modern Balinese women. Balinese women are resilient economic and managerial actors, required to carry out the Triple Role Model simultaneously with high intensity and without adequate structural support. These roles include Domestic Roles (nurturing, household care), Socio-Religious Roles (as the main operators of rituals, the main

person in charge of costly and time-intensive *yadnya* ceremonies), and Economic/Career Roles (as productive workers in the formal, tourism, or entrepreneurial sectors). The ability to balance the burden of these dual and dual roles sociologically should be indisputable evidence of an unbiased leadership, managerial, and strategic competence. However, there is a significant gap: this tested managerial capacity consistently fails to translate into full and equal access to public strategic positions such as formal political leadership, legislators, or decision-makers in customary institutions (*Prajuru Desa* or *Bendesa*). This gap suggests a more complex layer of barriers than just individual competency issues.

The limited access of Balinese women to the strategic dimensions of the public cannot be understood without analyzing the underlying structural framework. Bali's social structure is dominated by a solid patrilineal and patriarchal system, where lineages, inheritance of rights and power (*purusa*) are traditionally in the hands of men (Wijayanti, 2024). This system is not just a social norm; it is institutionalized and legitimized through a formal instrument of Customary Law, namely the village Awig-Awig.

Awig-Awig, as a customary village constitution, is often a source of strong formal restrictions. In many village regulations, the basic requirement to become a Customary Village Krama (full members who have voting rights, voting rights, and the right to be elected) is to have the status of Head of Family (Male Household). This provision *de jure* restricts women's access to strategic policy-making positions in traditional villages. In addition, the patrilocal practice of requiring married women to move and lose full membership rights (*krama*) in their home villages, structurally erases their socio-political base. This means that even if a woman is highly competent, she does not have a legitimate community base to run for formal leadership. Indigenous law, in this context, serves as a patriarchal locking mechanism that ensures that strategic decision-making authority—which requires time-intensive dedication—remains in the domain of men.

Understanding Balinese women as actors who carry out *the Triple Role* provides a sharp lens to analyze the formulation of the first and second problems of this study: role conflicts and the limitations of practical access. The demands of socio-religious obligations regulated by Balinese customs are a very unique and crucial aspect. Traditional rituals (*yadnya*) are not only spiritual, but also very time-consuming, costly, and labor-intensive. Here, the role of Balinese women in preparing complex *banten* (offerings) and ensuring the smooth running of the ceremony is often irreplaceable.

When women have careers in the public space, they cannot be separated from the traditional demands. The *role strain* they experience is not just a clash between work and household, but a clash of three very strong poles: office, home, and *temple/custom*. This *intensive Triple Role* burden, which is normatively reinforced by Customary Law, practically consumes women's vital resources, namely time, energy, and mental focus (Kharisma Oktarina & Komalasari, 2022). These double and double loads then function as an invisible *barrier*. Women who are already fully employed and have to take care of rituals, physically and psychologically, are unlikely to invest further in public strategic leadership positions that require full commitment and unexpected meetings. They are effectively eliminated from the competition for strategic dimensions, not because of a lack of competence or explicit prohibitions (although *de jure prohibitions* exist), but because of the limitations of practical resources. This is why this study must examine how the interaction between customary law obligations and the burden of *Triple Role* factually limits the willingness and ability to participate in strategic spaces.

This phenomenon of limited access persists because of the existence of a layer of sociological mechanisms that is the focus of the third problem of research: compliance. Balinese women's adherence to traditional roles is not only based on the fear of formal sanctions of Indigenous Law, but due to the profound internalization of patriarchal norms, a process that is explained through the theory of Cultural Hegemony (Gramsci). This hegemony works by convincing society—including women themselves—that this order of division of roles is natural, right, and part of *the Dharma*.

Women with successful careers have ambitions, but they often choose to make strategic compromises; they will sacrifice strategic leadership opportunities in order to maintain an ideal social status ("Bunga Desa") and family stability. Visible obedience (patience, elegance) is a self-defense mechanism, not pacifism (Satya Cipta, in etnis.id, 2023). They avoid the social sanctions that would arise if they were labeled "too ambitious," "against custom," or "failed as wives/mothers." Thus, obedience is an internalized social construct, a choice made to maintain the harmony of identity in the midst of inevitable role conflicts.

Seeing the synergistic interaction between role conflicts (Gender/Sociology), limited practical access (Sociology/Customary Law), and the sociological mechanisms of Cultural Hegemony that make compliance form, this research is very urgent. This research aims to unravel not only the end result of discrimination (limited access), but also the processes and mechanisms that allow these inequalities to form and survive in the midst of modernization.

