The International Journal of Social Sciences World
TIJOSSW is Available Online at:
https://www.growingscholar.org/journal/index.php/TIJOSSW
Vol. 7 No. 1, January- June 2025, Pages: 394~404
DOI: https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.16661297
ISSN 2690-5167
Growingscholar Publisher

Gender Role Struggles in The Perspectives of Balinese Women Workers Migrating to Japan

Ni Luh Putu Ari Sulatri [1], Anak Agung Ngurah Anom Kumbara [2], I Nyoman Darma Putra [3], Ida Ayu Laksmita Sari [4]

Article history:
Received: April 15, 2025; Accepted: June 28, 2025; Displayed Online: June 30, 2025; Published: June 30, 2025

Keywords

Feminism;

Migration;

Gender roles;

Balinese;

Women worker;

Abstract

This study investigates the gender-role struggles faced by Balinese women who migrate to Japan for work. Although transnational migration offers opportunities for financial independence and self-actualization, it simultaneously exposes these women to structural constraints derived from Bali's patrilineal social order and entrenched gender ideologies. Grounded in a qualitative, feminist methodology, the research draws on in-depth interviews with 34 Balinese women employed in Japan through various migration pathways and analyses the data thematically using critical hermeneutics. The findings show that migration sets up tensions between public and domestic roles. While earning a livelihood abroad is increasingly accepted in Balinese society, the enduring expectation that women shoulder primary household responsibilities generates significant emotional and practical dilemmas. To navigate these tensions, the migrants deploy several strategies, including reallocating domestic tasks to relatives back home, sending remittances as symbolic compensation, and practising digital parenting. These strategies reveal that Balinese women's migration is not merely an economic endeavour but also a discursive arena in which traditional gender norms are negotiated, reproduced, and contested within the dynamics of global mobility.

[1] *Udayana University, Denpasar, Indonesia. Email: ari_sulatri@unud.ac.id*
[2] *Udayana University, Denpasar, Indonesia*
[3] *Udayana University, Denpasar, Indonesia*
[4] *Udayana University, Denpasar, Indonesia*

1. Introduction

Globalisation has produced increasingly intricate transnational relationships, one of which is the cross-border flow of labour. In this context, the world now functions as a single labour market, sparking a "race to the bottom" in which states compete by suppressing wages and loosening labour protections (Matsuda, 2002, p. 1). Central to this competition is the search for inexpensive and compliant workers—roles for which women are frequently cast as the ideal labour force (Oishi, 2005, p. 3).

Several studies, notably those conducted by De Puppa (2012) and Nazari (2016), highlight the growing demand for women migrant workers worldwide, especially in low-status, low-skilled, and poorly paid sectors such as small-scale manufacturing and eldercare. This global trend has spurred Balinese women's participation in cross-border labour migration. Japan is a key destination, and Figure 1 summarises placement data for Balinese women there between 2019 and 2024.

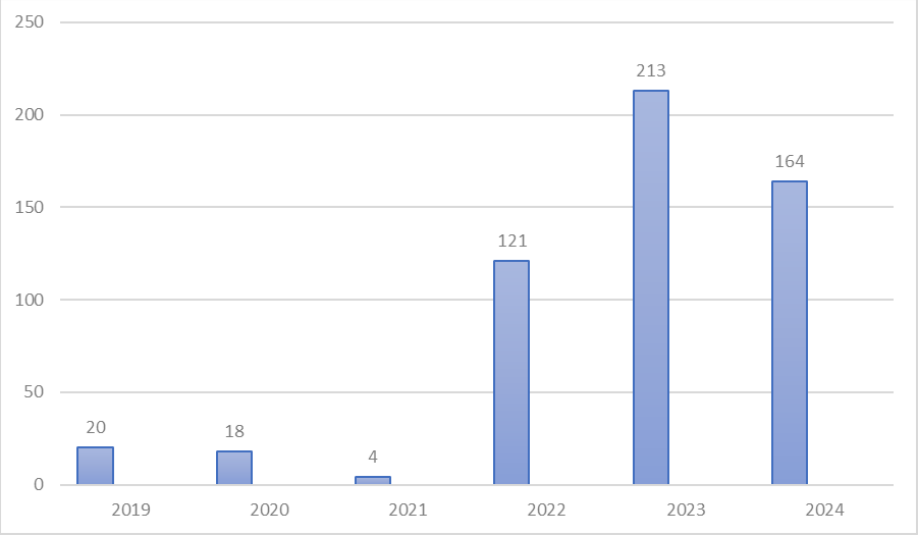


Figure 1. Balinese migrant workers placed in Japan, 2019–2024.
Source: *Badan Perlindungan Pekerja Migran Indonesia (2025)*

