

Daftar Isi

Balinese Women and Identities: Are They Trapped in Traditions, Globalization or Both?	
I Wayan Suyadnya	95–104
Konstruksi Identitas Perempuan dalam Majalah <i>Cosmopolitan</i>	
Eva Leiliyanti	105–120
Pemanfaatan Jamu Madura oleh Perempuan di Kabupaten Bangkalan	
Mutmainnah	121–127
Fenomena Bias Gender dalam Pemakaian Bahasa Indonesia	
Moch. Jalal	128–131
Hambatan-Hambatan Struktural-Kultural-Personal Anggota Legislatif Perempuan di Provinsi Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta	
Machya Astuti Dewi	132–139
Penguatan Hak-Hak Buruh Migran Melalui Pelibatan <i>Community Based Organization</i> sebagai Upaya Pencegahan Perdagangan Perempuan di Madura	
Devi Rahayu	140–147
Strategi Sinergi untuk Memberdayakan BUMN di Indonesia	
Diana Sulianti Kristina Lumban Tobing	148–155
Partisipasi Masyarakat pada Pengelolaan Hutan di Kawasan Gerakan Rehabilitasi Hutan dan Lahan (GERHAN) Pasuruan Jawa Timur	
Nasikh	156–162
Monitoring dan Evaluasi Program Pengentasan Kemiskinan di Kota Surabaya	
Benny Soembodo	163–170
Perencanaan Paket Wisata atau Tour	
Edwin Fiatiano	171–178
Pedagang dan Revitalisasi Pasar Tradisional di Surabaya: Studi Kasus pada Pasar Wonokromo dan Pasar Tambah Rejo, Surabaya	
Martinus Legowo, FX Sri Sadewo & M. Jacky	179–187

Balinese Women and Identities: Are They Trapped in Traditions, Globalization or Both?¹

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ABSTRACT

Globalization is a term that is closely related to culture and social and global identity. Global culture has grown along with the growth of global capitalism and the information transparency. When globalization becomes an avoidable wave that attacks all nations all over the world, it obviously gives a positive impact that is the availability to see the life of people, especially women, who live in other parts of the world. In western communities, women can do their double-roles openly. However, in some cases, globalization also motivates the strengthening of production roles. Women no longer only do their domestic roles. It has brought a change in women's identity, especially in the Asian Communities, that are socially, ethnically, and traditionally different from the western communities. The emergence of global identities in the women's roles, in fact, impacts the life of people in the third-world countries including in Southeast Asia and especially in Indonesia. It has triggered the change of women social position. Balinese women have known not only the double-roles but also another role that is social (the desa adat) role from long ago. In fact, in a study conducted in Bali shows that globalization has motivated the emergence of strengthening their social identities. The strengthening identities of Balinese women are obtained from conducting their triple-roles. Even though globalization waves sweep the whole world and have 'westernized' women's point of view of equality and emancipation, they still can do all of the roles at once. Furthermore, Balinese women do not think that globalization is something that needs to reject, but it is something that needs to be domesticated, and believe that new values can be perceived as better values that can be applied in their daily lives.

Key words: globalization, global culture, triple-roles, social identity, Balinese women.

One has to reclaim, in relation to globalist ideology, the notions of hybridity... We are in worlds that are not heading toward cultural globalization: one has to be intellectually dishonest to think that we are heading toward global culture.

--- Armand Mattelart

Culture has a chance to construct a human behavior in their social interactions. Society is a dynamic organization, in facts, society has a mechanism called adaptation to keep their organization exist in the world. Adaptation patterns can be shown from member's behavior within their societies (Merton, 1959: 139–157). Van Peursen (1988: 8–9) suggests, the concepts of understanding culture have been changed. Changed from narrow to broad-minded view point. Culture is a manifestation of everybody's life and their groups. In reality, the dynamic life in the society forms its own culture. People no longer live in the nature but always change nature and it has made the culture dynamic.