1.2 Rformulation Problem

1. How do Balinese women who have careers/professions manage role conflicts that arise between professional/economic (modern) demands and socio-religious/customary (traditional) obligations?
2. How does the interaction between the obligations regulated by Customary Law and the burden of *the role of Triple Role* practically limit the time, energy, and willingness of Balinese women to participate or compete in the strategic dimension of the public?
3. How can Balinese women's obedience to the demands of traditional roles be formed and maintained in modern society?

1.3 Research Objectives

1. Analyze role conflict management strategies and the impact of *Triple Role burden* on the time and energy allocation of Balinese women in careers.
2. Identify how customary law limitations and customary obligations burden are practically indirect barriers that limit women's involvement in the strategic dimension of the public.
3. Explores the mechanisms of Cultural Hegemony that allow the internalization of patriarchal norms and explains how Balinese women's adherence to traditional roles can be formed and endured.

1.4 Research Benefits

- Academic Benefits: Contribute to interdisciplinary studies (Gender, Sociology, Indigenous Law) by analyzing synergies between role conflicts, double burdens, and structural constraints in shaping women's access.
- Practical Benefits: Provide empirical evidence for stakeholders (*Indigenous Villages*, Local Governments, Gender Activists) on the invisible burdens faced by career women, as a basis for revising customary regulations or formulating more inclusive policies.

2. Literature Review And Hypothesis Development

This chapter presents a systematic review of the related literature that forms the theoretical basis of the research, identifies research *gaps*, and develops a working hypothesis to be tested.

2.1 Key Concepts and Theoretical Foundations

A. Role Conflict and the Triple Role Model

Role conflict is at the heart of the first problem formulation, describing the psychological and practical tension experienced by individuals when the demands of two or more social roles conflict with each other. Gender Studies uses the *Triple Role Model* and divides women's roles into productive (career), reproductive (domestic), and community (social/customary). Research in Indonesia confirms that career women face a high rate of role conflict, which directly affects their well-being and performance (Agustiari, N. P. N., & Darma, G. S., 2022)

In the Balinese context, the role of the community has a unique burden because it intersects with massive and inelastic socio-religious obligations (Kharisma Oktarina & Komalasari, 2022). These *time- and labor-intensive* demands create a *role strain* that is far more severe than ordinary work-family conflicts. This puts women with careers in a position to be vulnerable to *resource depletion*, which directly affects their ability to invest in public strategic roles.

B. Customary Law, Patriarchy, and the Invisible Barrier

Critical Indigenous Law is used to analyze how customary norms function as instruments to perpetuate structural inequalities. Balinese's patrilineal and patriarchal system is the legal foundation that limits women's access to resources and power (Wijayanti, 2024). The formal instrument, namely Awig-Awig, limits the strategic role with the provision of membership of the Customary Village Krama which is often only given to the Head of Family (Krama Laki-Laki). The relationship between Customary Law and *Triple Role* creates an invisible *barrier*. The existing *de jure* limitations (the prohibition of formal leading) are exacerbated by *the de facto burden*. The customary obligations institutionalized by the Awig-Awig (e.g., the obligation to prepare banten) effectively block women's allocation of time and energy from political participation or strategic leadership. So, the obstacles to strategic access are not due to a lack of competence, but due to the absence of practical resources caused by structural obligations (Wijayanti, 2024).

C. Cultural Hegemony and the Internalization of Compliance

The concept of Cultural Hegemony by Antonio Gramsci is the basis for analyzing the formulation of the third problem. Hegemony explains how the power structure (patriarchy) is maintained, not through coercion, but through active approval or internalization of ideology by the dominated group (Gramsci, 1971; Patria & Arief, 2012). In this context, the ideology of "Bunga Desa" and *the Dharma* that glorifies the role of support and passive have been internalized by the Balinese people. Women's adherence to traditional roles is seen as the result of an ideology spread through socialization and religion. Research shows that women often compromise their identities, choose to maintain an ideal social status and avoid social sanctions arising from the notion of "against nature" or "too ambitious" Ayu, Ardiansyah, & Danarlie (2022). Thus, obedience is a social construct that is maintained through consent and not just resignation.

