

# 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

Komang Rahma Tri Pratiwi  
Udayana University  
[rahmatrpratiwi291001@gmail.com](mailto:rahmatrpratiwi291001@gmail.com)

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

**Methodology/Approach:** This study uses an acritical qualitative approach with a descriptive case study design in Batubulan Traditional Village, Gianyar. Data were collected through in-depth interviews with seven professional women. The analysis utilizes *the triple role theory*, cultural hegemony, and critical discourse analysis (CDA).

**Results/Findings:** This restriction was caused by the interaction of three barriers: 1. Triple Burden (Career, Domestic, Customary) causes *Structural Time Poverty*, paralyzing political participation. 2. Awig-Awig creates 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 a moral obligation.

**Limitations:** This study is limited to the specific context of the traditional governance of Batubulan village, which limits the generalizability of the 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:** *Orte Pisaga's* explicit linkage and analysis of the triple burden, formal exclusion, and social surveillance mechanisms as one interlocking system that creates structural time poverty in the Balinese context.

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

## I. 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 aesthetics and adherence values, creates a strong sociological pressure, forming what can be conceptualized as the "Trap of the Village Flower Image." Ultimately, this image serves as a calming cultural commodity; however, it 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 lives of modern Balinese women. Balinese women are resilient economic and managerial actors required to simultaneously perform the triple role model" with high intensity and without adequate structural support. These roles include domestic (nurturing and household care), socio-religious (as the main operators of rituals and the main person in charge of costly and time-intensive *yadnya* ceremonies), and economic/careless (as productive workers in the formal, tourism, or entrepreneurial sectors). The ability to balance the burden of these dual roles sociologically should be indisputable evidence of 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 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, in which lineages and inheritance of rights and power (*purusa*) are traditionally in the hands of men (Wijayanti, 2024). This system is not merely 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 sociopolitical 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 perform *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 unique and crucial aspect. Traditional rituals (*yadnya*) are not only spiritual but also 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 sphere, they cannot be separated from traditional demands. The *role strain* they experience is not just a clash between work and household, but a clash between 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 vitally time, energy, and mental focus (Kharisma Oktarina & Komalasari, 2022). These double and double loads function as invisible *barriers*. 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 study therefore examines how the interaction between customary law obligations and the burden of *the 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 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, sacrificing leadership opportunities 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 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 faa practically limit Balinese women's* time, energy, and willingness to participate in strategies for the public sphere?
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 the role conflict management strategies and the impact of the triple role *burden on the time-and-energy-allocation* of Balinese women in the workplace.
2. Identify how customary law limitations and customary obligations burden women practically, thus limiting their involvement in the strategic dimension of the public.
3. This study explores the mechanisms of cultural hegemony that allow the internalization of patriarchal norms and explains how Balinese women's adherence to traditional roles is formed and endured.

### **1.4 Research Benefits**

- Academic Benefits: Contribute to interdisciplinary studies (gender, sociology, and 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, and Gender Activists) on the invisible burdens faced by working 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 tensions 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 working 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 (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 that is vulnerable to *resource depletion*, which directly affects their ability to invest in strategic public roles.

## B. Customary Law, Patriarchy, and the Invisible Barrier

Critical Indigenous Law is used here to analyze how customary norms function as instruments to perpetuate structural inequalities. Bali's patrilineal and patriarchal system is the legal foundation that limits women's access to resources and power (Wijayanti, 2024). The formal instrument, 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 the Triple Role creates an invisible barrier. The existing *de jure* limitations (prohibition on formal leadership) are exacerbated by the *de facto* burden. The customary obligations institutionalized by Awig-Awig (e.g., the obligation to prepare banten) effectively block women's allocation of time and energy from political participation or strategic leadership. Therefore, 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

Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony 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 the 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 passivity have been internalized by the Balinese people. Women's adherence to traditional roles is seen as a 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)
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 because of the requirement of male citizenship (Relevant RM 2).
2.	Kharisma Oktarina & Komalasari (2022)	The Dual Role of Balinese Women in the Context of <i>aa Tripl.</i>	Productive and socio-religious roles create high conflict, thereby draining women of energy (Relevant RM 1).
Sec. 3.	Sari & Wardana (2021)	Balinese Women and the Challenges of Traditional Modernization	Modernization does not automatically eliminate the custom burden; rather, it increases the dual role burden (Relevant RM 1).

### 2.3 Research Gap

Previous research has separately identified 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 these three dimensions.