Culture is often seen by most people as a noun. The understanding has made the meaning of culture become narrow and limited. The understanding causes culture to become something born in a long process of human civilization history. As a matter of fact, the actual meaning of culture is still questioned. However, this essay believes that culture is a process that explains the changes in human activities from time to time (both for material and immaterial productions). In other words – as what is proposed by Clifford Geertz referring to Max Weber's conception – “culture is a web of meaning in which human is an animal imprisoned within the webs of meaning that he spun” (Kapfefer, 1966). It shows that human

¹ I thank my colleagues and the participants at the International Symposium "Language, Culture, and Globalization in Southeast Asian Countries" for their insightful comments and feedbacks

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beings create a web of meaning: they not only create the web but also are trapped in it. Culture in this essay is not considered as an ‘artifact’ but as a process that continually takes place in every man’s and his social group’s creativities (social system).

When culture has been understood as a process, the definition of culture, however, still doesn’t have a similar definition framework. But, there are some definitions that are generally used as references in this essay. The first is the cultural concept that is sprung from inside Anglo-Saxon culture in the 14th century in which the understanding of the culture is closer to the biological context especially in cultivation, “the cultivation of land, crops and animal”. The second one is cultural concept in which the understanding is in “the cultivation of the mind, the arts, and the civilization” context. The definitions show that the meaning of ‘culture’ has been shifted to the human development concept. The meaning is developed in the 17th and 18th centuries in England.³ The third is the concept suggested by Kroeber and Kluckhohn, ‘*Kultur*’, in German, is a concept that links the civilization and human morality development collectively (Smith, 2002). The fourth concept shows that “culture” is “the meanings, values, ways of life of entire society”. It means that ‘culture’ is something that binds, in which specifically forms a social relation structure, social practice (praxis) and symbolic systems, and binds cohesively a group identity, either as a group called nation, community or social class. Cultural concept depicts a relation among cultural symbols and social life. The relation between human beings as cultural creators and the cultural outcomes that can be seen in their daily life both as individual and as part of the society.

The development in the 21st century has changes studies of culture from anthropological, sociological and historical perspective to new studies that is called Cultural Studies (CS). In this definition, culture has been transferred in global medias and technologies (computer and internet) and it has been made borders of geopolitics, economics and cultures of people around the world diminished. Cultural studies is often related to contemporary cultural studies, sprung as an intellectual response in analyzing culture (political change, economics and global culture as an impact of globalization) and cultural transformation in various places in the world that influences both

social and collective identities in a society (Baker, 2004). The assumption that cultural studies is based on an open discourse that is established through an intellectual formation in response to the thought and contemporary social life, as what is found in the post-modernity and post-colonialism.

The conception of culture cannot be separated from conception of globalization. Globalization has come as a space that omits geopolitical, economical and cultural borders. All of them have been transferred into a transparent space by media. The real problem is how societies look for their identities in the intersection of local and global cultural meanings. There are three choices: accepting global culture or rejecting (resistance) it and going back to the local strength (strengthening social identity). So the main problem is “how is the continuity of social identity in facing global culture?”

Bali is an island that is identical with its exotic nature and culture. Bali is unique of its nature and culture (Covarrubias, 1937). As part of Indonesia, the religion of most people in Bali is Hinduism. It causes Balinese culture is not only built by social structure but also by Hinduism. When we are talking about Bali, it can be separated from two things that are culture (customs) and religion. The uniqueness is not only supported by its natural resources but also by the socio-cultural dynamics of the people. Bali is known as “*Pulau Dewata*” or “the island of gods” in which the people are religious, friendly and civilized. Bali has a unique customs that inspire the culture of the people (Pitana, 1994). It has never been imagined before that the contact among the nature, customs and religion has made Bali at the end an international tourism destination. The growth of tourism has emerged a cultural tourism concept that basically meant to lessen the commercialization or co-modification of Balinese culture (Picard, 1990: 37–74). Nevertheless, the strength of globalization seems to give some questions of where the culture’s direction is.

A discourse that then develops is not only in the level of globalization and tourism but also in the problems of their identities. Woodward argues that at this post-modern era there are at least ten biggest issues. Among those issues are globalization and identity problems (Woodward, 2005). Globalization has given a picture of a borderless world.

