

Gender Injustice and Balinese Women's Resistance in Oka Rusmini's *Tempurung* Novel: A Feminist Literary Analysis

Rusdian Noor Dermawan¹, Widowati², Sri Wahyuningtyas³, Oktaviani Windra Puspita⁴,
Anselmus Sudirman⁵, Herning Puspitarini⁶

^{1, 2, 3, 4, 5}Universitas Sarjanawiyata Tamansiswa, Yogyakarta, Indonesia

⁶Universitas Negeri Medan, Sumatra Utara, Indonesia

⁵Corresponding Author Email: [anselmus.sudirman\[at\]ustjogja.ac.id](mailto:anselmus.sudirman[at]ustjogja.ac.id)

Abstract: This study examines gender injustice and resistance among Balinese women in Oka Rusmini's *Tempurung* novel through a feminist literary lens. Employing qualitative descriptive methods, including close reading and thematic analysis, the research identifies five forms of gender injustice—violence, stereotyping, marginalization, subordination, and double burdens—and explores how female characters respond through inner, verbal, and radical resistance. Findings reveal the pervasive influence of Bali's patriarchal and caste-based socio-cultural systems, highlighting women's resilience in challenging systemic oppression. This analysis contributes to feminist literary criticism by illuminating the intersection of gender and cultural identity in Balinese society.

Keywords: gender inequality, gender resistance, feminist, *Tempurung*, Balinese culture

1. Introduction

Gender discourse, gender disparities, gender injustice (including gender violence), and gender resistance, encompassing women's emancipation, remain significant subjects up to the early 21st century (Dermawan et al., 2023). Shifts in social science paradigms continue to spotlight gender mainstreaming as a critical framework (Macaryus 2015). Furthermore, Indonesian society is predominantly influenced by a patriarchal culture, which has been criticized as a contributor to gender inequity.

The complexities of gender in the *Tempurung* novel have garnered significant interest from numerous researchers. There are five groups: (1) Purwanti et al., (2) Dewi et al., (3) Aulad et al., (4) Ahmad et al., and (5) Utami. Purwanti et al. (2020) analyzed the inherent structural elements, gender inequity, and women's consciousness in the *Tempurung* novel. The study examines the issue of married life within the Balinese socio-cultural context, highlighting violence against women and promoting knowledge for women to combat various forms of subjugation and abuse. Dewi et al. (2018) examined the intrinsic aspects of the *Tempurung* novel via the lens of persona focalization and form, correlating their findings with literary education in high schools and vocational institutions, particularly in the enhancement of language instruction.

Aulad et al. (2020) examined the manifestation of prejudice against women within Balinese culture as a singular facet of their study. The fundamental issue is the patriarchal system and gender dynamics that indicate male dominance, leading to marginalization, stigma, and violence against women.

Utami (2022) examined the characteristics of feminine language frequently employed by female characters from lower castes, encompassing intensifiers, adjectives denoting

politeness, tone, and other elements. Simultaneously, the findings of Ahmad et al. (2021) indicated that the organization of power is intricately linked to social capital, cultural capital, economic capital, and symbolic capital. Among all these forms of capital, social capital is pivotal in Balinese society due to its association with status or authority. These dynamics also shape the prevalence of symbolic violence among social capital proprietors.

Based on the title, significance, and focus of the study, the five aforementioned papers differ from this article in their methodology. This study employs a feminist methodology. Dewi et al. (2018) employ a structuralist and literary pedagogical method. Aulad et al. (2020) employ a feminist literary critique methodology. Admad et al. (2021) employ Pierre Bourdieu's socio-political literary framework, while Utami (2022) and Purwanti (2020) utilize a gender perspective. This study presents a fresh analysis of gender inequality and the resistance of Balinese women in response to the injustices they face.

The principles of gender equality and justice have been extensively examined by R.A. Kartini, Dewi Sartika, Siti Soemandari Soeroto, and other Indonesian emancipation leaders. The Center for Women's Studies (PSW UNS and Unnes in Central Java, 2004; PSW UGM in DIY, 2007) has performed several studies on gender (Sudartomo, 2010). Tripungkasingtyas (2014) indicated that gender roles are predominantly influenced by female characters, particularly inside the domestic sphere and in multiple roles. Nonetheless, the prevalence of gender inequity and gender-based violence persists in Indonesia. Domestic Violence (KDRT) is a manifestation of gender-based violence that originates from a gender-biased societal system (Ridwan, 2006).

The societal construction of distinctions between men and women results in divergent roles for each gender. Hayati

(2012) asserted that gender difficulties will not emerge if gender differences coexist harmoniously, allowing men and women to complement and respect one another.

The gender constellation, as initially addressed, encompasses gender disparities, gender injustice, and opposition to attain gender justice by activists, which is also reflected in literary works. The gender-focused authors mentioned comprise several female writers, specifically Ayu Utami in her novels *Saman* (1998) and *Larung* (2001), Abidah El-Khalieqy in *Perempuan Berkabung Sorban* (2001), and Oka Rusmini in *Tarian Bumi* (2000), *Kenanga* (2003), and *Tempurung* (2017), among others.