Figure 1 shows that placements of Balinese women in Japan fluctuated between 2019 and 2024, yet the overall trajectory suggests considerable room for further growth. Japan's acute labour shortage—rooted in declining fertility rates and a rapidly ageing population—continues to create gaps in manufacturing, services, and elder-care sectors (Nguyen, 2020, p. 16.255). As these demographic pressures mount, policymakers are expected to rely even more heavily on migrant labour, thereby expanding employment pathways for foreign workers, including Balinese women.

For Balinese women, migration to Japan is often viewed as a pathway to empowerment. Research on women's mobility, including studies by Tacoli (1999), Omifolaji (2010), and Mhandu & Ojong (2018), shows that working abroad can yield not only financial autonomy but also opportunities for personal self-actualisation. Yet this promise coexists with substantial gender-specific obstacles. In Bali's patrilineal social order, deeply rooted gender ideologies, and the attendant cultural and social values, continue to define what women are expected to do and be (Sancaya & Sukrawati, 2015, pp. 157-158). Consequently, Balinese women migrants must negotiate empowerment alongside persistent norms that constrain their roles both at home and abroad.

Within Balinese gender ideology, an 'ideal woman' is imagined as one who successfully balances her public engagements with her domestic responsibilities. Although Bali's patrilineal system is often regarded as distinctive, emphasising religious and kin-based rights and obligations rather than overtly subordinating women, international migration nonetheless carries far-reaching implications for Balinese women. Choosing to work abroad inserts spatial, social, and psychological distance between these women and the routines of household life. For married migrants, for instance, everyday childcare is frequently delegated to husbands or extended family members (Yanthy et al., 2015). Such arrangements can attract informal 'sanctions' at home, casting the migrant as a woman who neglects the domestic duties society assigns her. The resulting stigma intensifies the emotional and social struggles faced by Balinese women workers overseas.

The gender-role struggles encountered by Balinese women who migrate to Japan constitute a critical issue that merits systematic investigation. This study therefore concentrates on their lived experiences as they grapple with the formidable task of balancing domestic obligations and public-sphere employment. Such struggles not only illuminate broader sociocultural dynamics, but also underscore the inherent complexity of women's positions within transnational migration processes. Anchored in a feminist paradigm, the analysis adopts a woman-centred perspective (Kumbara, 2021, p. 318), foregrounding the agency of Balinese migrants and the strategies they devise to negotiate the duality of their gendered roles.

2. Methods

This study seeks to generate knowledge that foregrounds the perspectives of Balinese women who migrate to Japan for work. To this end, a qualitative design was adopted, enabling the researcher to "enter the participants' world" and capture their lived realities in depth (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 16). Informants were selected purposively according to criteria that reflect Indonesian and Japanese understandings of migrant labour: (1) Hindu Balinese women with experience working in Japan; (2) at least eighteen years of age, the legal minimum for overseas employment under Indonesian Law No. 18/2017 on the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers, Article 5(a); and (3) a minimum of six months' employment in Japan.

A total of thirty-four Balinese women took part in the study. They had reached Japan through four distinct migration channels: (1) the Technical Intern Training Program (TITP); (2) the Indonesia–Japan Economic Partnership Agreement (IJEPA); (3) the Specified Skilled Worker (SSW) scheme; and (4) a high-skilled foreign-worker track. In feminist research, sample size is not the overriding concern; however, the inclusion of thirty-four participants from varied migration pathways was considered adequate for the present study. The information and stories they contributed furnish a rich, multifaceted portrait of Balinese women's experiences and voices in Japan.