2.2 Review of Previous Research

No.	Researcher & Year	Research Focus	Relevant Findings (RM Relevance)
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1.	Wijayanti (2024)	Analysis of Customary Law and the Position of Women in Traditional Village Leadership.	Customary Law (Awig-Awig) still restricts women's access to strategic positions due to the requirement of Male Citizenship (Relevant RM 2).
2.	Kharisma Oktarina & Komalasari (2022)	The Dual Role of Balinese Women in the Context of <i>Triple Role</i> .	Role conflicts are very high, especially between productive and socio-religious roles, draining women's energy (Relevant RM 1).
Sec. 3.	Sari & Wardana (2021)	Balinese Women and the Challenges of Traditional Modernization.	Modernization does not automatically remove the custom burden, but rather increases the dual role burden (Relevant RM 1).

2.3 Research Gap

Previous research has identified separately the existence of dual role conflicts, customary law limitations, and cultural hegemony. However, the main gap filled by this study is the analysis of the synergy and causal interaction between the three dimensions.

The study specifically focused on:

1. How the customary workload institutionalized by Customary Law practically becomes a *de facto barrier* that limits women's career access to the public strategic dimension (i.e., the causal relationship between RM 1 and RM 2).
2. How Cultural Hegemony (RM 3) functions as an ideological glue that ensures that women accept and internalize the burden of the *Triple Role* as an obligation (*Dharma*) rather than as a form of inequality, thus ensuring the sustainability of limited access.

Thus, this study offers a holistic analysis that not only records the existence of inequality, but also dismantles the social, structural, and psychological mechanisms that make such inequality sustainable in the midst of modernization.

2.4 Development of Working Hypotheses

Based on the literature review and research gaps above, the work hypotheses that will be tested in this study are:

H1 (Main Hypothesis): The role conflicts caused by the burden of *the Triple Role* (in particular the socio-religious demands regulated by Customary Law) are directly proportional to the limited allocation of time and energy of Balinese women in their careers, which significantly hinders their chances of fully competing in the strategic dimension of the public.

H2 (Supporting Hypothesis): Balinese women's compliance with the demands of traditional roles is maintained through the mechanism of Cultural Hegemony, which succeeds in internalizing patriarchal ideology so that women see the double burden as a noble obligation (*Dharma*) and not as a form of subordination.

3. Research Methods

This chapter presents the materials, methods, instruments, and technical procedures used in this study. The authors detail the research design, field conditions, theoretical assumptions, and devices used to ensure transparency and scientific validity.

3.1 Research Design and Approach

This study is not an experimental or simulation research, but a **field qualitative survey based** research with a **Descriptive Case Study** design.

- **Approach:** Qualitative Interpretive. It was chosen to explore the deep meaning (*verstehen*) behind the phenomenon of role conflict and cultural conformity that cannot be measured through statistical numbers alone (Creswell & Poth, 2018).
- **Focus:** Analyze three-dimensional interactions—sociological (hegemony), gender (role conflicts), and law (custom)—in the real-life context of career women.

3.2 Research Conditions and Locations

A. Research Location

The research was carried out in **Batubulan Traditional Village, Gianyar Regency, Bali**.

- **Field Conditions:** Batubulan was chosen as a representative *site* because of its unique characteristics: (1) It is a creative economy center and a border between Denpasar City and Gianyar Regency, so that the level of women's participation in formal careers is very high; (2) Have a strong customary institutional structure and *an intensive and complex* implementation of rituals (*yadnya*). These conditions create an ideal "natural laboratory" for observing the friction between modern demands and customary law.

3.3 Research Subjects and Materials

A. Informant Determination Techniques

Sample withdrawal was carried out by *the Purposive Sampling* technique followed by *Snowball Sampling* until the data reached saturation.

B. Kriteria Informan

1. **Main Informant (Analysis Unit):** 5-10 women domiciled in Batubulan with the following criteria: (a) Married and *Krama Wife status*; (b) Have a minimum of Bachelor's Degree (S1); (c) Work full-time in the formal/professional sector; (d) Actively carrying out customary obligations.
2. **Key Informant (Legal Validation):** A minimum of 2 *Prajuru* (Devise) of Batubulan Traditional Village to verify *Awig-Awig's* interpretation.
3. **Expert Informant (Theory Validation):** Sociology Academics or Gender Activists for perspective triangulation.

3.4 Assumptions and Theoretical Frameworks Followed

This research was carried out under the following theoretical conditions and assumptions:

1. **Sociological Assumptions:** Women's adherence to double burdens is not merely a conscious choice, but the result of **Cultural Hegemony** (Gramsci) that has been normalized.
2. **Gender Assumptions:** There is a negative correlation between the burden of *Triple Roles* (domestic, public, customary) and the availability of resources (time/energy) to access public strategic positions (Role Conflict Theory, Greenhaus & Beutell).
3. **Customary Law Assumptions:** *Awig-Awig* serves as a *de jure* structure that restricts access, which is then reinforced by *de facto* barriers (workload).