Through the characters Cok, Yasmin, Shakuntala, and Laila in the novel *Saman*, Ayu Utami frankly reveals and protests the practice of gender injustice imposed on women through expressions of sexuality that go beyond the customs of women in her time. As in the novel *Saman*, in the novel *Larung* Ayu Utami also overturns literary ideas that display gender bias and breaks down male domination over women. Through both of her works, Ayu Utami also carries out gender resistance against the patriarchal system that prevails in Indonesia. Although not as radical as Ayu Utami, Abidah El-Khalieqy through the character Anisa in the novel *Perempuan Berkabung Sorban* also reveals forms of gender injustice such as physical and non-physical violence, subordination, workload, and women's reproductive rights. Anisa, the main character in this novel carries out gender resistance against the patriarchal culture that binds her. Oka Rusmini, like Ayu Utami and Abidah El-Khalieqy, raises and protests gender injustice experienced by Balinese women through her novels *Tarian Bumi*, *Kenanga*, and *Tempurung*. Through the characters Ida Ayu, Telaga, Pidagda (*Tarian Bumi*), and *Kenanga* (*Kenanga*) and Dayu, Siple, Jelangga, Marsawa, Glatik, Pidagda, and Carmelia (*Tempurung*), Oka reveals and protests and fights (resists) against gender injustice inflicted on Balinese women. The gender injustice suffered by Telaga, *Kenanga*, Dayu et al. is more due to the socio-cultural construction of Bali which is built on caste descent (wangsa) with all the customs that confirm and manifest the caste system. For Balinese people, caste is a system that is closely related to Hinduism and all its devices and is considered as something related to God's gift by its adherents, seen as something that is inherited, rigid, binding and difficult to change (Anwar, 2017).

The caste system supported by the Hindu belief system is what places Balinese women as subordinates to men, negative stigma stereotypes, marginalized roles, not getting the opportunity to determine what is best for themselves. This is in line with the opinion of (Rahmawati, 2016) that since childhood Balinese women have been prepared to belong to another family. Even in the past, if a mixed marriage occurred, the woman would be considered out of her class (Koentjaraningrat, 2010a). Gender injustice with all its subsequent impacts was reacted to by the figures of Telaga, *Kenanga*, and Dayu et al by carrying out gender resistance including emancipation in all its forms.

This study focuses on one of Oka Rusmini's novels, namely the *Tempurung* novel (Rusmini, 2017) for several reasons. First, the gender issues that emerge are relatively more

complex in line with the increasingly widespread practice of gender injustice experienced by Balinese women and various shortcomings and increasingly widespread resistance compared to the novel *Saman*, the novel *Larung*, the novel *Perempuan Berkabung Sorban*, the novel *Tarian Bumi*, and the novel *Kenanga*. Second, gender issues occur due to the complexity of the socio-cultural construction of Balinese society supported by the Balinese Hindu belief system. As Hall (Putra, 2011) said, identity construction is never complete and the process occurs 'inside, not outside of representation'. As one form of representation, literary works are an interesting arena to investigate so that the author's will as an intellectual group that provides offers about the ideal identity of their society can be revealed. Therefore, two research questions are raised: (1) How is gender injustice experienced by Balinese women in the *Tempurung* novel? and (2) How is Balinese women's resistance or resistance to the gender injustice they experience?

This study uses a feminist approach because gender injustice and gender resistance are directly related to gender injustice imposed on women through women's emancipation efforts (Ariastini et al., 2014). The main work of feminists is to end male domination by overthrowing cultural concepts such as art, church, law, nuclear family based on power to the family, state, all images, traditions and customs that place women as worthless and unconscious victims (Ruthven, 1985). The elimination of male domination is ultimately used to elevate women's status to be equal to men's status. Gender resistance is carried out against the patriarchal system and caste system with all its traditions, showing how strong the characters of the characters in the novel are that are relevant to gender-based character education in schools and outside of school.

This study contributes to feminist literary criticism by examining how Oka Rusmini's *Tempurung* reflects and critiques the intersection of gender injustice and Balinese socio-cultural norms, offering insights into women's agency within patriarchal systems. Its findings enrich discussions on gender equity and cultural identity in non-Western literary contexts.

2. Literature Review

Gender, Patriarchy, and Gender Injustice

Gender is a socio-cultural construct that differentiates masculine and feminine traits (Sahibe & Munirah, 2021). Gender, as a socio-cultural concept, is defined by the Women Studies Encyclopedia, as referenced by Mufidag Ch and subsequently by Ridwan (2006), as a framework that differentiates roles, behaviors, mentalities, and emotional traits between men and women within society. Consistent with the aforementioned perspective, Fakih (2008) characterizes it as a feature that is intrinsically present in both women and men, shaped by social and cultural constructs. The features inherent in the women in question are feminine attributes, including soft, emotional, passive, inferior, dependent, and primarily familial roles. Conversely, the characteristics intrinsic to men are masculine attributes, specifically strength, nationalism, activity, superiority, and dominance within societal roles (Sunarto, 2014). This form of gender distortion frequently leads men to perceive themselves as superior.

Patriarchy, as a noun, refers to a familial structure that prioritizes the father's bloodline (Compiler Team, 1993). The paternal lineage is considered significant as the father is thought to transmit more robust genetic features to the offspring than the mother. This idea posits that male characteristics are more robust or superior to female characteristics.

Gender injustice constitutes a systemic framework in which individuals, regardless of gender, become victims. Fakih (2008) identifies several forms of gender injustice, including marginalization, subordination, stereotypes, violence, and an increased workload compared to men. The following elucidates these five instances of gender inequality. Marginalization is an exclusionary practice that results in economic impoverishment for women. This process transpires not only in the job but also inside the household, community, culture, and the nation. Subordination is the belief, opinion, or conduct of society that places women in a lower position than men. Stereotype refers to the categorization of a specific group with unfavorable attitudes or perceptions. Violence constitutes an assault on an individual's bodily or psychological integrity. Ultimately, it elucidates the concept of workload (double burden) as the magnitude or burden of women's labor resulting from the entirety of domestic responsibilities being assigned to them (Ridwan, 2006).

Gender Resistance

Gender injustice or gender inequality marginalizes women, devalues them, assigns negative labels, infringes on their human rights through violence, and imposes a burdensome workload (Febrianti, Artika, and Artawan 2023). Consequently, a movement of resistance against women's gender formed in response to gender equality. Women's gender resistance persists until gender equality or justice is attained. Gender resistance is categorized into four types: inner, cultural, societal, and verbal resistance (Surahman et al., 2022). From a postcolonial viewpoint, resistance can be categorized into two types: radical resistance and mimicry. Radical resistance is executed by textual, verbal, and tangible actions (Dermawan & Santoso, 2017).