Data collection relied on in-depth—or, in Charmaz (2006, p. 26) terminology—intensive interviews. Fourteen Balinese women employed in Kumamoto Prefecture were interviewed face-to-face, while the remaining participants were reached via video conference. Each session was framed as a conversation, fostering an ideal dynamic in which the informant guided the researcher rather than the reverse (Alston & Bowles, 1998). A semi-structured format was used: although an interview guide provided an initial scaffold, the interviewer remained free to probe emerging issues raised by the participants themselves. Data analysis unfolded in four iterative stages: 1) transcribing the interviews verbatim; 2) identifying broad, overarching themes; 3) conducting a critical hermeneutic reading to distil those themes into categories aligned with the research questions; and 4) integrating empirical evidence with interpretive insight to construct a coherent account of the migrants' experiences.

3. Results and Discussions

The discussion centres on the gender-role struggles of Balinese women who migrate to Japan for work. It is organised around two principal lenses: (1) the tension between domestic and public roles, and (2) the strategies these women deploy to negotiate and navigate the gendered expectations imposed upon them.

Struggles between Domestic and Public Roles

Traditional gender ideology typically assigns women to the domestic sphere and men to the public sphere. Domestic roles revolve around household matters, ranging from caring for family members to maintaining the home, whereas public roles encompass breadwinning and other activities performed outside the household (Somech & Drach-Zahavy, 2016, pp. 1–3). In Balinese society, such ideology does not forbid women from taking on public roles, particularly those that generate income outside the home (Milyan et al., 2021; Rahmawati, 2016). At first glance this arrangement appears egalitarian, yet in practice it is largely illusory. Even when Balinese women are permitted to work, they are simultaneously expected to fulfil domestic duties to a high standard, resulting in a persistent "double burden" (Darmayanti & Budarsa, 2021; Diari & Arianti, 2021).

The idealised image of a Balinese woman rests on her ability to participate in paid work without neglecting domestic obligations. These household duties weigh not only on married women but also on single women, who have internalised the notion that gendered house-work is their responsibility. Accordingly, the choice to migrate to Japan triggers an inner struggle: spatial, social, and psychological distance makes it difficult to perform domestic tasks from afar. One participant expressed this tension:

> "Since I came to Japan, I keep thinking about my mother. Back in Bali I would take her to the market, prepare the *banten* (offerings), and present them during *rainan* (holy days), all that was my job, even while working for pay. Although I have a younger brother, he doesn't really help with those things. Now my father can feel how much my absence matters." (Informant 4, interview, 12 August 2024, author's translation).

Information provided by the participant indicates that, in Balinese families subscribing to traditional gender ideology, household tasks—such as preparing and offering ritual *banten*—are gendered responsibilities that typically fall to daughters. Although the participant has a younger brother, he is not expected to undertake these chores. The participant's decision to migrate to Japan prevents the participant from fulfilling these domestic duties and leaves her anxious, particularly because her mother must now assume sole responsibility for them.

In single-parent households, daughters frequently shoulder a larger share of domestic labour, acting as substitutes for, or supporters of, their mothers. This arrangement creates a difficult dilemma: migrating would prevent them from fulfilling these duties. As one participant observed:

> "My mother died in 2018 from complications of an illness. My older sister is already married, so the household chores and *mebanten* (presenting ritual offerings) are usually handled by my father and me. It makes me sad, because if I leave, my father will be on his own, even though my sister's family lives nearby and my uncle and aunt stay in the house." (Informant 6, interview, 13 August 2024, author's translation).

Feelings of sadness or guilt over leaving domestic duties, as reported by Informant 6, exemplify what Allison Jaggar terms "emotional hegemony". Jaggar argues that emotions are socially constructed and organised to serve the interests of dominant groups (cited in Saraswati, 2017, pp. 2–3). This emotional hegemony shapes the conviction among Balinese women migrating to Japan that domestic work remains their responsibility; consequently, when they cannot perform these tasks, they are prone to experience sadness or a sense of culpability.

In addition to maintaining the household, married Balinese migrant women are expected to fulfil their roles as wives and mothers. The choice to earn a living abroad therefore generates tension because it conflicts with the traditional ideology of familism. This ideology prizes spatial, social, and psychological proximity among family members; such proximity is directly linked to attachment, interdependence, and mutual support (Ihara, Tompkins, and Sonethavilay, 2012). Consistent with familist values, living far from one's spouse and children is widely considered less than ideal within the traditional Balinese family structure.