3.5 Data Collection Procedure

The following procedures must be followed to replicate the study:

1. **Literature & Document Study:** Analyze the articles in *Awig-Awig* Batubulan related to the role of women.
2. **Non-Participant Observation:** The researcher attends the *banjar meeting* or ceremonial preparation activities, records the interaction and division of labor without being actively involved, using *the Observation Sheet*.

3. **In-Depth Interviews:** Conduct semi-structured interviews of 45-90 minutes per informant. Questions are focused on time management, feelings of customary burden, and perceptions of leadership.

3.6 Data Analysis Techniques

The data were analyzed using the Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2014) Interactive Model:

1. **Data Condensation: Selection & Coding.** The interview transcript is imported into NVivo, then coded *based on* the theoretical framework (Role Conflict, Hegemony, Customary Law).
2. **Data Display: Matrix & Network.** Present data in the form of a matrix (e.g., Time Allocation vs. Position Comparison Matrix) to see patterns of access limitations.
3. **Conclusion: Drawing/Verification.** Draw conclusions about the compliance mechanism and verify it through *Member Checking* (reconfirming findings to informants).

4. Results Of Research And Discussion

Queen in the Office, Slave in Banjar: A Paradox of the Existence of Balinese Women

This chapter presents an anatomical dissection of the social reality in the Batubulan Traditional Village. Field data is not simply presented as numbers or quotes, but is presented as empirical evidence of the workings of a complex social machine. Here, we will see how economic modernity and traditional feudalism intertwined, giving birth to a biological child named "Double Burden" who had to be raised alone by women. Using the scalpel of Critical Sociology, Gender Studies, and Customary Law, this chapter will prove that women's limited access to strategic positions is not a cultural coincidence, but a well-preserved structural design.

4.1 Overview: Batubulan as a Stage for Modernity Plays

4.1.1 Illusion of Progress at the City Gate

Batubulan Traditional Village, geographically and economically, is a showcase for Gianyar's progress. As a buffer for Denpasar, this village is home to thousands of professional women who crowd the highway every morning in bank uniforms, executive blazers, or company operational vehicles. However, this study reveals that the "progress" is cosmetic. Behind the magnificent padas stone carving gates, the social structure of Batubulan still operates feudal *software*. Modernization only touches on the material (economic) aspect, but fails to hack the patriarchal social code of ethics. The moonstone is a perfect example of what sociologists call *Pseudo-Modernity*; where laptops and *smartphones* are used to coordinate rituals that still view women as "servants" (*sewaka*) and men as "masters" (*natha*).

4.1.2 Informant Profile: Economic Giant, Political Dwarf

This research dissects the lives of 7 key informants who are representations of the "new aristocrat" of Balinese women: Bank employees, Senior Lecturers, Export Art Gallery Owners, and Notaries. They have abundant capital capital. The average income of informants is above Rp 10 million per month, often higher than their husbands. However, the findings on the ground show a curious irony: Economic independence is not directly proportional to customary political autonomy. An informant who in his office was able to fire an incompetent male employee, when he arrived home, he did not have the power even to determine the consumption menu of the banjar meeting. In the presence of *Awig-Awig*, their Master's or Doctoral degrees were demolished, leaving a single status: *Krama Istri*—a subtle label for second-class citizens whose main task is to "support", not "lead".

4.2 Research Results: Anatomy of Three-Dimensional Oppression

This section outlines field findings that prove the research hypothesis: that women's strategic access is shut down not by a single factor, but by a conspiracy of three elements: Time, Law (Custom), and False Consciousness.

4.2.1 The Third Shift Phenomenon: Time Slavery in the Name of Yadnya

If Arlie Hochschild (1989) introduced the term *The Second Shift* to describe the domestic burden of women working in the West, then women in Batubulan experienced what researchers call *The Third Shift*. This shift is a socio-religious obligation that is massive, mandatory, and uncompromising.

A. Impossible Time Mathematics

Based on the time-allocation study on informants, a systematic pattern of time exploitation was found.

- **04.30 – 07.00:** First Shift (Domestic). Cooking, taking care of children, and *daily mebanten* rituals.
- **08.00 – 17.00:** Second Shift (Professional). Work with rigid corporate targets.
- **18.00 – 22.00:** Third Shift (customary). Attending *PKK sangkepan* (meeting), *mourning*, or preparing *banten* for the upcoming temple ceremony.