³ In the 17th and 18th centuries, the term ‘culture’ was significant in the concept of social class where it created the meaning of social reproduction as marked by the birth and social class emergence. ‘Culture’ refers to different habits done by individuals from different social classes. Consequently, it influences how an individual acts, communicates and consumes something.

Globalization exists as a correction of our answer about identity, politic and state (Woodward, 2002). This situation emerges a concept of market state in which a state must be responsible for maximalizing individual choices. The problem from identity side is a form of socio-political identity that is one of the characters of the 'true' capitalists. Balinese people is trapped in a problem of identity proposed by Michel Picard. He illuminated the rise of Balinese identity, "*Kebalian*" (Bali-ness), a discourse that has been historically constituted by trans-cultural, interactive dialogues (Picard, 1999: 15–49).

The increasing tension between Balinese peoples and globalization over the past few years is an expression of the growing formation and expression of a self-consciousness—an identity as well as an ethnicity intrinsically linked to the construction of "otherness" and the drawing of boundaries between people who formerly felt and acted as one. Leo Howe shed light on the colonial and post-colonial background of this development concerning the Balinese, who had to struggle for the recognition of their religious practices and beliefs in globalization (Howe, 2001: 138–162).

A dominant issue in the construction of Hindu-Balinese identity in the 1920s was Majapahit. The Balinese gentry used this east-Javanese kingdom as the key point of reference for their social origin as well as for their religion, Hinduism. This was later replaced by assigning the "real" roots to India, whereas Majapahit was considered more or less an intermediary between India and Bali (Howe, 2001: 147–149). As Picard (1999: 44) concluded, "religion, for the Balinese, has become the emblem of their "*Kebalian*" (Bali-ness). By contrast, after thorough socio-cultural transformations due to tourism, "the Javanese" living in Bali were gradually perceived as a threat to the social order by the Hindu-Balinese.

When globalization becomes an avoidable wave that attacks all nations all over the world, it obviously gives a positive impact that is the availability to see the life of people, especially women, who live in the other parts of the world. In western communities, women can do their double-roles openly. However, in some cases, globalization also motivates the strengthening of production roles. Women no

longer only do their domestic roles. It has brought a change in women's identity, especially in the Asian Communities, that are socially, ethnically, and traditionally different from the western communities. The emergence of global identities in the women's roles, in fact, impacts the life of people in the third-world countries in Southeast Asia especially Indonesia. It has triggered the change of women social position in the society.

Globalization and Global Culture

Globalization has become, in the terms of world-system theory by French Sociologist, Immanuel Wallerstein, an "enormous recent furor" in the human and social sciences (Kraidy, 2005: 38–39). The word "global" is more than four centuries old, but its derivatives "globalize" and "globalization" appeared only in the late 1950s, and in 1991 *Webster's* the first major dictionary to define "globalization". Harrington said, the relationship between globalization and social change raises important question about the nature and dynamic of modernity. Modernity has been seen a taking increasingly decontextualized forms, as no only restructuring work, culture, space, and time but also creating a new form "transnational" and "trans-local" connection⁴ (Harrington, 2005: 293). David Held,⁵ thinking about global multidimensionality as impact of globalization (Held, 1995: 1001). Two decade later the word had already entered academic parlance. But it is the 1990s that witnessed the rise to prominence the notions "global culture" and "cultural globalization". With industrialization and spirit of capitalism, it comes to own culture.

Capitalism and globalization has a close relation to market, culture and post-modernism. Those are based on social reality in a time and space conception. In media, the term of time-space distinction concept by Giddens is right for describing this reality (Giddens, 1999: 12). In this conception, globalization is marked by publication of individual matters. When the great wave of globalization attacks the society, they are in a condition in which there is no single information that is not revealed – everything becomes transparent. In Vattimo's description, world has been folded and become

⁴ Harrington argument, the main processes of globalization direct us to relationships, institutions and types of social actors. The processes connected the five factors: markets; time-space compression (global cities); network, flow and "disembedding"; governance and regulation; and the nation-state.