In their marital role, migration often compels women to maintain long-distance relationships (LDRs) with their spouses. Such arrangements are generally regarded as sub-optimal, because most individuals prefer to reside in the same locale—or at least in close spatial proximity—to their partners (Sahlstein, 2004, p. 690). Accordingly, LDRs are frequently contrasted with proximal relationships, which are deemed more stable and better able to sustain partner commitment (Butler & Goodfriend, 2015, pp. 31–32).

Within Balinese society, proximal relationships are likewise highly valued. Households in which husband and wife live together are considered the ideal arrangement because co-residence is believed to allow each spouse to perform their marital roles most effectively. Consequently, married Balinese women who migrate must come to terms with being unable to enact traditional expectations of wifely presence, as one participant explained:

> "It's definitely hard because I have to keep a long-distance relationship with my husband, but he'll also be working on a cruise ship. Right now, he's still in Bali, waiting for his sailing date. Even though it's tough, we're willing to do the LDR for a while. We're both still young, so while the opportunity is there, we should take it. Once we've earned enough, we can be together again." (Informant 31, interview, 19 February 2025, author's translation)

Maintaining a long-distance relationship is an inevitable consequence of another informant's decision to work in Japan. Although the arrangement is far from ideal, she elected it in the hope of securing greater economic capital through migration. Beyond separation from her husband, she must also live apart from her child, as she explained:

> "I left for Japan right after the *bulan pitung dina* ceremony—the ritual performed when a baby reaches forty-two days. For the entire week before my departure, I cried constantly. On the plane I sat next to some Japanese passengers who kept looking at me until they finally asked, 'Why are you crying?' I replied, 'I have just left my baby behind in Bali.' During my first month in Japan, I cried every day because I missed my child so much." (Informant 31, interview, 19 February 2025, author's translation)

Shortly after arriving in Japan, the participant discovered she was one month pregnant. When her pregnancy reached the sixth month, her employer granted a four-month leave that allowed her to return to Bali, conduct her wedding ceremony, and give birth. The respite was brief: with less than two months of maternity time remaining, she left her newborn in the care of relatives and resumed work in Japan. Although the emotional toll of this decision was profound, she judged continued

overseas employment indispensable to meeting her family's economic needs, a calculation that underscores the difficult trade-offs Balinese women migrants often face between caregiving responsibilities and income generation.

Other participants likewise reported separation from their children as a direct consequence of labour migration to Japan, as illustrated by the testimony below:

> "I asked for her permission when I first entered the training centre and told her I would be working in Japan with her father. As a little girl, she asked, 'Why do you have to go to Japan, Mama?' I simply replied, 'The money will be for you too, **Y** [the child's name].' When she heard that, she became sad." (Informant 16, interview, 6 October 2024, author's translation)

For mothers such as Informants 16 and 31, the decision to work abroad unfolds as an intensely negotiated journey. Each step away from home tests the cultural script of "good motherhood," a script that insists a woman is truly a good mother only when they embody the dominant ideals of intensive, child-centred care (Williamson et al., 2023 p. 101). In the airport lounge, on overnight buses across prefectures, or during split-shift factory breaks, these women weigh the promise of a steadier income against the knowledge that distance will make the daily rituals of nurturing—packing lunches, soothing fevers, attending school ceremonies—impossible to perform. Their stories reveal not a casual abandonment of maternal duty but a calculated act of provision, undertaken in full awareness of the ideological cost.

Traditionally, the labour of childcare rests far more heavily on mothers than on fathers (Petrassi, 2012; Struening, 2000). As a consequence, when fathers with children migrate, they seldom attract the stigma of being "bad fathers." Mothers who migrate, by contrast, are readily branded "bad mothers," considered callous for leaving their children to take up distant work. One participant described this moral censure:

> "My own mother objected, saying, 'Why are you going so far away to work and leave your child? Don't you feel sorry for her?'" (Informant 16, interview, 6 October 2024, author's translation).

The label of "bad mother" surfaces quickly when a woman chooses to migrate for work. Informant 16's story makes the asymmetry plain. Her husband had already left for an overseas job in 2019, when their only child was still in kindergarten. No one in the extended family questioned whether his absence might diminish his role as a father; the arrangement was taken for granted. Years later, when she in turn announced her plan to join him abroad, the family's reaction was starkly different, suddenly her maternal devotion became a matter for scrutiny and doubt. The contrast reveals how paternal absence is normalised, while maternal absence is problematised and pathologised.