The total active working hours of Batubulan women reach 15-16 hours per day. Compare that to the man who, after work, has the privilege of "resting" or "having coffee" at the banjar hall—which ironically is often claimed to be a "traditional coordination" activity.

"I feel like a candle being burned from two ends. At the office, the target is demanded, at home the custom is demanded. If I work overtime, I am called a professional. But if because of the overtime I came late to the temple, I was called a woman who neglected my customary obligations. There is no room to get tired. Illness must also be contained, because in Bali, being absent from the custom is a greater social sin than being absent from work."

— (Informant S, 35 years old, bank employee).

B. Ritual Commodification: A False Solution

Another critical finding is the failure of the "Buying Banten" strategy. Many informants try to exchange money for time. They buy ready-made offerings in the market. However, the customs in Batubulan—and Bali in general—do not only ask for the final result, but demand a process. Physical presence (*ngayah*) is an irreplaceable moral currency. Women who only send money (*punia* funds) but are rarely seen cutting *janur* or competing (*stringing* offerings) will be the target of gossip shooting. This is a form of psychological terror that forces women to remain physically present even though their bodies have reached the limit of burnout. As a result, chronic energy depletion occurs. In this "time poor" and "energy bankrupt" condition, expecting women to think strategically about village politics is a utopia.

4.2.2 Awig-Awig Wall: Legalization of Structural Discrimination

The most troubling finding is the role of Customary Law. Often, *Awig-Awig* (written village regulations) is deified as a sacred local wisdom. However, a critical analysis of the *Awig-Awig* text of the Batubulan Traditional Village reveals its true face: a political document designed to perpetuate the male oligarchy.

A. Language Politics in the Definition of Krama

In the *Awig-Awig* articles, the main legal subject is defined as *Krama Ngarep*. The absolute requirements: *Purusa* (Male) and *Mewiwa* (Married). This is where legal and formal

discrimination lies. Women, no matter how high their position, are defined by their relationship with men: as wives (Pradana). The political implications are deadly:

1. **Impoverishment of Voting Rights:** In *the Paruman Agung* (Village Grand Meeting) that decides on strategic matters such as the sale of village land, the management of the art market, or the election *of the Treasure*, the vote is counted per *Krama Ngarep* (Head of Family). A woman's voice is considered to be "represented" by her husband. This is the concept of "Pseudo-Representation". How can women's aspirations be represented if their husbands do not understand the double burden that wives experience?
2. **Prohibition of Holding Office:** There is no explicit article that reads "Women are prohibited from being Bendesa". However, the administrative requirement of "Registered as Krama Ngarep" automatically aborts 100% of the female population. This is what is called *Systemic Exclusion*.

"I am a Notary, I understand the law. I know that Awig-Awig is logically flawed from a human rights perspective. But who dares to sue? Suing Awig-Awig is the same as suing the ancestors. So, even though I knew I was capable of managing village assets, I kept silent. The door is locked, and the key is in the men's pants." — (Informant L, 40 years old, Notary).

B. Gender Bias in Fatherhood

The division of customary labor (father-father) is also very biased. Men get the "Managerial" portion of work (meetings, data collection, arranging), while women get the "Rough Operations" portion (cooking, assembling janur, cleaning). Managerial jobs provide opportunities for networking and personal branding as leaders. Operational work only provides fatigue and isolation in the kitchen (paon). This work structure systematically distances women from the stage of power.

4.2.3 Hegemony and the Social Panopticon: Why Are Women Silent?

Here's the most intriguing finding: Why isn't there a revolution? Why are these 7 intelligent informants submissive? The answer lies in the work of Cultural Hegemony that creates mental prisons, reinforced by intensive social surveillance.

A. The myth of "Mother Earth" as an opium The Balinese people, through religious and cultural indoctrination, succeeded in instilling the myth that women are symbols of "Motherland" (Earth): who must be patiently stepped on, silently bear the burden, but still give life. The concept *of Dharma* (obligation) is manipulated to legitimize oppression. Informants often use the phrase: "*It's by nature*" or "*This is my karmic path*". This is evidence of the success of Gramscian hegemony. The ideology of the ruling class (patriarchy) has been accepted as "*common sense*" by the oppressed class (women) (Gramsci, 1971). They don't feel oppressed, they feel they are "**sacrificing holy**". Physical and mental pain is alleviated with the promise of rewards in the next life (*punarbawa*).