The study specifically focused on the following:

1. How 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 triplerolee as an obligation (*dharmaa*) rather than as a form of inequality, thus ensuring the sustainability of limited access.

Thus, this study offers a holistic analysis that records the existence of inequality and dismantles the social, structural, and psychological mechanisms that make such inequality sustainable amidst modernization.

### **2.4 Development of Working Hypotheses**

Based on the above review of the literature and research gaps, we hypothesize that the following will be tested in this study:

H1 (Main Hypothesis): Role conflicts caused by the burden of the triplerolee in particular 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 such that women view the double burden as a noble obligation (*Dharma*) and not as a form of subordination.

## **3. Research Methods**

This section presents the materials, methods, instruments, and technical procedures used in this study. The authors detailed 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 descriptive case study.

- Approach: Qualitative interpretive. This approach was chosen to explore the deep meaning (*verstehen*) behind the phenomenon of role conflict and cultural conformity, which 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**

This study was conducted in the 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 conducted using *the purposive sampling* technique, followed by *snowball sampling* until the data reached saturation.

#### **B. Kriteria Informan**

1. Main Informant (Analysis Unit): Five to ten women domiciled in Batubulan with the following criteria: (a) married and *Krama wife status*; (b) holding a minimum of a Bachelor's degree (S1); (c) working full-time in the formal/professional sector; and (d) actively carrying out customary obligations.
2. Key Informant (Legal Validation): A minimum of two *Prajuru* (devices) 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 study was conducted under the following theoretical conditions and assumptions:

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

### **3.5 Data Collection Procedure**

The following procedures were used to replicate the study:

1. Literature and Document Study: Analyze 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 interactions and division of labor by being actively involved, ol, v, and uses an observation sheet.
3. In-depth interviews: We conducted semi-structured interviews of 45–90 minutes per informant. The questions focused on time management, feelings of customary burden, and perceptions of leadership.

### **3.6 Data Analysis Techniques**

The data were analyzed using Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña's (2014) Interactive Model.

1. *Data Condensation*: Selection and Coding. The interview transcript was imported into NVivo and coded based on the theoretical framework (role conflict, hegemony, and customary law).
2. *Data Display*: Matrix and Network. Present data in the form of a matrix (e.g., time allocation vs. position comparison matrix) to reveal patterns of access limitations.
3. *Conclusion: Drawing/Verification*. Conclude 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 social reality in the Batubulan Traditional Village. Field data are not simply presented as numbers or quotes but are presented as empirical evidence of the workings of a complex social machine. Here, we will examine how economic modernity and traditional feudalism have 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**

Geographically and economically, Batubulan Traditional Village is a showcase for Gianyar's progress. As a buffer for Denpasar, this village is home to thousands of professional women who commute to work in bank uniforms, executive blazers, or company operational vehicles every morning. However, this study reveals that this "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" (*sevaka*) and men as "masters" (*natha*).

##### **4.1.2 Informant Profile: Economic Giant, Political Dwarf**

This study dissects the lives of seven key informants who represent the "new aristocrats" of Balinese women: bank employees, senior lecturers, export art gallery owners, and notaries. They have abundant

capital. The average income of the informants is above Rp 10 million per month, often higher than that of 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, did not have the power 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 the field findings that prove the research hypothesis, which states 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**

A systematic pattern of time exploitation was found based on a time-allocation study of the informants.

- 04.30 – 07.00: First shift (domestic). Cooking, taking care of children, and *performing 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. In contrast, men, after work, have the privilege of "resting" or "having coffee" at the banjar hall, which is ironically 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, and at home, the custom is demanded. If I work overtime, I am called a professional. However, if I came late to the temple because of overtime, 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."

— (Participant 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 attempted to exchange money for time. They bought 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 when their bodies have reached the limit of burnout. Consequently, 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 sacred local wisdom. However, a critical analysis of the *awig-awig* text of Batubulan Traditional Village reveals its true face: a political document designed to perpetuate 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 are *Purusa* (male) and *Mewiwa* (married). This is where legal and formal discrimination

occurs. Women, regardless of 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 treasurer*, the vote is counted per *Krama Ngarepheadd* (offamilyy). 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 affects 100% of the female population. This is known as *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. Therefore, even though I knew I was capable of managing village assets, I kept silent. The door is locked, and the key is in men's pants." — (Informant L, 40 years old, Notary).

