



## Balinese Women, Gender, and Violence in Postmodern Bali

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### Abstract

Balinese women are born into an Eastern cultural and social system that is very different from the Western cultural and social environment. This aspect is a significant aspect that causes women in Bali in particular and in Indonesia in general to be often seen as marginalized, neglected, backward, and undeveloped. Gender inequality still occurs for Balinese women in the modern era like this; they are also victims of physical, psychological, and sexual violence. If this continues to happen, there will be an even greater inequality between women and men, where women are always in a weak position. In this regard, the general conditions need to be traced back to the historical dynamics of Balinese culture and society itself. Significant questions arise, including, firstly, why the role or position of Balinese women is important; secondly, how the process of marginalization of the position of Balinese women is; and thirdly, how the position of Balinese women who are at a crossroads should be interpreted in an effort to understand their role in relation to the issues of gender, power, and politics. The research was conducted in Tabanan Regency by collecting data on violence against women through interviews, literature review, and documentation. The data obtained were studied using gender theory. The results of this study show that there was an increase in cases of violence against women in Tabanan Regency, from 15 cases in 2023 to 28 cases in 2024. Through the results of this study, it is hoped that all parties concerned will be more aware and work together to protect women from acts of violence that occur and that Balinese women

can show their roles as equals. Prioritizing aspects of human rights, this study is expected to contribute to the study of women, gender, and power in Bali in particular and in the global world in general.

## Keywords

Balinese Women, Gender, Power, Violence, Postmodernism

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## Postmodern Bali’de Toplumsal Cinsiyet, Şiddet ve Balili Kadınlar

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### Öz

Balili kadınlar, Batı’nın kültürel ve sosyal ortamından çok farklı olan Doğu kültürü ve sosyal sistemi içine doğarlar. Bu durum, özellikle Bali’deki ve genel olarak Endonezya’daki kadınların sıklıkla ötekileşmiş, ihmal edilmiş, geri kalmış ve gelişmemiş olarak görülmesine neden olan önemli bir unsurdur. Balili kadınlar için cinsiyet eşitsizliği, günümüz gibi modern bir çağda bile hala devam etmektedir; ayrıca, Balili kadınlar fiziksel, psikolojik ve cinsel şiddet mağdurlarıdır. Bu durum devam ederse, kadınlar ile erkekler arasında kadınların her zaman zayıf konumda olduğu çok daha büyük bir eşitsizlik ortaya çıkacaktır. Bu bağlamda, bu genel koşulların Bali kültürünün ve toplumunun tarihsel dinamiklerine kadar geriye dönük olarak izleri sürülmelidir. Önemli sorular ortaya çıkmaktadır: Birincisi, Balili kadınların rolü veya konumu neden önemlidir? İkincisi, Balili kadınların konumunun marjinalleşme süreci nasıl gerçekleşmektedir? Ve üçüncüsü, toplumsal cinsiyet, güç ve siyaset konuları ile ilişkili olarak Balili kadınların rolünü anlamaya çalışırken yol ayrımında olan Balili kadınların konumu nasıl yorumlanmalıdır? Araştırma, Tabanan Bölgesinde, görüşmeler, literatür taraması ve dokümantasyon yoluyla kadınlara yönelik şiddetle ilgili veriler toplanarak yürütülmüştür. Elde edilen veriler, toplumsal cinsiyet kuramı kullanılarak incelenmiştir. Bu çalışmanın sonuçları, Tabanan Bölgesinde yaşanan, 2023 yılında 15 iken 2024 yılında 28 vakaya yükselen kadınlara yönelik şiddet vakalarında bir artış olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu çalışmanın sonuçları aracılığıyla, ilgili tüm

tarafların kadınları yaşanan şiddet eylemlerinden korumak için farkındalık geliştirmeleri ve birlikte çalışmaları ve Balili kadınların eşit bireyler olarak rollerini ortaya koymaları umut edilmektedir. İnsan hakları boyutunu önceliklendiren bu çalışmanın özellikle Bali'de ve genel olarak küresel dünyada kadın, toplumsal cinsiyet ve güç konularındaki çalışmalara katkı sağlaması beklenmektedir.