B. Terror of Gossip and Fear of *Orte Pisaga* (The Power of Social Policing) A more violent control mechanism than the law is **Gossip and Fear of *Orte Pisaga*** (close relatives/neighbors). Batubulan is a communal society where privacy is a luxury item. *Orte Pisaga* serves as the **Social Panopticon** (Foucault)—an invisible surveillance that is ubiquitous.

1. *Orte Pisaga* as a Norm Enforcement Officer: *Orte Pisaga* is the front line of customary defense. Relatives and neighbors who live nearby have social authority to criticize, advise, or even publicly shame. The informant's fear is not only fear of *the formal Bendesa* or *Prajuru*, but also the fear of **the mothers next door** who passively aggressively supervise the

menbanten schedule, the presence at home, and the cleanliness of their yard. Failure to meet customary standards is considered to tarnish not only the family name, but also the reputation of the environment (banjar).

"If we don't participate in making banten, the one who tells my husband is not Prajuru, but an aunt or neighbor whose house is in front. They don't get angry right away, but they'll smile sarcastically and say, 'Wow, I'm so busy, huh? Until I forget the obligations of the house'. It feels more painful than being fined. Because I am ashamed of my husband and my extended family." — (Informant P, 35 years old, Retail Manager).

2. Weekly Sanctions (Exclusion): Women who are too vocal or often absent from customs are at risk of being labeled as: *"Women who have no sense of responsibility," "Sing bise mebraya"*. These labels lead to the highest social sanction in Bali: **Kesepekan** (Social Exclusion). Exclusion by *Orte Pisaga* means not being invited to social events, not being assisted during ceremonies, or being ignored in deliberations. For a Balinese woman who lives off social networks, *a week is the same* as a social death penalty. This fear triggers extreme consumer obedience, where women choose to cut back on their own leadership ambitions in order to maintain harmony and good name in the eyes of their neighbors.

4.3 Discussion: Criticism of Cultural Romanticism and Discourse Terror

This section discusses the above findings through sharp theoretical lenses. The author will go beyond formal structural analysis and enter into the psychological "basement" of the Batubulan society: how language, gossip, and social dilemmas work as the engine that produces obedience.

4.3.1 The Double Bind: The Trap of Mother's Identity

The findings of the study reveal a false paradox that lives in public perception, which creates a Double Psychological Burden for women. The people of Batubulan, who are transitioning to materialism, hold a double standard that is impossible to meet:

1. **Stigma of Career Women:** When informants work hard to pursue a career and come home at night, the discourse that emerges in the banjar environment is a manipulative tone of pity: *"It's a pity that the child has no one to take care of,"* or *"The child keeps the maid, later he doesn't know the mother."* This narrative attacks a woman's weakest point: maternal instincts. Career is considered a form of selfishness that comes at the expense of children.
2. **Domestic Women's Stigma:** Conversely, if women choose to stay at home (*full-time* moms), the discourse that emerges is economic devaluation: *"It's a pity that high school is only in the kitchen,"* or *"Don't you feel sorry for your husband? There is no contribution."*

This is the **situation of Double Bind** (Gregory Bateson): **Forward hit, backward hit**. Women are besieged by social judgment. If you work you are accused of abandoning children; If they do not work, they are accused of economic burden. As a result, women with careers in Batubulan live in **an eternal Guilt Factory**. This guilt is what makes them not dare to demand strategic positions in the customs. They feel that they have "sinned" because of their work, so they atone for that sin by becoming obedient *servants* in the banjar, closing their mouths tightly from leadership ambitions in order to prove that they are "still good Balinese women."

4.3.2 Structural Hostage: Surviving in Patriarchal Marriages "For the Sake of Children"

Analysis of Customary Law and Sociology reveals the dark phenomenon behind the door of a harmonious household. Many informants claim to survive in highly patriarchal marriages—

even toxic ones, where the husband is dominant, unhelpful, or verbally abusive—on the cliché but tragic grounds: **"For the sake of the child."** However, "For the sake of children" in Bali is not just an emotional reason, but the **Structural Consequences of the Purusa System**. In patrilineal Balinese customary law, children belong to the male family (*Sentana*). In the event of divorce, custody of the child almost certainly falls into the hands of the husband (*Purusa*), and the woman must leave her husband's house "only with clothes on the body" (without the customary gono-gini property).

The fear of losing access to children and the fear of seeing children lose inheritance/customary rights make women choose to **sacrifice themselves**. They accept the fate of being subordinate, swallow all patriarchal treatment, and bury their dreams of leadership, as long as they are not separated from children. Balinese women are not only bound by love, they are held hostage by structures (*Structural Hostage*). Their bargaining position is killed by the threat of forced separation from their own children.