Balinese Society, Culture, and Gender Roles

The Balinese are among the few ethnic groups globally that have successfully preserved their customs. This capability is inextricably linked to the impact of a tight social stratification system that restricts the opportunity for social mobility among social classes (castes) in both upward and downward directions. This capability also indicates the presence of a robust mechanism that safeguards customs from being assimilated into other cultures (Arifin, 2013). The robust system in question is evident in the definition or constraints of the Balinese ethnic group, specifically a population residing in a designated region (notably the island of Bali) characterized by a profound awareness of: (1) The cohesion of Balinese culture, (2) The Balinese language, and (3) The unity of the Hindu religion. This definition indicates that non-Hindus born and raised in Bali are excluded from being considered Balinese, and the marital status in question pertains to a union between a high-caste lady and a lower-caste man. In Balinese culture, this form of marriage is referred to as "*nyerot*," which involves the husband adopting

the wife's caste, so aligning with her social status (Hikmah et al., 2022). Furthermore, the Balinese ethnic group possesses a profound sense of its historical trajectory characterized by robust social connections and solidarity based around temples, social structures, and communal systems (Prayitno, 2019).

Hinduism, the faith practiced by the Balinese ethnic group, advocates a color system, commonly referred to as caste in Indonesian. In Hindu doctrine, an individual's color or caste is determined by their occupation. Hinduism categorizes mankind into four castes: 1) *Brahmana*, 2) *Ksatria*, 3) *Vaisya*, and 4) *Sudra*. *Brahma* is a caste of individuals engaged in religious vocations, such as priests, and men are conferred the title *Ida Bagus*, while women receive the title, *Ida Ayu*. The *Ksatria* is a caste within Balinese ethnic society comprising civil servants and nobility, designated by the title *Anak Agung*. *Vaisya* is a caste within the Balinese ethnic community comprising those who serve as soldiers, designated with the title *Gusti Bagus* for males and *Gusti Ayu* for females. The lowest caste is the *Sudra*, which encompasses individuals engaged in occupations outside the three higher castes. This social class lacks a formal title and is instead designated by names based on birth order: *Wayan* for the first child, *Made* for the second, *Nyoman* for the third, and *Ketut* for the fourth. The Balinese ethnic community maintains caste lineage through the system of traditional Balinese marriage. The procedures of Balinese traditional marriage parallel the veneration of God the Creator. The implementation procedure occurs solely at the groom's residence, as the Balinese ethnic community upholds a patriarchal culture, hence placing all incurred expenses on the man's family. Caste factors frequently arise in marriage, often leading to advantages and disadvantages, and can become problematic.

Similar to interfaith weddings, inter-caste marriages are also significantly discouraged. Nevertheless, with the progression of time, inter-caste marriages are inevitable and may still be accepted by custom, despite being seen as non-ideal unions. The marriage under consideration involves a woman from a lower caste and a man from a higher caste. While inter-caste marriage is seen as suboptimal by the groom's family, it is regarded as a source of pride by the woman's family (Devi & Nurchayati, 2021). Traditional conventions dictate that an optimal marriage occurs between those of the *seklen* (dadia) or between those regarded as equals in caste (*wangsa*) (Budawati 2016), customs, and religion. Consequently, marriage necessitates stringent regulation.

Marriage in Bali must adhere to patrilineal or patriarchal principles. Consequently, a lady, upon marriage, will integrate into her husband's family. A married lady is no longer bound by commitments to her parental family, but instead holds rights and responsibilities towards her husband's family. Moreover, Balinese women (Dewi 2015) typically rely on their husband's status, irrespective of the wife's endeavors, diligence, and prior background. In Balinese society, a robust patriarchal culture prevails, characterized by a patrilineal kinship system (Koentjaraningrat, 2010b) comprising four types: (1) kinship relations are determined through the father's lineage, with children being the father's rights, (2) familial property or parental wealth is inherited

through the male line, (3) newlyweds reside at the husband's relatives' domicile (patrilocal customs), and (4) men occupy a prominent status in Balinese society. Married women are perceived as having disconnected from their family, lacking autonomy and rights to property. The patrilineal system and patriarchal culture lead Balinese individuals to implicitly favor sons over daughters (Rahmayanty et al., 2023).

Research Method

The research technique section functions as a detailed framework for executing the investigation, guaranteeing methodological precision and consistency. This section elucidates the precise methodologies, instruments, and ethical considerations, so emphasizing the study's academic integrity and ensuring transparency in the derivation of results.

Research Type

This study utilizes a qualitative research methodology, namely a descriptive research strategy as outlined by Bogdan and Biklen (Moleong, 2018). The selection of a qualitative descriptive technique arises from its suitability for examining the thematic complexities of Oka Rusmini's *Tempurung* novel, especially with gender inequality and women's resistance. Descriptive research is carefully chosen to facilitate the detailed investigation of social phenomena represented in literary works, allowing for a thorough analysis of intricate themes such as gender relations and cultural narratives.

The qualitative descriptive method enables a detailed comprehension of the narrative, highlighting the characters' real experiences as a mirror of wider socio-cultural frameworks. This decision is further substantiated by the novel's capacity to serve as a microcosm of wider societal themes, hence requiring a research methodology that encapsulates the nuances of human emotion and societal impacts. Qualitative research excels in context, offering insight into the socio-cultural and historical framework, hence amplifying traditionally disadvantaged viewpoints.