⁵ David Held is a British Political Sociologist. Held speaks of global challenges to nation-states and national sovereignty brought about not only by developments in the world economy but also by a range of their processes that include international or transnational developments in law, political decision making and culture.

transparent, what it near seems to be far and vice versa. Social transparency in the society has caused the social relation of individuals is broader, not only between the individuals but also the simultaneous openness of communication around the world. It is what is called 'global village' suggested by Marshall McLuhan. Thus, talking about globalization is talking about social change, global culture and the possibility of the change in the cultural definition issue. In academic world, the idea of global culture – alternatively referred to as "transnational culture," "cultural globalization," or globalization of culture" – as attracted engagement and speculation across discipline.⁶ Global culture gained recognition as a salient social science research issue in the journal *Theory, Culture and Society*.

Baudrillard has also proposed that it will be difficult to assess the truth and reality this world because they are irrelevant and even banished. The globalization project happens when a religious tradition and traditional familial relation change based on general tendencies (Giddens, 1999: 4). In socio-cultural area, globalization project is not just to show western culture hegemony towards eastern culture. The logic formed by globalization are, chaos, overlapping and hybridity⁷ (Bhabha, 1998). Habermas (2001) defines globalization as an integration process of economics, politics, socio and cultural as a 'post-national' constellation in which community faces a power and challenge from the dynamic. Moreover, it will be able to create a new ethnicity in a transnational society. Accordingly, in this level, the group identity is no longer retained because it has become global identity. It means that it is owned by global society, not belongs to the group anymore.

In a more real side, the tourism phenomenon has portrayed how local world has met various world cultures in industrialization point of view. Tourism is a typical socio-cultural phenomenon in Indonesia, when millions of people (tourists) from various socio-cultural backgrounds are visiting a tourism object in this country every year. Of course, tourism has given some positive aspects such as the improvement of economics and cultural openness (the use of technology), yet it has brought some changes in life values, social relationships and the natives' point of view towards their society.

Balinese Women and Triple-roles

The term '*wanita*' (women) derives from *rakta swanita* which means women's seed. Balinese customs originates from Hinduism, in which the concept of Balinese women is adjacent as Hindu women: they are born, live and are bound by their *desa adat* (Hadriyani, 1988: 195). The concept of unity between men and women is called *arddhanisvarimurti* (Kaler, 1994: 61–74) in which men and women are described to complete each other.

Bhagavad Gita 10.34, one of the holy books that forms Balinese culture, also comes from Hinduism. It describes women as a goddess as a manifestation of intellectuality and knowledge, prosperity and loyalty (*satvam*). They give strength to purify men's attitude that are considered improper. *Hyang Maha Suci* (God the Almighty) in Hinduism is described as a mother, and the deepest relation between men and God is assumed as a relation between mother and her child. *Hyang Maha Suci* also is depicted to be feminine, through the description of *Durga*, *Laksmi* and *Saraswati*. The three goddesses are directives that must be followed by Balinese women (Takwin, 2001: 70–75).

Those descriptions are values in the Balinese society where women are not considered as a weak individual but she has to be able to complete her daily tasks in her family. She has to be tender, peaceful, full of compassion and willing to sacrifice. Women who expect to be equal to men are expected to be able to place her self-esteem in conformance with emancipation without leaving their beauty and elegance (Radhakrishnan, 2003: 96). On the other hand, in some places women still experience a bias gender and their position is yet always subordinated by construction of their social environment.

There are three representations of women in social research. First, women tend to be seen as a capital in social transformation. The second one is the role accusation or 'women's absence' in national development. Third, there is a discourse that determines and, furthermore, fortifies women position as a victim. In the first discourse, it has been brought to discuss women's roles in social transformation and, then, there will be a women accusation because of unfairness in accessing

⁶ Books and conferences in anthropology, ethnology, comparative literature, cultural studies, communication and media studies, geography, sociology, and other fields have been devoted to the understanding of the implications of cultural globalization.

⁷ Hybridity is a metaphor to describe the unity of two kinds of things, in this case two cultures, and it will emerge new characteristics from each form and at the same time omit some others.

development and developing a construction that women always become victims (Abdullah, 2001).