## Anahtar Kelimeler

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## 1. Introduction

### 1.1. Background

In a modern society, we cannot escape the issues of harmony and conflict in a dynamic society. It seems that violence against women still occurs as a consequence of various factors including economic factors, education, and local customs. These factors cause psychological stress in women, especially in Bali where tourism sector is prioritized in developing the economic policy. Although Bali is a world tourism destination with various technological advances, violence against Balinese women still occurs. Violence starts from economic factors, which leads to psychological and mental violence, and even leaves trauma in children who witness the violence. There is an increase in cases of violence against women in Tabanan, which is one of the 8 districts/cities of Bali (Badung, Bangli, Gianyar, Buleleng, Klungkung, Mengwi, Karangasem and Tabanan) and located in southern Bali as one of regencies.

As is known, Tabanan Regency, which was chosen as the locus of this study, shows different conditions when compared to other regencies. Tabanan does not have a strong tradition of the kingdom era when compared to Gianyar, Klungkung or Karangasem, which have a strong palace tradition and its influence can still be felt today. According to statistical data in 2025 from Social Department Tabanan Regency, one of the areas with a high rate of violence against women in Bali is Tabanan, with 28 cases of violence in 2024. This figure has increased from the previous year which amounted to 15 cases <sup>1</sup>. The existence of this data is the reason why a study on Balinese women, gender and violence in the postmodern era was conducted.

In general, Bali, which has a royal tradition as do other regions in Indonesia, seems to provide a harmonious picture of the relationship between Balinese women and men. In historical, anthropological, and sociological records, there are not many issues of violence committed against Balinese women. However, in the modern and postmodern era, it seems that issues of violence have begun to receive more comprehensive attention from the sociological perspective of Balinese society today. Violence against Balinese women in Tabanan Regency became the beginning of subsequent violence that affected other areas in Bali. When Balinese women who have become mothers experience violence, it seems that the effects continue to the children they are caring for. Children experience trauma, fear and stunted growth and development. Not only does it affect the child, but the violence experienced by the victim allows new perpetrators of violence to emerge from the victim. This is because the trauma experienced by the victim leaves a

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1 I Komang Arba Wirawan, *Banalitas dan Komodifikasi Tubuh Perempuan dalam Kover Majalah Playboy*. (Denpasar: Pusat Penerbitan LP2MPP Institut Seni Indonesia, 2017).

mark and the victim wants to do the same thing to others, resulting in a chain of violence that gets bigger day by day. Victims can commit violence against others because they are in a depressed condition and have trauma that is difficult to heal<sup>2</sup>.

This shows the existence of gender inequality in the position of women and men in society. Women who are victims of violence are the weak party and need continued protection. Women are marginalized and excluded, and experience physical, psychological and financial abuse. Therefore, the study is based on the following framework: Firstly, it is significant to examine the discriminated position of Balinese women as seen in the structure of Balinese society and culture. Secondly, it is considered significant to analyze the efforts to strengthen the position of Balinese women. Thirdly, it is important to discuss how to interpret the position of Balinese women and find solutions so that the role of Balinese women is not ignored in the context of the structure and culture of Balinese society both in the present and in the future.

This article is expected to contribute to the understanding of the problem of violence that occurs in Tabanan as one of the regencies in Bali in particular and in Bali in general. Violence against Balinese women does not end at the time of violence but has many dangerous side effects. All parties must work together to protect women from such violence, in order to create a more peaceful and calm life.

## 1.2. Literature Review

Studies on women in Indonesia can be said to be very few and limited, compared to the development of women's studies in other places such as in developed and developing countries. The role of Balinese women has been studied briefly in relation to the issue of proposals, marriage blessings, polygamy, family life, the position of women as widows by the Dutch when they ruled Bali during the colonial period as conveyed by R. van Eck.<sup>3</sup> The conditions of backwardness and marginalization of Balinese women appear to be rooted in the dynamics of a fairly long history in the past, the impact of which is still felt today<sup>4</sup>.