Data Instrument

The principal data instrument for this study consists of multiple types of written documents. The principal document is the *Tempurung* novel, functioning as the key data source for examination. Supplementary papers are employed to enhance the context and depth of the study, encompassing academic articles, books, reports, and critical evaluations relevant to the issues of gender and feminist as examined in the narrative.

This study utilizes analytical frameworks that serve as secondary data instruments. This encompasses gender theory, theories of gender inequality, and feminist theory, which offer a systematic framework for textual analysis. The application of theoretical frameworks guarantees that the data produced from the novel is methodically analyzed and evaluated within a wider intellectual context, enabling sophisticated insights into the text.

Data Collection Procedures

The data collection for this study employs a comprehensive process aimed at thoroughly capturing the narrative and thematic aspects of the *Tempurung* novel. Initially, close

reading approaches are utilized to engage the researcher in the narrative realm, facilitating an understanding of thematic, character, and plot subtleties. This is augmented by text annotation techniques, facilitating the classification and arrangement of pertinent textual components concerning gender and resistance.

Library research complements primary data collecting by offering access to an extensive array of scholarly papers, critiques, and historical contexts that elucidate and enhance the novel's themes. Documentary analysis is utilized to gather factual information from historical documents and socio-cultural criticisms relevant to the novel's location and thematic issues. This extensive data gathering technique guarantees a diverse range of data that encompasses both the explicit and implicit theme representations in the novel.

Data Analysis Procedures

Following the successful collection of data, the study utilizes qualitative descriptive analytic approaches informed by gender theory, theories of gender inequality, and feminist theoretical frameworks. The analysis commences with thematic coding, wherein data from the novel is methodically classified into principal themes, including gender roles, power relations, and acts of resistance. Narrative analysis meticulously examines the story, focusing on character development, dialogue, and setting as tools for thematic expression.

The interpretative study necessitates meticulous evaluation of historical and socio-cultural circumstances, utilizing historical evidence to contextualize the tale within a tangible framework. This method enhances comprehension of how the novel mirrors and analyzes real socio-cultural dynamics and gender disparities. Comparative analysis is utilized to find parallels between the text and past feminist movements or gender ideas, thereby clarifying broader socio-political implications.

Data Triangulation and Ethical Considerations

Data triangulation was achieved by cross-referencing textual analysis with scholarly critiques and historical documents on Balinese culture. Meanwhile, ethical issues are fundamental to the research process, guaranteeing that the study is executed with integrity and respect. One of the principal ethical considerations pertains to the judicious management of intellectual property, guaranteeing that all sources, including the *Tempurung* book and associated literature, receive full attribution.

The study highlights interpretative humility, recognizing that the analysis constitutes one of numerous potential interpretations of the text. This method acknowledges the intricacy of the narrative and the various interpretations it may produce. Moreover, thematic awareness is preserved, particularly in addressing storylines of gender and resistance, guaranteeing that interpretations do not belittle or mislead the characters' experiences.

The study results undergo rigorous validation through consultations with literary specialists knowledgeable in feminist literature, ensuring academic integrity. The feedback process occurs inside an organized venue, such as a

Focus Group Discussion (FGD), to guarantee that the analysis is both rigorous and representative of current feminist discourses. These debates encourage the examination of varied perspectives, enhancing the study's conclusions and cultivating an academic discourse on the novel's thematic contributions.

3. Findings and Discussions

Gender Injustice in the *Tempurung* Novel

This analysis of gender injustice in the *Tempurung* novel will encompass (1) the manifestations of gender injustice, (2) the perpetrators of gender injustice, (3) the victims of gender injustice, and (4) instances of gender injustice alongside acts of resistance. These approaches are generally illustrated in Table 2 of Appendix 1.

According to Fakhri (2008), there are five theoretical forms of gender injustice: (1) Violence, (2) Negative Labeling (stereotype), (3) Double Burden, (4) Marginalization, and (5) Subordination. The data indicate that out of 17 incidents of gender injustice in the *Tempurung* novel, 9 (53%) manifested as violence, 2 (11.76%) as stereotypes (negative labeling), 2 (11.76%) as marginalization, 2 (11.76%) as subordination (secondary status), and 2 (11.76%) as double burdens. Out of the 9 types of violence, 6 (67%) were categorized as physical violence, while 3 (33%) were classified as non-physical (verbal) violence.

Violence

Violence in the *Tempurung* novel transpires among and within members of (1) the nuclear family, (2) the extended family, and (3) Balinese society.

Violence inside an extended family transpires among the father, mother, and child, Glatik. The initial act of physical violence was perpetrated by the father against his wife and children, including Glatik, through neglect and failure to provide for his immediate family, as he prioritized his affection for his birds over that of his wife and four daughters. The father perpetrated the second act of physical violence by sexually abusing his daughter, Glatik. This is predicated on the analysis of the subsequent data text.

- 1) My mother died in great suffering, Saring. Her cough was severe. The doctor said he had tuberculosis. He should be breathing fresh air. But, my father loved his birds more than the five women in our house (*Tempurung*: 31).

Upon reaching maturity, Glatik was subjected to sexual harassment by her biological father. Her father fondled her sensitive areas while she was asleep. Fakhri (2008) has referred to it as covert violence (molestation). This is readily apparent in the following data excerpt.

- 2) Even this disgusting man had the chance to grope Glatik's body while she was sleeping (*Tempurung*:47).

In the Extended Family

The practice of violence is also observed in an extended family, which comprises a husband (Pasung), wife (Rimpig), child (Songi) and son-in-law (Sager), and grandchild (Sipleg) and her husband (Payuk). Pasung (husband) initiated violence

against Rimpig (wife). Pasung compelled Rimpig to fulfill his desires, despite the fact that he was aware that his wife was fatigued from caring for their children.