This essay tries to escape from the three perspectives. In this article, the researcher tries to show how women signify their life, roles, values and daily activities. There are two basic roles of women that is called double-roles. Most of the communities also identify women's triple-roles in the society, for example roles in the Balinese Community. The main activities of the women are in the domestic sectors. Meanwhile, the activities in the economic and social sectors are conducted by the men. Balinese women have known not only the double-roles but also another role that is social (*adat*) role from long ago. Balinese women face the dilemma of maintaining their vital role amid a rapidly changing society. In Bali, the primary female role is one of fostering balance and harmony within families. The Balinese people view women not from the vantage of career success but rather from the vantage of whether they can produce good quality children, and can work as part of a family team (*adat*/social activities in society). Balinese men and women work together as partners. Indeed, men are not enemies; the genders help and need each other. Values underlying emancipation for women clash with traditional values, leading to frequent misunderstandings. Emancipation advocates neglect those elements necessary for complementing Balinese values.

Based on Mosser's description (Moser, 1989: 1799–1805), role divisions meant in phenomena of Balinese women's roles are domestic roles, a role in her nuclear family – as a wife and mother, production roles, and social roles that are related to their social life. This role is associated with some activities conducted by Balinese women in their society.

Nakatani⁸ found that Balinese women have not only double but also triple roles. This research is done on women's role in her family as a wife and mother, their role as a breadwinner and their social role in the custom. At the end, he calls Balinese women as 'wonder women. If 'super women' are demanded to do their house chores as well as their career, 'wonder women' are demanded to do their role in *desa adat*, as one of the characteristics of Balinese people.

Generally, most of Indonesian cultures, including Balinese culture, are still dominated by patriarchal

that tends to precede men and put at side women's position. Women have more rules to be obeyed which means women have more tasks to do. At these circumstances, men's position is more dominant (Yuarsi, 2002: 128). Women with their limitation in their social life, defines traditionally as persons who have to do only the house chores. It has become an obstacle for them in their career. Women cannot release themselves from traditional thought that as a housewife she has to take care of her husband and children. It is a conventional reflection that lingers as an image of women. The assumption in the society that women must be able to finish all of their obligations – in which household is the main obligation. It is interesting that then the way women do all of their roles in their daily lives is revealed. Generally, the explanation of Balinese women's roles and activities is as follow:

Domestic Roles

Roles are behaviors that someone carries based on his or her status. Roles are the dynamic form of status. Roles done by Balinese women in the household is started from marriage as the beginning. Balinese customs demand a formal ceremony of marriage that is marked by *kala-kalaan* ceremony. This indicates an official marriage according to Balinese custom law so that the new status of husband and wife is also acknowledged by the environment. The status has brought a role as a husband and a wife. The role is in form of responsibility has to be done to retains the family.

Balinese women emphasize some concepts in conducting their domestic roles: 1) their responsibility as a wife, in the other word a married woman must have a principle to keep her marriage;⁹ 2) an ideal wife;¹⁰ 3) a concept that a woman is a good mother, a woman that is able to raise her children well so that they become *suputra* (a son that makes his parents proud); and 4) an ability to manage a conflict settlement. Other domestics roles are like cooking, taking care of their children, cleaning, washing and other house chores. this also includes worshipping that is done in every household. Women's domestic tasks are the actualization of their role as wives

⁸ Dr. Ayami Nakatani is an anthropologist that conducted researches on Balinese women's roles and labeled them as 'wonder women'. Dr. Ayami Nakatani is an associate professor of Anthropology at Okayama University, Japan, and was formerly an affiliated research fellow at the IIAS

⁹ If there is a divorce in Balinese community, the people tend to blame the wife. It has made they have heavy burdens in keeping their marriages. Divorce in Balinese culture is still taboo. They still hold their tradition even though now modernization and emancipation have guaranteed their rights.

¹⁰ As a wife, it is better to (1) understand the husbands' situation and needs; (2) respect the husbands; (3) give opinion to the husbands, if asked; (4) support the husbands; (5) have responsibilities in domestic and social roles; (6) earn for living and (7) manage family's financial matters.

and mothers. It is to remind them of their main responsibility.