4.3.3 Reproduction of Discourse: Resistance Weakening Spells (Language Hegemony Analysis)
How does this hegemony work so subtly that women don't rebel? Field findings found that compliance is produced and reproduced through **Daily Discourse**. There are three phrases "sakti" in the Balinese language that are often spoken—even by fellow women/mothers/grandmothers—that function as **social anesthesia** (anesthesia) to turn off critical power.

A. "Nah Kudiang Men" (Well, I Can Help It) This phrase is a discourse of **Fatalism**. When the informant complains about being tired of working 16 hours (office + custom), or complains that her husband does not want to help, the collective response of the environment is *"Well kudiang men"*. This sentence contains the meaning that women's suffering is a natural destiny, like rain or heat, that cannot be changed by humans. This is the mechanism of **Normalization of Suffering**. By saying this, society refuses to acknowledge that inequality is a structural problem that *can be* fixed; instead, they see it as a fate to be *taken for granted*.

B. "Nak Mule Kene Idup e Dadi Nak Luh" (This Is How Life Is Like Being a Woman) This phrase is a discourse of **Naturalization**. Social suffering is constructed into a biological destiny. Being subordinate, being a servant, being the one who has to get up the most early and sleep the most night, is considered an "innate package" of being born (*nature*) to be a Balinese woman. This discourse is very dangerous because it closes the discussion space. If injustice is considered as "nature" (*mule here*), then demanding equality is considered against God/Nature. Women who want to become strategic leaders are considered "transgender", not just transgender.

C. "Nak Luh Ngadenang Mendep/Siep Gen" (Women Are Better To Be Quiet) This phrase is a **discourse of Silencing**. In family meetings or banjars, if the atmosphere heats up or women want to argue, this sentence often appears as "wise advice". Silence (*mendep*) is constructed as the highest virtue of Balinese women (a symbol of patience and elegance). In fact, politically, this is a strategy of voice impoverishment. Women are taught that speaking out, arguing, or demanding rights is rude behavior that is inappropriate. As a result, career women who are used to arguing in the office, suddenly become mute in traditional villages. They chose to *"ngadenang mendep"* rather than be labeled as women of opposition, allowing the village's strategic decisions to be taken over entirely by men, even if it was to their detriment.

The three discourses above—Fatalism, Naturalization, and Silencing—are invisible **prison walls**. Together with the social pressure regarding the "Good Mother" and the threat of child loss due to *the Purusa* system, these discourses form the perfect ecosystem to perpetuate patriarchy. The women of Batubulan are not only against written rules (*Awig-Awig*), they fight against the language and perception that permeates their own minds every day.

4.3.4 Hegemony of "Patience": Symbolic Evil

Using Pierre Bourdieu's concept of Symbolic Violence, we can see that the praise of Balinese women as "tough, diligent, and patient" is actually a subtle form of violence.

The praise is poison. When society praises women who can work 16 hours a day as "great women", society is normalizing slavery. The praise makes women feel proud of their suffering, so they do not demand change. This is why strategic access is closed. Not only because the door was locked by the man, but because the woman was hypnotized into not wanting to enter the room. They are made to believe that their honorable place is at the "back door", supporting from a distance, maintaining chastity, while men "dirty" in politics. This is the most sophisticated patriarchal trick

5. Conclusion

This chapter presents a summary of the research results, outlines how the objectives of the study have been achieved, as well as discusses the limitations of this study and provides practical and theoretical suggestions for further research.

5.1 Conclusion

The conclusions are structured in a firm structure, explaining that the objectives of the study have been achieved through proving the causal relationship between three main dimensions: Dual Role Conflict, Customary Law Structural Barriers, and Cultural Hegemony.

A. Achievement of Research Objectives

This study aims to analyze the factors that limit Balinese women's access to career strategic positions. Based on empirical findings in Batubulan Traditional Village, the objectives of the study have been achieved and resulted in three main conclusions:

1. **Regarding Triple Role Conflict:** This goal is achieved by proving that women with careers in Batubulan experience **Triple Burden** (Domestic, Professional, and Customary) which causes *Structural Time Poverty*. This energy depletion practically cripples women's capacity to invest in political activities and village strategic leadership.
2. **Regarding Structural Barriers to Customary Law (*Awig-Awig*):** This goal is achieved by proving that **Customary Law** functions as an instrument of exclusion. *The Awig-Awig* of Batubulan Traditional Village formally (*de jure*) uses the definition of **Krama Ngarep** (Head of Family / *Purusa*) as an absolute requirement to occupy a strategic position in the village. This creates a **Structural Exclusion** that closes the formal access door for women regardless of their professional competence.
3. **Regarding the Mechanism of Cultural Hegemony and Compliance:** This goal is achieved by proving that women's compliance is maintained through **Language Hegemony** and **Intensive Social Control**. Resistance discourse ("*Nah kudiang men,*" "*Nak mule here,*" "*Ngadenang mendep*") normalizes subordination. Social control by **Orte Pisaga** (neighbors) through *gossip* (gossip) serves as a psychological terror that is far more feared than the sanction of formal customary fines.

B. Main Conclusion (Synergy of Oppression)

The limited access of Balinese women to career strategic positions is the result of the **Three-Dimensional Synergy of Oppression** that reinforces each other: The burden of traditional roles leads to **the Depletion of Resources** (time and energy); **the patrilineal Awig-Awig** rule legitimizes **Structural Violence** (legal segregation); and **Cultural Hegemony** silencing resistance, turning oppression into a moral obligation. Collectively, this system created a **Golden Prison** for women to have careers in Batubulan: they were economically successful, but politically and socially shackled.

5.2 Research Limitations

Although this study has achieved significant depth in analyzing the case in Batubulan, there are several limitations that need to be acknowledged:

1. **Location Limitations and Generalization:** This study focuses on **one specific indigenous village** (Batubulan). The application of *Awig-Awig* and the intensity of the ritual vary greatly between traditional villages in Bali. Therefore, the findings may not be fully generalized to all Balinese women in careers.
2. **Limitations of the Study Subject:** The research informants were limited to married women (*Krama Istri*) who were patrilineally bound. The study did not include single women or women who chose *the Nyentana* (matrilineal) pathway, who may face different power dynamics.
3. **Limitations of Qualitative Methodology:** Although the qualitative methodology provides depth, it does not provide statistical data on the prevalence of Role Conflict. Quantitative measurement of the severity of *role strains* (e.g., through work stress or time surveys) was not performed.
4. **Limitations of Recall Bias:** Data regarding time and emotion allocation rely heavily on the informant's memory and willingness to be open, which may be influenced by *recall bias* or a tendency to give socially "correct" answers.

5.3 Suggestions

Based on the critical findings and limitations above, here are suggestions that are **Strategic (for Stakeholders)** and **Academic (for Advanced Research)**:

A. Strategic Advice (for Customary Villages and Regional Governments)

1. **Audit of Customary Law with a Gender Perspective:** It is proposed that the Bali Customary Village Assembly (MDA) together with the Gianyar Regency Government conduct an audit of *the Awig-Awig* articles that limit women's rights (*Krama Istri*). There is a need to **decriminalize *Krama Istri*** from the workload of gender-biased operational work and reformulate *the requirements of Krama* so that it is based on **domicile and contribution**, not on gender (*Purusa*).
2. **Creating "Strategic Leisure Time" for Women:** Traditional Villages need to formally institute **ritual outsourcing divisions** (*Sekaa* for men/volunteers) to shift time-consuming tasks such as taking care of mass consumption or sourcing ceremonial materials. This step will free up women's time to participate in village strategic (political) meetings.
3. **Counter-Hegemony Discourse Campaign:** Provincial Governments and Customary Villages need to launch educational programs that explicitly dismantle weakening phrases such as "*Nah kudiang men,*" "*Nak mule kene,*" and "*Nak luh ngadenang mendep.*" It is important to promote the image of Balinese women who are **Ajeng and Critical** who are able to speak up, not just obey.

B. Academic Advice (for Advanced Research)

1. **Quantitative-Qualitative Comparative Studies:** It is proposed that further research combines methodologies: **Quantitative** (quantitatively measuring stress levels, *burnout*, and allocation of working hours) with **Qualitative** (digging into narratives) to statistically validate the findings of "Structural Time Poverty".
2. **Male Role Studies (Adaptive Patriarchy):** It is important to examine **the role of the husband/man** Batubulan: How do they interpret *Awig-Awig*? Do they consciously enjoy the double burden privilege of their wives? This study can uncover the pattern of "Adaptive Patriarchy" in the midst of modernization.
3. **Case Analysis of *Nyentana* and Single Women:** Conducted an in-depth case study of women who chose *Nyentana* (matrilineal) or single women who had successful careers, to see if they were successful in aligning strategic access and customary obligations, as well as how *Orte Pisaga* viewed them.

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