- 1) Rimpig's body is perpetually battered. It was unknown to the father that the responsibility of caring for the children was so demanding. At the height of his desire, Pasung does not hesitate to drag Rimpig, lay her thin body on the ground in the kitchen, and forcefully and roughly penetrate her body (*Tempurung*:116).

According to Fakhri (2020), gender-based violence that starts with physical assault, dragging, or striking is classified as marital rape and classified as a form of crime. The intercourse was not something Rimpig desired, but she was unable to evade her husband's control. The purpose of Rimpig is to fulfill the desires of men. The model of violence that her spouse perpetrated on her was also implemented by Rimpig on her daughter, Songi. Rimpig's daughter was sold to Jinah, a timber businessman, as a result of her destitution.

- 2) Until the businessman arrived contentedly, his background remained unknown to all. Rimpig saw that the one with cheese-hued skin possessed wealth. Songi was sold for a substantial price (*Tempurung*:14).

After her marriage, Songi was also subjected to violence by her husband, Sager. He subjected Songi to a series of inhumane treatment, including being beaten, cursed, and doused with hot coffee solely because she neglected to add sugar to the coffee.

- 3) Although her mother was once sprayed with scalding coffee for neglecting to add sugar, she never wept. Actually, her father frequently subjected that ignorant woman to physical abuse, curses, and other inhumane treatment. Nevertheless, she maintained her silence (*Tempurung*:80).

Songi, like her mother (Rimpig), sold herself to Ketut Jinah, as did her daughter Sipleg, the fruit of her marriage to Sager. Sipleg was married to her own son, Payuk, through Jinah. Sipleg, like Songi, suffered layered violence, first from her mother (Songi) and father, who raped her, then from her own husband, Payuk, and last from Balinese norms.

- 4) The woman's body abruptly collapsed. She attempted to exit her bedroom. Between his thighs, Sager wears blood ornaments (*Tempurung*: 82).

Subsequently, Sipleg was exiled by her husband and the traditional head to the village area adjacent to the cemetery for 42 days to perform *macaru manca*, despite having recently given birth to her second child. The prevalent occurrence of domestic violence is elucidated through the analysis of the aforementioned data extracts.

This form of gender injustice manifests as negative influences characterized by the detrimental behaviors exhibited by the Pasung and Rimpig families towards their children, sons-in-law, and grandchildren. Indeed, Pasung and Rimpig ought to serve as exemplary role models for their families.

In Balinese society, the violence inflicted by the customary chief through her husband, Payuk, onto Sipleg is apparent in her recommendation that Sipleg conducted the *macaru manca* rite to purify the atmosphere due to the birth of conjoined twins. Payuk, Sipleg's husband, concurred with his plan. In light of Payuk's compliance with the tribal leader, Sipleg executed the *macaru manca*.

- 5) Payuk agreed to perform the *macaru manca* ritual to cleanse all directions in conformity with the agreement. He also gave in to the village chief's recommendation to relocate his wife to the village garden, which was situated near the cemetery (*Tempurung: 138*).

In addition to physical violence, the *Tempurung* novel illustrates actions of verbal violence perpetrated by the Balinese indigenous community and parents. Ida Ayu Pidagda was cursed, insulted, and even wished to suffer a fate worse than that of animals for violating the marriage conventions of the Balinese community, which forbid the union of a foreigner with a member of the same caste.

Stereotyping (negative designation)

In this data on gender injustice, it is evident that Balinese women are referred to as "unlucky women." Her husband, Sager, a patriarchal adherent, negatively characterized her as a bringer of misfortune due to her inability to conceive a son, as illustrated in the following data excerpt.

- 1) This is life without a son. Damn! The man often grumbled and shouted when his children cried. His mother neither spoke nor complained (*Tempurung: 95*).

Songi's labeling by Sager demonstrates his patriarchal perspective that boys are of great importance to the family due to genetic traits that they inherit from their lineage. As a result, in traditional Balinese society, only males are eligible to inherit families' fortunes. Patriarchal culture dictates the behavior of women and places them in a subordinate position to males in this context. On the other hand, daughters are regarded as unimportant, a source of misfortune (bad luck), and a financial burden on the family. This is indicated in the following quote.

- 2) Hey, daughter, why are you busy managing our company? Don't boss around too much, or all of that company will end up being mine (*Tempurung: 206*).

Ironically, Ni Made Arsiki, the mother of Marsawa and Bagus, endorses this unfavorable classification. The following data excerpt plainly demonstrates that she has been labeled as a bringer of misfortune by her mother-in-law, Ketut Jinah, due to her inability to conceive and provide grandchildren.

- 3) Sipleg is a woman who is exceedingly challenging to supervise. Her self-esteem has been compromised. Additionally, she had implanted profound seeds of resentment in her bloodstream as a result of her mother's persistent conviction that the woman was a source of calamity. This is because Sipleg has yet to conceive (*Tempurung: 136*).

Double Burden

The double burden is a form of gender injustice that designates women as homemakers and heads of households. In the *Tempurung* novel, the female characters who are responsible for the management of domestic affairs and the raising of children are a representation of the double burden. In the *Tempurung* novel, the characters who bear the double burden are also depicted as characters who believe they are indeed entitled to do so, as they believe that it is the responsibility of a woman to submit to males. Balinese socio-culture shapes the position of women. Additionally, some victims are compelled to carry a double burden as a result of their inadequate family situation, such as Ni Luh Ketut Jinah, who is compelled to raise Payuk without any assistance from her husband, Korda.

The double burden of gender injustice is the result of the imposition of all domestic household duties on women or vice versa on men. The *Tempurung* novel depicts the emergence of gender injustice in the form of a double burden, which is the consequence of the imposition of all domestic household duties on Balinese women.

Barla perpetrates injustice in the guise of a double burden against Mrs. Barla or Putu Saring. Putu Saring, a wife and mother, is left by Barla to earn a livelihood by opening a small shop. She is also responsible for her domestic responsibilities, which include the education of their two children, Wayan Pasek and I Made Pasek. At the same time, Barla, the spouse, is indifferent and even engages in an affair with a female salon employee.