Production Roles

Balinese women not only conduct their domestic roles but also production roles that is earn some money for their family. It is an economical activity since they work and are paid, and at the end bring the money home. Some reasons why Balinese women earn some money are: (1) they have to fulfill their daily needs; (2) a chance to start a career; (3) a need to apply their ability and (4) a belief that working women are considered better than those who just stay at home.

When tourism has become one of the global economic strengths that raises some small and middle scale industries, service sectors are also growing. Balinese women see this as a good chance. Their activities to earn money do not oppose their domestic roles and their working hours can be adjusted to customs activities. To be sure, the customs tolerate this activity. Moreover, all of the wives must have an agreement and permission from their husbands to work.¹¹

Social Roles

Married Balinese women will have a chance to be a member of *adat* (*krama adat*) from the organization, either from *desa adat* or *banjar adat*. Balinese people have an organization that manages the rituals. In the Balinese society, all of the social activities are entirely organized by the customs (*adat*). *Desa adat* as a custom organization has some members called *krama adat*. It consists of a couple of Hindu husband and wife who live in that *desa adat*. If two members are officially announced as husband and wife, they will automatically be *krama adat*, on the other word a Balinese woman who gets married will have a status as a member of *desa adat*. The assignments as a member of *desa adat* are divided in some *banjar*¹² or directly under the *desa adat*. The status of women (*krama istri*) is as a spouse of men's status (*krama lanang*). Some activities are giving *sesaji* (*mebanten*), joining a community self

help (*ngayah*) in *Kahyangan Tiga* temple and giving mutual assistance (*ngupin*) among all members of *desa adat* and *banjar* in human-life-circle ceremony (Rivai, 1981: 139).

From above explanations, it can be concluded that Balinese women have three roles: domestic, production and social. The execution is represented in their behaviours. One of a time, the need of each role done by the Balinese can be contrasted so it generates a conflict. Yet, the conflict should be solved so that each role can be carried out. Globalization has made women in the west part of the world has increased their production roles and decrease the domestic ones. The opposite phenomena are occurred in Bali that their additional role (social role) turns to be a strengthening of their identity to face globalization. Here, the cultural meaning and identity becomes unclear.

How Triple-roles Represent Social Identity

'Triple roles', a concept suggested by Mosser (1989: 1799-1805), groups women's roles into three: reproductive role (domestic role), economics role (productive role) and social role (*adat*). For Balinese women, the roles mean that they involve in cultural value system, socialization of gender role, domestic, economic, social roles, conflict settlement strategy and how to do those roles.

Balinese values are the foundation that directs the behaviours of Balinese women. Those become the Balinese characteristics. Some values are taken to be a system that constructs Balinese characters, those can be seen in the women's (Suryani, 1992: 119). In doing their roles, Balinese women must hold the system. At the end, the values will be applied in all roles done in the daily activities.

The intersection of triple roles in the cultural value system is meant to be a work that has to be performed by the women so that the social life will run well. The example is the life of people in the *desa adat* Kuta. There are some various works, not only those related to the production but also the behaviour of the women as forethought of their social status as well as a humankind that God created to show their existence. The work is a movement of life. By working, Balinese women are assured that they really exist in the society.

¹¹ In this context, there are some mistakes done by foreign researchers that Balinese men are lazy and the women work very hard. In this article, I agree that the women have work ethics but the analysis that the men are lazy cannot be proven. I found that there is a division of work based on the sex. It is proven in custom activities in which women do the cooking and mopping while cleaning the place is done by the men.

¹² Banjar is a small group in *desa adat*. It is lead by *kelihan Banjar*. All custom activities are managed. See Clifford Geertz. 1959. "Form and Variation in Balinese Village Structure". *American Anthropologist* 61 (6): 991–1012.

The establishment of social representation follows two main processes that are objectification and anchoring. Objectification is associated with the intervention of social tools such as norms, values, social codes in managing cognitive process of the social life and communication constraint that goes along with the intervention. Anchoring is a process to explain new information integration to a knowledge and significance system that has already occurred in the society.