Then it appears that even though it has been independent since August 17, 1945, as part of the Republic of Indonesia, it appears that this backwardness still occurs today. This is possible because after Indonesia was under the New Order (1966-1998) there seemed to be a centralistic and authoritarian government that achieved its independence, there was

2 Ardhie Raditya. "Salonisasi Tubuh Anak Muda", *Media (Baru), Tubuh, dan Ruang Publik*. ed. Budiawan. (Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2015), 65-82.

3 R. van Eck, "Nasib Kaum Wanita di Bali". *Peranan dan Kedudukan Wanita Indonesia (Role and Position of Indonesian Women)*, ed. Maria Ulfah Subadio - T. O Ihromi. (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press 1983).

4 Dian Arymami. "Sex Transactions in the New Media Era", *From Kebaya Design to the Indigenous People of Raja Ampat: Cultures in Indonesia in Global-Local Tension and Negotiation*. ed. Budiawan - I Ketut Ardhana. (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2018), 3-23.

not much space for studies on the role of women, when compared to the role of men in Indonesia<sup>5</sup>.

Women in Bali in particular and in Indonesia in general are still perceived as having conventional duties such as housewives and as friends behind the “*konco wingking*” as found in Java and Bali<sup>6</sup>, when compared to the position of her husband who is in front of her and is seen as more prioritized in the life of traditional Indonesian society and is still ongoing in the modern and postmodern era today<sup>7</sup>. This can be seen from the work written by I Gde Made Metera<sup>8</sup>. What is narrated by the author is an expression of the backwardness of women in Indonesia in general and in Bali in particular.

Dian Arymami<sup>9</sup>, depicts the role of women who are more in modern and postmodern life in big cities in Indonesia; for example, women are seen as having a position as sex objects of men which is considered to cause the backwardness of women’s roles in advanced and globalized society. The description of the changing role of women can be seen mainly in the classical history of Indonesia, according to the author Helen Creese<sup>10</sup>. In *Women in the World of Kakawin: Marriage and Sexuality in the Indic Palaces of Java and Bali* (2004), the traditions and cultural systems that surround the role of women in the past can be traced. The role of women like this can be traced from the influence of classical Indonesian culture which has colored the development of women in Java in particular and in the archipelago in general.

Furthermore, the work written by I Ketut Ardhana and Ni Wayan Radita Novi Pusptasari<sup>11</sup> shows how the position of injustice that appears when marriage occurs or when divorce occurs is seen as detrimental to the position of women when compared to the position of men in general. This is inseparable from the development of Balinese society and culture which still seems to be strongly influenced by the traditions of traditionalism and primordialism values that occurred in the past in Bali in particular and in Indonesia in general.<sup>12</sup>

5 Developments on this issue see: I Ketut Ardhana - Yekti Maunati. 2010. “Indonesian Experiences: Research Policies and the Internationalization of the Social Sciences”, *Internationalization of the Social Sciences: Asia-Latin America-Middle East-Africa-Eurasia*. ed. Michael Kuhn - Doris Weidemann. (New Brunswick and London (UK): Transaction Publishers, 2010), 115-134.

6 Eck, “Nasib Kaum Wanita di Bali”, 47-64.

7 Amin Mudzakkir, *Feminisme Kritis: Gender dan Kapitalisme dalam Pemikiran Nancy Fraser*. (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2022), 23-59.