Ketut Jinah is subjected to the second form of gender inequity, which is a double burden. Jinah is a farmer and pig breeder who works in the fields to provide for her daily necessities. She is also responsible for the care, education, and upbringing of her children.

Marginalization

Women are typically targeted by marginalization, which is a process of exclusion or marginalization of status that occurs in the workplace, household, society, culture, or state. Within this novel, the marginalization of women's duties or positions is perpetuated at the family business or the workplace with the family's support. Putu Ayu Marsawa, his sister, is prohibited by Made Bagus from exercising excessive control over the family business due to his conviction that women are inadequate candidates for managerial roles. In particular, given that Made Bagus asserts that the company will be his inheritance or property. Made Bagus's assertion is readily apparent in the subsequent data text.

Bagus asserted that all firms inherited from his father will become his property is fundamentally significant, as Balinese customary law stipulates that males are the inheritors of familial wealth. The inference is that Balinese women, especially Jinah, are socio-economically excluded and unable to transcend a low socio-economic position (poverty). This economic discrimination is executed by families as the implementing entities of Balinese customary law. This issue is intensified by educational prejudice among all castes, as experienced by Ida Ayu Made Jelangga, which will be addressed on the following page.

The endeavor to marginalize Putu Ayu by Made Bagus is endorsed by her own mother at the familial level. Ironically, the patriarchal behaviors detrimental to Balinese women are, in fact, endorsed by the women themselves. This illustrates the profound and entrenched nature of patriarchal tradition within Balinese society.

In addition to Ayu Marsawa, Ida Ayu Jelangga also experiences marginalization. On this occasion, it was her own mother, Ni Made Arsiki, who perpetrated the criminal act. Arsiki defended and rationalized her son Made Bagus's remarks to her daughter Marsawa.

Subordination

The concept of women as subordinate or secondary to males

is also evident in the narrative of the fictitious work, *Tempurung* novel. Putu Ayu Marsawa endures marginalization and gender inequality manifested as subordination. The patriarchal nature of Made Bagus, acquired from his father and reinforced by his mother, relegates Putu Ayu to a subordinate status, inferior to the male figures (Made Bagus).

In addition to Putu Ayu, the subsequent victim of gender injustice manifested as subordination is Ida Ayu Jelangga. This time, her mother was the offender. Mrs. Jelangga opposes Jelangga's pursuit of further education and compels her to marry a man from the Brahmin caste, as shown in the following table.

Table 2: The Resistance of Balinese Women Against Gender Injustice

Forms of Gender Justice	Characters committed gender injustice	Characters subjected to gender injustice	The character's response is subjected to gender injustice.
Double Burden	Barla	Ni Luh Putu Saring / Bu Barla	Surrender
	Korda	Ni Luh Ketut Jinah	Surrender
Stereotyping/labeling	I Wayan Sager	Ni Luh Nyoman Songi	Surrender/Obey
	Made Bagus	Putu Ayu Marsawa	Resist/fight against
	Ni Luh Ketut Jinah	Sipleg	Resist/fight against
	Parents and families	Ida Ayu (Dayu)	Resist/fight against
	Jelangga's parents/mother	Ida Ayu Jelangga	Resist/fight against
	Parents and the traditional Balinese community	Ida Ayu Made Pidagda	Resist/fight against
Violence	Glatik's biological father	Glatik	Resist/fight against
	I Wayan Sager	Sipleg	Surrender
	I Wayan Sager	Ni Luh Nyoman Songi	Surrender
	Payuk	Sipleg	Resist/fight against
	Ni Luh Wayan Rimpig	Ni Luh Nyoman Songi	Surrender
	I Wayan Pasang	Ni Luh Wayan Rimpig	Surrender
Marginalization	Made Bagus	Putu Ayu Marsawa	Resist/fight against
	NI Made Arsiki	Putu Ayu Marsawa	Resist/fight against

Table 2 indicates that 13 characters perpetrate acts of gender injustice: Barla, Korda, Wayan Sager, Mada Bagus, Ni Luh Ketut Jinah, three parents, Glatik's biological father, Payuk, Ni Luh Wayan Rimpig, Wayan Pasung, and Ni Made Arsiki. Additionally, 10 characters experience gender injustice: Ni Luh Putu Saring (Mrs. Barla), Ni Luh Ketut Jinah, Ni Luh Nyoman Songi, Putu Ayu Marsawa, Sipleg, Dayu, Jelangga, Pidagda, Glatik, and Wayan Rimpig.

Among the 10 characters who faced inequalities because of their gender, 6 demonstrated resistance or defiance: Putu Ayu Marsawa, Sipleg, Dayu, Jelangga, Pidagda, and Glatik. The occurrence of gender injustice and the characters' responses of resistance in the *Tempurung* novel transpire inside their interpersonal connections. The characters mentioned include those who perpetrate gender injustice and others who endure it.

The Relationship between Ketut Jinah and Sipleg

Ketut Jinah designated her son-in-law, Sipleg, as a harbinger of calamity only due to his inability to conceive and produce a male grandchild. This is evidently demonstrated in the extract from text number 10 above. The gender injustice perpetrated by one lady (Ketut Jinah) on another (Sipleg) due to Sipleg's inability to produce a male grandchild illustrates the profound impact of patriarchal norms, reinforced by religious beliefs in Bali, on Balinese women.

In the patriarchal social and cultural framework of Bali, boys are deemed significant as men are believed to transmit stronger or superior features to offspring compared to women. Sipleg counters this negative categorization with quiet, muteness, apathy, neglect, and by distancing herself from her mother-in-law, Ketut Jinah. This analysis is founded on the subsequent material.