Globalization urges every individual and his social group to rethink about the group structure including the values, norms and social identity in the society. Globalization challenges traditional identities like tribes, culture, religion or even national identities. The challenge happens since globalization seems to erase the borders of tribes, cultures and religion. Thus, each country seems integrated. The Balinese generally try to give a viewpoint of how to face global world.

The politics of identity is an answer should be taken to cope with global change. Identity is one of the central theme in globalization.¹³ It is understood that globalization brings a new historical effect that is global society or multicultural society. Identity gives sense of belonging of the cultural root. In this case, Durkheim proposed that collective identity emerges through a collective process in the society, through historical bounds and socialization of the community. Learning from Balinese women experience, their ability to adapt in a global world, to build a belief of how traditional identities (social roles) need to be integrated in a global identity where people and society can have their own cultural root but they can be opened to other traditions or become members of certain society and become part of mankind as one global community.

Balinese women have succeeded to conduct politics of identity to protect their identity matters from global culture. The politics refers to political mechanism of organizing identity (roles, class, race, gender and sexuality) as a source and political equipment (Alcof and Mendieta, 2003). In this case, Balinese women conduct mobile identity for their articulative importance. It causes a dilemmatic condition in the development of contemporary society (global culture). Claims made on identity are sprung in this context, however their strong social

role protects Balinese women to be more aware of their identity than creating cultural chances. To face globalization, Balinese women social culture is not contaminated thoroughly and has caused the emergence of ambivalence and hybridity.

Social Identity and the Emergence of Global Identities: is Tourism A Threat?

Balinese culture is patriarchal (*kapurusan*) that place men as a dominant side in life since they bring descent line including give a social status (Kaler, 1994: 64). Values taught to the sons are different from those to the daughters, thus, the nurturing is not the same as well. From their early age, the daughters are involved in activities done by their mother and of course subject to their age. From the beginning, the daughters are involved in customs activities such as *ngayah*, so that they are able to adapt their roles after they get married. Family function is the centre of cultural pattern that is to cultivate children. Family has also an important function in cultural heredity for the Balinese next generation (Kartono, 1992: 7).

In maintaining harmony in the society, *tri hita karana* is a concept that also becomes a foundation in social life, especially for the obligation and authority in *desa adat*. The concept gives priority to harmony and balance of human-human, human-nature, and human-God relationships. Those form Balinese characteristics: 1) Trust and belief that can be seen in religious ceremony; 2) Diligent and creative (industrious creativity), work hard and imaginative; 3) Hierarchical orientation, Balinese believe that everything is hierarchical; 4) *Ngayah* (co-operation devotion), that is working in *banjar*, temples, with friends and family without getting paid as forms of friendship, loyalty and serve the gods, ancestors and God the Almighty; 5) Conformism, that is following clues or orders that are considered accurate by the society; 6) Son generativity to continue the hereditary lines; and 7) Hypnotizability, like when playing *gamelan*, dancing and sculpting.

Balinese civilization comes from India and western countries that are collective, commercial and ritualistic (Bagus, 1997). Balinese identity as cultural mankind with religious belief and complex cultural structure has made the people are expected

¹³ Etymologically, identity means (1) condition or reality about something identical, or some conditions that are alike; (2) condition or fact that describes something identical between two persons or things; (3) condition or fact that describes something identical between two persons or groups; (4) technically, those etymological explanation show the meaning of identity is identical to show something is alike another.

to have self-correction. As religious individual, there is a change in religious orientation from ritual to deepen religious philosophy called as *tatwa* (Sujana, 1994). Cultural values system that is internalized into Balinese culture makes the people tend to look for tranquility and true happiness. They tend to have ability to control their emotion and not to be shown in public and prefer to show it through mimic or gesture without saying anything. The feeling of joy, suffering or anger hides inside to maintain a good relationship with others. They will refuse something just only in an inconvenient situation, but if they thing it will cause disharmonious, they will not refuse it and favour to accept it.