8 I Gde Made Metera. “Women Are Not Only in the Well, Kitchen and Bed”. Singaraja: Mahima Institute Indonesia, 2020).

9 Dian Arymami. “Sex Transactions in the New Media Era”.

10 Helen Creese, “The Death of Salya: Balinese Textual and Iconographic Representations of the Kakawin Bharatayuddha”, *Traces of the Ramayana and Mahabharata in Javanese and Malay Literature*, ed. Ding Choo Ming - Willem Van Der Molen. (Singapore: Yusof Ishak Institute, 2024), 137–179. ; Helen Creese, *Perempuan dalam Dunia Kakawin: Perkawinan dan Seksualitas di Istana Indic Jawa dan Bali*. (Denpasar: Pustaka Larasan, 2004).

11 I Ketut Ardhana - Ni Wayan Radita Novi Pusptasari. “Adat Law, Ethics and Human Rights in Modern Indonesia”, *Religions* 14/4, (2023).

12 Similar things can be seen in the work of Nengah Bawa Atmadja, “Imbalance of Values and Cultural

Widayani<sup>13</sup>, which explains the backwardness and marginalization of women in the modern and global world should be studied comparatively and comprehensively in an effort to balance the position of women who are still very behind compared to the role of men in Indonesia today.

### 1.3. Theoretical Framework

This research was conducted in Tabanan Regency, at locations including the Social Service, UPTD for the Protection of Women and Children of Tabanan Regency and in the Tabanan area in general. Data collection was carried out through semi-structured interviews with the Head of UPTD for the Protection of Women and Children of Tabanan Regency and with victims of violence against women in Tabanan Regency. The data that has been collected was studied using gender theory. According to the nature theory, women and men are indeed biologically different. However, the differences in the roles of men and women are not natural, but rather the formation of society through socio-cultural construction, resulting in different roles and tasks. Social construction places women and men in class differences. Men are identified with the ruling class, and women as the dominated class. This social construction that is felt to be unfair to women encourages women to fight for their status. This study is expected to provide a contribution of thought in an effort to strengthen the role of Balinese women in the present and the future.

### 1.4. Discussions

In the light of the explanation above, the following describes the stages in the discussion on the role of Balinese women in relation to gender and violence in the postmodern era in Bali: the discussion of Balinese women as an overview, Gender Applications in Balinese Society, Violence against Balinese Women in the Postmodern era.

## 2. The Uniqueness of Balinese Women: An Overview

Balinese women are women who were born into, live and continue the Balinese cultural customs according to the marriage system adopted, namely patrilineal. By adopting the patrilineal system, Balinese women who are married will be in the line of descent of their husbands. In the context of Balinese culture, a patriarchal ideology applies which dictates that men have a higher position than women<sup>14</sup>, that women must be controlled by men, and are part of men's property<sup>15</sup>.

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Attitudes of *Pradana* (Women) and *Purusha* (Male): Source of Violence and Its Solution". Scientific Oration delivered in the framework of the Inauguration of Permanent Professor in the Field of Sociology of Anthropology at IKIP Negeri Singaraja on June 26, 2001.

- 13 Ni M. D. Widayani - Sri Hartati, "Kesetaraan dan Keadilan Gender dalam 360", *Jurnal Psikologi UNDIP*, 13/2 (2014) 149-162.
- 14 Maria Ulfah Subadio -T. O Ihromi (eds.). *Peranan dan Kedudukan Wanita Indonesia*. (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1983), 5-10.
- 15 Khamla Bhasin dan - Said Khan. *Persoalan Pokok Mengenai Feminisme dan Relevansinya*. S. Herlimah Penerjemah. (Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Umum, 1995), 25.



This causes Balinese women to be accustomed to conditions that are submissive and in a lower position than men. In some Balinese communities, this condition often triggers violence against Balinese women. There is hegemony in Balinese women who unknowingly consider it normal to face demeaning behavior in their surroundings. This kind of patriarchal ideology is based on placing men as the center point in the social system, while women are in a peripheral position or men can be in a superordinate position, while women are in a subordinate position.<sup>16</sup>

In addition to the marriage system adopted by Balinese women, the area of residence also supports the importance of research on Balinese women. Bali is a tourist area in Indonesia. With rapid technological advances and adequate facilities, Bali is expected to have human resources that are wiser and more open to developments. One of them is gender equality. However, the fact is that there are still issues of violence experienced by Balinese women in their own place of birth. This indicates that technological developments and the advancement of tourism areas do not provide sufficient protection for Balinese women. This is very interesting to discuss in this study because in the midst of an area with a high level of tourist visits, violence against women still occurs.