- 1) Words held no meaning for her anymore; silence became her only defence (*Tempurung*, 2017:71).

The Relation Between Sager and Sipleg

Sipleg encountered gender inequality through negative labeling (stereotyping) from her mother-in-law and abuse from her biological father (Sager). Prior to her marriage, Sipleg was sexually assaulted by her father (*Tempurung*, 2017:82), as indicated in data excerpt number 6.

The brutality inflicted by his father could only be met with harboring animosity and a desire to fatally stab him in the chest with a crowbar. Nonetheless, radical opposition manifested through verbal and physical actions, such as the act of killing her father, was an impossibility for her given her domestic role as a daughter heavily reliant on her family. Her mother's silence in the face of abuse deepens the trauma and hinders resistance. This elucidation stems from the interpretation of the following text.

- 1) ... Sipleg gradually elevated the crowbar. Her keen gaze scrutinized the body of the man resting tranquilly on the bed. ... the extent of her desire to ram the crowbar into the chest of the man who had abused her body (*Tempurung*: 81).

The Relationship between Payuk and Sipleg

Payuk, the husband of Sipleg, consented to the suggestion of the Balinese customary chief to conduct Mecaru Manca, a village cleansing ceremony, due to Sipleg's delivery of conjoined twins (a male and a female) who, according to legend, were believed to bring calamity to the village. Sipleg must also be exiled to the village area adjacent to the graveyard for 42 days and solicit alms in the village for three consecutive days. This is plainly demonstrated in the piece from paragraph number 7, which Payuk executed as a portrayal of Balinese traditions. Gender injustice manifested through violence and physical coercion is internally opposed.

- 1) Sipleg gradually lifted the crowbar. The man's body, which was lying peacefully on the bed, was stripped by his acute eyes. Her small hands trembled in response to the scorching air. She was eager to plunge the crowbar into the body of the large man she was holding in her embrace. The man who had abused her body (2017: 81).

Sipleg verbally opposes or resists this gender injustice by referring to her spouse, Payuk, as a "fool," as he places a greater emphasis on myths and superstitions and the customary institution that enforces them than on medical knowledge and common sense. The subsequent dispute between Sipleg and Payuk demonstrates Sipleg's resistance to the previously mentioned.

- 2) The face of a stroke victim is rigid. There is no talent, no smile. "You really are a foolish man!" "This is the custom of Sipleg." I am unwilling to challenge it. "If your child dies, what then?" Would you like to assume responsibility? Would you prefer to rewind time or become expectant, as I did? (*Tempurung*:138).

Sipleg's verbal and logical objections failed to hinder Payuk from performing the Mecaru Manca traditional rite. What Sipleg dreaded materialized. During the journey or the ceremonial procession, both of his twin offspring, Wayan Jelantang and Ni Luh Made Jenana, succumbed to death. Subsequent to the interment, the entire village was afflicted by a catastrophic storm.

The association between Ayah Glatik and Ni Luh Nyoman Glatik.

Glatik's father deserted his wife and children, including Glatik, until his wife and three daughters succumbed to disease contracted from his pet birds. Additionally, Glatik's father perpetrated sexual violence against Glatik. This issue is abundantly apparent in extracts (1) and (2).

The brutal crimes perpetrated by his father rendered Glatik incapable of forgiveness. He retaliated by harboring animosity against the man who was his biological father. Her aversion to her father's behavior was so profound that it extended to a general disdain for all males. Her unrestrained animosity spawned rampant speculation that it was Glatik, her

own daughter, who murdered her father. This description is derived from the dialogue between Glatik and her intimate companion Saring.

- 3) Don't force or implore me to include fragments of men into my memory! I detest them! Their odor is very akin to that of the birds that Father maintains! The birds that caused the demise of my mother and siblings! How can you expect me to appreciate the beings that have obliterated my entire existence and aspirations as a human? (*Tempurung*:45-46).
- 4) I became silent. Whenever that exquisite woman spoke of her family, I invariably recoiled. Her animosity towards her father instills in me a fear of gazing into her eyes. I had heard a rumor that Glatik was responsible for the man's death (*Tempurung*: 46).

The resistance exhibited by this Glatik model constitutes severe verbal opposition from a lady espousing a radical feminist worldview.

The association between Made Bagus/Ni Made Arsiki and Putu Ayu Marsawa

Made Bagus, a 15-year-old male, disparaged his elder sister, Putu Ayu, deeming her unfit to oversee the family enterprise. This classification is derived from the fragments of texts numbered (10) and (14). Putu Ayu Marsawa is not only designated as a woman unfit to oversee the family firm, but she is also ostracized due to her exclusion from management participation. The family estate, encompassing the enterprise, is exclusively bequeathed to male offspring. Under Balinese customary law, male offspring are the inheritors of the family's assets. The customary law enacted by the family unit diminishes the socio-economic status of women. Ironically, the activities of Made Bagus (male) are endorsed by Ni Made Arsiki Wulandari, the biological mother of both Putu Ayu and Made Bagus.

Upon listening to the remarks of Made Bagus and his mother, Putu Ayu countered orally by articulating the history of the vision and mission she intended to execute to establish her family's business empire. This is obviously apparent in the conversation between Putu Ayu and her mother.

- 1) "Ma'am, I'm currently pursuing my education abroad. I'm dedicated to my studies. My ambition is to establish an extremely successful commercial empire. We possess capital, but it is not being professionally managed. Our organization requires a leader who possesses vision and innovative ideas. You're abruptly behaving in a manner that is reminiscent of a lecturer. I'm being entirely serious. I'm the individual that this organization has been anticipating."

Nonetheless, Putu Ayu's aspiration to be in charge of the company lacked her mother's endorsement. Her mother favored Made Bagus solely because he was male. This gender-based selection disheartened Putu Ayu. She conveyed her disappointment by protests and inquiries packed with resistance aimed at women, exemplified by her mother.