#### B. Gender Bias in Fatherhood

The division of customary labor (father-father) is also highly biased. Men receive the "managerial" portion of the work (meetings, data collection, and arranging), while women receive the "rough operations" portion (cooking, assembling janur, and 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 Panel: Why Are Women Silent?

The most intriguing finding is this: Why is there no revolution? Why are these seven intelligent informants submissive? The answer lies in the work of cultural hegemony, which creates mental prisons reinforced by intensive social surveillance.

##### A. The myth of "Mother Earth" as opium

The Balinese people, through religious and cultural indoctrination, have succeeded in instilling the myth that women are symbols of the "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 do not 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 *menbanteschedulee* 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 do not participate in making *banten*, the one who tells my husband is not *Prajuru*, but an aunt or neighbor whose house is in front. They do not get angry right away, but they will smile sarcastically and say, 'Wow, I am 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 with *veve no sense ores*, "or *singg bise mebray*." These labels lead to the highest social sanction in Bali: *kasepekan* (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 equivalent* to a social death penalty. This fear triggers extreme consumer obedience, in which women choose to cut back on their own leadership ambitions to maintain a 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 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 exists 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. A 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* mothers), 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 they work, they are accused of abandoning their children; if they do not work, they are accused of being an economic burden. As a result, women with careers in Batubulan live in an eternal *guiltfactory*. This guilt prevents them from demanding 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"*

An 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 consequence 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 or 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 their children. Balinese women are not only bound by love but are also 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 do not rebel? Field findings reveal 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, and grandmothers—that function as social anesthesia (anesthesia) to turn off critical power.

#### **A. "Nah Kudiang Men" (Well, I Can Help It)**

This phrase reflects fatalistic views. 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 conveys that women's suffering is a natural

destiny, like rain or heat, that cannot be changed by humans. This is the mechanism of normalizing 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 reflects the discourse of naturalization. Social suffering is constructed into a biological destiny. Being subordinate, being a servant, and being the one who has to get up the earliest and sleep the most nights is considered an "innate package" of being born (*nature*) to be a Balinese woman. This discourse is 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. 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). 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. Consequently, career women who are accustomed to arguing in the office suddenly become mute in traditional villages. Consequently, career women who are accustomed to arguing in the office suddenly become mute in traditional villages. They choose 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 is to their detriment.

The three discourses above—Fatalism, Naturalization, and Silencing—form invisible **prison walls**. Together with social pressure regarding the "Good Mother" and the threat of child loss due to *the Purusa* system, these discourses form a perfect ecosystem for perpetuating patriarchy. The women of Batubulan are not only against written rules (*Awig-Awig*); they also 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 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. This praise makes women feel proud of their suffering; therefore, they do not demand change. This is why strategic access is closed. Not only was the door locked by men, but women were 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 study's objectives were achieved, discusses the study's limitations, and provides practical and theoretical suggestions for further research.

### **5.1 Conclusion**

The conclusions are structured in a firm structure, explaining that the study's objectives have been achieved by 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 analyzed the factors limiting Balinese women's access to strategic career positions. Based on empirical findings in Batubulan Traditional Village, the study achieved the following three main conclusions:

1. Regarding triple role *conflict*, this goal is achieved by proving that women with careers in Batubulan experience a 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. 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/*Purusaa*) 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 *the* neighbors through 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, which 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 silence resistance, turning oppression into a moral obligation). Collectively, this system created a golden prison for women to have careers in Batubulan. Collectively, this system created a golden prison for women to have careers in Batubulan: they were economically successful but politically and socially shackled. 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 achieved significant depth in analyzing the case in Batubulan, there are several limitations that need to be acknowledged:

1. 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 generalizable to all Balinese women in the workforce.
2. Limitations of the Study Subject: The research informants were married women (*Krama Istri*) who were patrilineally bound. The study did not include single women or women who chose *the Nyentana* (matrilineal) pathway and may have faced different power dynamics.
3. Limitations of the qualitative methodology: Although the qualitative methodology provides depth, it does not provide statistical data on the prevalence of role conflict. The quantitative measurement of the severity of *role strain* (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 provide socially "correct" answers.

### **5.3 Suggestions**

In light of the critical findings and limitations discussed above, the following suggestions are offered to advance *stakeholder* interests and academic 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 Ajeg and Critical, and 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, such as (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 husbands/wives in Batubulan: How do they interpret their role? 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: An in-depth case study was conducted on women who chose *Nyentana* (matrilineal) or single women who had successful careers to examine whether they were successful in aligning strategic access and customary obligations, as well as *Orte Pisaga*'s views on them.

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