No less important, traditional life also influences the position of Balinese women in society and family. Customs in Bali that use a strong patriarchal system require Balinese women to follow the system in various aspects. One of them is the demand to produce male offspring. Not infrequently, Balinese women who are married and do not have male children are pressured and even insulted and are considered not to have given what the male family wants. This also triggers violence against Balinese women. Where Balinese women who have not produced male offspring often experience verbal violence to physical violence. This is different from other areas that adhere to the matrilineal and parental systems where there is no demand for a woman to produce offspring with a certain gender. This also causes women who have not produced male offspring to be in a lower position than men or other women. Unwittingly, this ideology is accepted and lives in Balinese society, even often bad comments arise from fellow Balinese women. This indicates that there has been a hegemony of the patriarchal system that applies in Balinese society. The burden of responsibility of Balinese women is no longer just pregnancy, childbirth, and breastfeeding, but there is also the responsibility of offspring that must be fulfilled by them. With the many burdens and responsibilities carried by Balinese women, unwanted violence still occurs.

### **3. The Application of Gender in the Balinese Society**

Gender in the English dictionary is translated as sex. So that sex is often closely related to gender. In the social life of society, gender has finally experienced an expansion of meaning that is no longer only discussing the genitals and other body parts. The discussion

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16 Atmadja, "Ketidakseimbangan Nilai dan Sikap Budaya Pradana dan Purusha: Sumber Kekerasan dan Solusinya", 10.

of gender extends to the responsibilities and norms formed in society. Men are masculine creatures who are depicted with prowess, physical strength, muscles, firmness, sharp logic, intelligence, and authority in making decisions. While women are the opposite, namely motherly, gentle, whiny, using feelings more than reason, intelligence below the recipient, and implementer of decisions made by men<sup>17</sup>.

Differences due to gender affect the rights and dignity of women not only in the family environment, but also in the social, educational, economic, and political environments. Some points that are put forward as forms of inequality in general are marginalization, subordination, stereotypes, violence, and double workload as a wife. Nugroho<sup>18</sup> explains gender bias or gender inequality as follows:

### 3.1. Marginalization

Marginalization is a form of restriction on women. This restriction covers various aspects such as education, politics, economy, and social life.

### 3.2. Subordination

Subordination is the division of roles between men and women based on assessments of gender. Because women are seen as weak, graceful, whiny, less logical, more emotional, and through other feminist assumptions, they are placed in inferior roles, namely taking care of children, cooking, taking care of the household, not needing to be highly educated, and when women have careers, their careers are considered only secondary, the main task is to be a housewife.

### 3.3. Stereotypes

Women are considered to have basic characteristics such as being gentle, weak, and whiny, which has become a general label for all women. Of course, the act of generalizing women is very detrimental because not every woman deserves to bear this label. Although basically there is nothing wrong with being gentle and graceful or whiny, this labeling affects the mindset and social perspective on women.

### 3.4. Violence

It is undeniable that now in the era of scientific and technological progress, women are higher on the scale of victims of violence, both in the family, industry, and work, and in social and cultural spheres. There is even the assumption that the husband has the right to teach his wife, so the husband has the right to hit his wife and even shout at her. About the double workload in the family, the wife is often considered a family member who must

17 Nurun Najwah - Mochamad Sodik, *Dilema Perempuan dalam Lintas Agama dan Budaya*. (PSW UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2005).