- 1) What causes women to have difficulties in their interactions with other women? What accounts for the

infrequency of women defending other women? Why do women consistently prefer men and neglect to recognize a woman's capabilities? What motivates women to support men? How can women progress when they face opposition from other women? (*Tempurung*: 25).

The response to all of Putu Ayu's inquiries is that the patriarchal culture is profoundly entrenched in Balinese society, mirroring the patrilineal kinship system. In the Balinese kinship system, familial relationships are determined through the paternal line, with children being considered the father's property. Familial wealth or parental wealth is transmitted through the paternal lineage. Moreover, a primary cause for the elevated position of men in Balinese society exists.

The Dynamics of Each Parent's Relationship with Dayu, Pidagda, and Jelangga

Gender inequality manifests not only among Sudra, Waisya, and Kshatriya women but also affects Brahmana women. Gender inequity affecting Balinese women transcends caste distinctions. Likewise, Brahmana women: Dayu, Pidagda, and Jelangga. The trio encountered gender injustice manifested as coercive assault, forced marriage, and verbal abuse.

Brahmana women face limitations in their rights regarding partner selection (husband) due to the Balinese Customary Marriage Institution (LPA). In Bali, while men may select their brides from any caste, preferably from the same caste, Brahmana women are restricted to marrying Brahmana men, as they will integrate into their husband's family and caste post-marriage. This signifies a patriarchal marriage. Consequently, Dayu, Pidagda, and Jelangga were prohibited by their families from marrying men of an inferior caste. Dayu rejected marrying her selected suitor due to his non-Balinese origin, which was seen shameful. Nonetheless, Dayu contravened both of their restrictions. Dayu confronted a dichotomy: affection or integrity. Dayu contravened the rule by selecting love and marrying a man of her choosing from outside her family, without notifying her father, mother, or relatives (elopement reason). This is plainly demonstrated in the following text extract.

- 1) Afterward, he presented an alternative between life and death. Weighing and urging me to consider, am I prepared to marry you anytime? Life becomes more directed. As if we are confronted with a staircase that we must step up. We ascended the ponderous stairs one by one. My family is opposed to this relationship (*Tempurung*:149).
 - 2) It's considered disgraceful to marry a man from outside the caste. Further, I must determine between dignity and love. I opt for love because I'm aware that its worth surpasses that of dignity (*Tempurung*:149).
 - 3) When I got married, I neither told my mother, father, nor any family members. I stood in for myself (*Tempurung*:151).
- Ida Ayu Made Pidagda, despite being cursed, degraded, and prayed for a fate worse than that of an animal, continued to resist that coercion by marrying a foreigner, despite being challenged by her parents and local traditions.

- 4) The Brahmin woman also ventured to defy her parents by marrying a foreign man. Pidagda, however, was cursed, chastised, and prayed for a fate that was worse than that of an animal, according to the whispers of the villagers (*Tempurung*:401).

Finally, Ida Ayu Made Jelangga was subjected to gender injustice in the form of violence and the marginalization of women's roles. Jelangga's mother opposed or prohibited her from pursuing a scholarship to study at Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB) for two reasons: (1) she believed that women were not required to pursue higher education and (2) she was concerned that Jelangga would marry a man from a different caste. The following conversation between Dayu, Jelangga's acquaintance, and her mother provides the basis for this fictional reality.

- 1) What if she gets involved with a man outside our caste? This is a disgrace. Please, Mother, Dayu. Please talk to Jelangga. What should I say, Mother? Revoke that intention. Women don't have to go to school for a long time (*Tempurung*:153).

The reasons previously mentioned suggest that the marginalization of women's roles in social, economic, and political spheres is a consequence of the fact that these roles either necessitate or at least facilitate the participation of anyone in the nation's development. The subordination or placement of women as secondary citizens under males, who are considered primary, is a consequence of the low quality of women's education. This also results in a lack of independence. High dependence on males, particularly husbands, is indicative of low independence. This is the reason why women are hesitant to report or resist domestic violence (KDRT). In this context, reason (2) is that Brahmana women marry men from outside the Brahmana social class. Jelangga, an independent, academic, and responsible individual, continued his studies at ITB and made adjustments in his thoughts, attitudes, and behavior in opposition to his mother's prohibition, which was a representation of Balinese customary law.

4. Conclusion

The complex nature of gender injustice against Balinese women in the *Tempurung* novel is a result of the weak independence, particularly among Sudra women, low education levels, and customary regulations, particularly those implemented by the Balinese Customary Marriage Institution (LPA), which favor the male gender. Hindu teachings and the hegemony of patriarchal ideology have permeated the minds of the Balinese people, including the minds of Balinese women from all castes.

The resistance models exhibited by characters such as Glatik, Siple, and Sudra are influenced by their social, economic, and educational backgrounds. They originate from impoverished, illiterate families and opt for silence, defiance, hatred, and inner resistance toward mankind. In contrast, Ayu Marsawa, Ida Ayu (Dayu), Ida Ayu Jelangga, and Ida Ayu Pidagda selected radical, actual, and verbal resistance and behavior against Balinese women's customs as their model of resistance.

This study reveals that gender injustice in Oka Rusmini's *Tempurung* stems from Bali's patriarchal and caste-based socio-cultural systems, manifesting as violence, stereotyping, marginalization, subordination, and double burdens. Characters like Glatik, Sipleg, and Sudra women exhibit inner resistance, while Brahmana women like Ayu Marsawa and Jelangga engage in radical and verbal resistance, reflecting varying degrees of agency shaped by education and social status. These findings underscore the novel's critique of systemic oppression and contribute to feminist literary scholarship by highlighting women's resilience within a culturally specific context, offering insights for broader gender equity discussions.

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