Balinese women behaviour at home, work or when they do some custom activities is based on belief concepts called *karmaphala*, *darma*, *yadnya*, *tri rna*, *tri hita karana*, and *bhakti*. Based on those concepts, women's behaviour cannot be separated from Balinese cultural values. It is possible, as what is suggested by Koentjaraningrat (1971: 384), that every culture has a set of abstract concept that functions to direct and motivates the members of the group to behave properly. It can be said that abstract concepts that found the application of Balinese women roles are also Balinese cultural values. The problem is that global culture has given a difficulty in finding their social identities. Looking for identities doesn't mean that a person can leave their original and change it with the new one since inside each individual has an experience that can retain their old social identity. This concept is called hybridity and suggested by Bhabha.

Social identity theory suggests that individuals have a social bound in their social group. The higher they identify values and norms of their social groups, the tighter the bound will be. The labeling of social identity through values and norms identification motivates them to have clear functions and roles in the group. Thus, social identity will be formed when there is an acknowledgement from the group. Globalization has brought a phenomenon of cultural intersection from various parts of the world in one arena. The early arena that is in form of virtual media has hastened the globalization in many countries. Globalization, exaggeratedly, is assumed to be able to fix social welfare of the society. Nevertheless, it has a weakness that it cannot accommodate local culture. Local culture is left behind by the people.

Globalization, on the other hand, has accelerated the growth of the third world countries to be industrial ones. However, according to Sobrino and Wilfred (2001: 12), globalization has failed to create and retain cultural diversity. What really happens is homogeneous and cultural unity. The problem in socio-cultural identities becomes an unanswered project.

The description of globalization that forces industrial growth without a good preparation has caused may cases like the upraising of socio-economical change (poverty, crime, urban problems) in the third-world countries. Tourism is one of the industries that is influenced by globalization. It impacts changes of material infrastructures (technology, economy, demography and ecology), ideological infrastructures (religion, knowledge, general ideology, art and literature) and people's social structure (education, social stratification and job classification based on gender).

The growth of diverse facilities in tourism services in Bali shows how tourism industry has shifted economical life of the society; from agriculture to service sector (primary to tertiary). The lap without passing through industrial life has given great impact on the people's life. As a place where cultural hybridity may occur because of globalization influence, this sector has also given an impact to the women's life. They now have a new field of job that is tourism business. There are many worries that globalization will make Balinese women lose their social identities as the true Balinese women (*'wanita Bali'*).

Social changes that continually happen in Balinese community is followed by adaptive strategy of the people (Suyadnya, 2006: 182-206.).¹⁴ The change is just in the level of expression. The cultural core (essential meaning), in fact, remains the same. Flexibility has become a key for the Balinese to face globalization. Balinese women think that globalization doesn't need to be avoided but to be tamed by giving more meaning in cultural value system, socialization of gender roles, domestic, economics and social roles, conflict settlement strategy and how to apply the roles. Strong customs are not assumed to be social pressures that decelerate their activities. Yet, their belief is that Balinese women are emerged based on religious and custom principles. The coming of new values

¹⁴ My research in 2005 noted that the people's worries about the lost of identity did not occur. Balinese society have a cultural strategy and adaptive mechanism that is capable to protect their cultural core.

can be perceived as better values, but not all of them can be accepted by an individual. Collectivity form the custom is used to filtrate the change. The external values are accepted to be a warning of their culture elasticity. Balinese women social identity is established based on social environment, geography and individual perception.

Conclusion

The strengthening identities of Balinese women are obtained from conducting their triple-roles. Even though globalization waves sweep the whole world and have 'westernized' women's point of view of equality and emancipation, they still can do all of the roles at once. The religious values are strongly held and become the foundation of their activities. As a society that are famous for their belief (Hinduism), they are unlikely not to obey the tradition and the roles that have been destined for them. The capability of Balinese women to do their triple roles has considered to be a 'wonder' since western women just have double roles that are domestic and economic roles. They do not have to be bothered with social roles and they are not bound to the rules of custom.

Balinese women do not think that globalization is something that needs to reject. They think that it is something that needs to be domesticated. They believe that new values can be perceived as better values. They can take some of them to be applied in their daily lives and if they think that the values are far from their religious and custom values, they tend to resist it.

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