18 Riant Nugroho, *Gender dan Strategi Pengurus- Utamanya di Indonesia*. (Pustaka Pelajar, 2011).

be led by the husband. The wife must obey her husband in any situation. The main task of the wife is to be a mother, a housewife who is usually called a housewife. So, no matter how busy the wife is in her career, the wife must prioritize household tasks, namely taking care of children, serving her husband, cooking, washing, and other household tasks. Women's careers must be put aside. So before and after working outside the home, the wife is required to do household chores. This is the form of double workload that occurs in the family. Arjani<sup>19</sup> stated that patriarchal culture tends to be one of the factors causing less favorable treatment for women because women tend to be burdened with more responsibility, especially in taking care of the household and places of worship every day.

Similarly, gender affects the position of women in Bali. Gender extends to the realm of custom in the form of regulations that indirectly regulate the rights and obligations of Balinese women. Bali is an area that adheres to a patriarchal culture that originates from a patrilineal kinship system<sup>20</sup>. Balinese women in the role of religious customs are given responsibility from the beginning of the preparation of the making of ceremonial facilities, their direction, coordination, implementation, and cleaning of prayer facilities<sup>21</sup>. These activities are carried out by Balinese women as a tradition that is passed on from generation to generation and regulated in *awig-awig*. This is also done to maintain Balinese culture so that it is stable. However, the deliberations on the formation of the *awig-awig* did not involve women, in other words, Balinese women only accept decisions from men in the formation of the *awig-awig* which also involves women's rights and obligations in it.

Not only in the scope of indigenous communities, also in small families, gender has a big influence on the lives of married Balinese women. One of them is the demand for Balinese women to be able to produce male offspring in their families. This is proof that Bali is still very strict with a patriarchal system, where the family's expectations to have male offspring are still very high. Balinese men who have the task of continuing the lineage, making decisions and various dominant tasks, put great pressure on women to be able to provide male offspring. It is not uncommon for Balinese women who has given birth to daughters, to be considered still lacking and to be expected to remain pregnant until they finally have a son.

#### **4. Some Issues on Violence against Balinese Women in the Postmodern Era**

One of the characteristics of postmodernism is the "cultural turn". This means that in postmodernism the dominant role of culture replaces the role of the economy which is so strong in the modern view which is manifested in two large camps that tend to be in conflict between supporters: socialism and capitalism. In other words, postmodernism empha-

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19 N. L. Arjani, *Peran gender dalam kehidupan masyarakat adat di Bali*, (Kembang: Rampai Perempuan Bali, 2006), 1-22.

20 Widayani - Hartati, "Kesetaraan dan Keadilan Gender dalam 360".

21 Yeyen Komalasari, "Nilai Tambah Wanita Karier Bali Sebagai Sosok Pelestari Budaya", *Proceeding of Seminar Nasional AIMI*, Jambi, 27-28 October 2017, 199-206.

sizes the role of culture (including science) more than the economy (as stated by Marxist thinkers). Marxist thinkers tend to use economic capital alone; however, Pierre Bourdieu, a postmodernist, shifts the role of economic capital to cultural capital as a more important capital in the current era<sup>22</sup>.

In the postmodern era like this, gender inequality is one of the topics of study that is developing according to cases that arise in society. Gender inequality that occurs in Bali in particular, has a significant influence on the increase in the number of cases of violence that occurs against Balinese women. Violence is an attack on the physical or mental integrity of a person's psychology. Therefore, violence does not only involve physical attacks such as rape, beatings, and torture, but also non-physical ones such as sexual harassment in general<sup>23</sup>, threats and coercion, so that emotionally women or men who experience it will feel disturbed<sup>24</sup>. In a study conducted in Tabanan Regency, the Head of the Tabanan Women and Children Protection UPTD stated that violence against women had increased from 15 cases in 2023 to 28 cases in 2024.

Law No. 23 of 2004 Article 1 paragraph (1) explains that domestic violence is any act against a person, especially women, which results in physical, sexual, psychological suffering, and/or neglect of the household including threats to commit acts, coercion or unlawful deprivation of liberty within the scope of the household. The physical violence referred to here is an act that results in pain or serious injury. This violence results in loss of self-confidence, loss of ability to act and causes a feeling of helplessness in the victim. Article 4 paragraph (1) explains that there are 9 types of sexual violence, namely non-physical sexual harassment; physical sexual harassment; forced contraception; forced sterilization; forced marriage; sexual torture; sexual exploitation; sexual slavery; and electronic-based sexual violence.

According to Tri Ayuningsih's explanation, in the 28 cases of violence experienced by women in Tabanan in 2024, 15 people experienced physical and psychological violence, 1 person experienced sexual violence, 9 people experienced criminal acts of trafficking, 2 people fought for custody, and there was 1 victim of infidelity. According to her explanation, the violence that occurs is mostly caused by economic factors and has major implications. The implications that occur include the psychological condition of Balinese women and children of couples who experience violence.

It is not uncommon for victims (women) to eventually produce new victims, namely children such as abandoned children, those with mental retardation or developmental disabilities and those with depression. The condition of men who are the main income

22 Akhyar Yusuf Lubis, *Postmodernisme Teori dan Metode*. (Jakarta: PT Raja Grafindo Persada, 2014).

23 Bertell Ollman, *Social and Sexual Revolution: Essays on Marx and Reich*. (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1978), 159-175.

24 Metera. "Women Are Not Only in the Well, Kitchen and Bed".

earners in the family puts women in a weak position. This is also influenced by gender which states that women occupy internal positions to take care of the house and children while men are tasked with earning a living and moving in the external sector. However, this puts Balinese women in a weak position and they become victims of violence. Therefore, the existence of various regulations on the role of Indonesian women in general and the Balinese women in particular, in relation to human rights, on the percentage of Balinese Women in the regional legislative bodies should be implemented. It accordingly will show that Balinese women can show a more optimal role in election activities at the city, district, provincial and central government levels. With the implementation of the regulations, the role and position of Balinese women in relation to egalitarian aspects can be better understood. Tri Ayuningsih emphasized that this data is only complaint data for victims of violence who dare to complain and continue to the legal process. And she is sure that out there, there is still a lot of violence against Balinese women but it is not recorded because of their fear of complaining. One of the victims was DA (28 years old). DA had been married for 3 years. Throughout her marriage, DA experienced psychological and economic violence from her ex-husband and his family. The psychological violence experienced by DA was an affair that occurred 3 times during the marriage. In the 3rd case of an affair, DA lost her patience and decided to report her ex-husband to the police. The affair that occurred caused another victim, namely the woman who was the mistress to become pregnant and her child was threatened with not having a father. This caused DA to experience severe depression and she attempted suicide 3 times. However, now, DA is finally undergoing outpatient treatment with a psychiatrist until her condition recovers. The second violence experienced by DA was economic violence from her in-laws. DA's in-laws demanded a certain amount of money that DA had to give her and compared the amount of money with the money given by her mistress from her child.

This caused DA to work harder to be accepted by her ex-husband's family. In this case, DA played a dual role, not only taking care of the children and the house but also earning a living to fulfill these requests. Biased views on gender influenced the decisions made by DA's ex-husband.

Considering the reason that Balinese men should be the backbone and pride of their families, DA's ex-husband decided to work on a cruise ship and leave his wife and children in Bali. The hope of becoming established shifted to arrogance and considering himself to have great power over his children and wife. So that psychological violence occurred with the affair that had been committed. The violence did not end at her ex-husband's family but continued in her current social life. Returning home to her mother's house as a married Balinese woman had an impact on DA's current social life. DA received scorn from the community because her marriage as a Balinese woman was considered to have failed.

## Conclusion

Violence against women that is usually influenced by gender includes physical and psychological violence, and domestic neglect. In a society that adheres to a strong patriarchal system, this causes men's power to become stronger and weakens the position of women. In cases of violence against Balinese women in Tabanan, most of them were caused by economic factors and were exacerbated by gender bias in society. Men are considered superior, strong, and have great responsibility and expectations for their families. Meanwhile, women are in the second class which is in a weak and marginalized position.

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