This double standard is rooted in a gender ideology that locates women primarily inside the home. In Bali, female participation in the public sphere, especially as wage earners, is not outright forbidden, yet it comes with a non-negotiable proviso: a woman may step outside only if she continues to meet her "first" obligation inside. When migration stretches the spatial distance between workplace and household to thousands of kilometres, that balancing act becomes physically impossible. What follows is an everyday struggle in which Balinese women bear the emotional weight of hegemonic expectations they can no longer physically satisfy, even as they pursue the economic opportunities that migration affords.

Negotiating Gender Roles

Within Balinese society, a gender ideology that requires women to sustain domestic duties even while engaging in paid work legitimises prevailing norms about who should do what. Gender roles operate on two levels: descriptively, they shape perceptions of what women and men typically do; prescriptively, they dictate what women and men ought to do (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Together, these functions forge a communal consensus about appropriate behaviour for each gender category. When women step outside those boundaries, they expose themselves to backlash, negative evaluations and treatment that reinforce the status quo (Glick & Fiske, 1996).

Balinese women who migrate to Japan for work are, by definition, crossing the locally sanctioned boundary of gendered obligation. Because their departure disrupts the communal consensus on who should perform domestic tasks, they must devise strategies to pre-empt or mitigate the negative judgements that follow their non-compliance. As Amanatullah and Morris (2010, p. 256) observe, women recognise that gender roles are not easily altered, though they are not immutable, so the aim is less to overturn the consensus than to renegotiate how migration can coexist with the responsibilities that consensus assigns to them.

Among the Balinese migrants in this study, such negotiation typically combines delegation with the economic convertibility of remittances. Delegation shifts day-to-day household obligations to trusted relatives at home, while remittances compensate those relatives for their added labour (Castellani & Martín-Díaz, 2019, p. 11). One participant explained how this arrangement works in practice:

> "For ritual tasks like preparing the *banten* (offerings), I asked my aunt in Tabanan to handle them before I left. She takes care of the bigger holy day, major religious days, such as the *Galungan* festival and the ceremony at our family shrine. My older brother is a man; he doesn't really understand the *banten*. So, I always send money to my aunt for these expenses." (Informant 8, interview, 18 August 2024, author's translation)

The informant's account underscores how specific domestic duties, preparing and presenting ritual are reserved almost exclusively for women in Balinese households. With both parents deceased, she lives in Denpasar with only her older brother. She has internalised responsibility for the offerings and takes for granted that her brother is neither expected nor equipped to perform them. Her decision to migrate compelled her to delegate this ritual work to another female relative, her aunt. Delegation, however, is only half the strategy: she converts her new earning power into remittances that compensate the aunt for assuming the task. In this way, money becomes a negotiated stand-in for the migrant's physical presence, allowing her to fulfil gendered obligations from afar. A similar dynamic emerged in the narrative of another participant as follows.

> "All my siblings are brothers, so now that I'm here [in Japan] there's no one left to help my mother, especially during the holy days. That's why, every holy day, I make sure to send her money. I want her to have enough so she isn't short of cash, even though she's already tired from preparing the ceremony. If the money is sufficient, at least the fatigue eases a little—ha-ha." (Informant 24, interview, 26 October 2024, author's translation)

Across the women's stories, remittances emerge as a pivotal bargaining tool, an economic proxy for the domestic labour their bodies can no longer deliver in person. As Cohen (2011, p. 103) reminds us, remittances transcend monetary exchange: they are laden with cultural meaning and social obligation. The cash that travels home keeps relational threads intact, signalling continued participation in family life even from thousands of kilometres away. In the gender-role negotiations described here, Balinese migrants deploy remittances as a form of "barter," trading earned income

for the domestic tasks they can no longer perform, and thus maintaining their standing within the moral economy of kinship.

For married Balinese migrants who are also mothers, gender-role negotiation extends to a far more intricate web of delegated duties, most notably the daily care of children. As Fauk et al. (2024, pp. 1–2) observe, Indonesian women working overseas typically entrust childcare to their closest social ties—husbands, parents, or other relatives—during their absence. The same pattern emerges among Balinese participants, as the following testimony illustrates.

> "My child is looked after jointly by my husband and my own parents. The baby stays in my natal home, but my husband comes over every day to visit. At his place there is only his elderly grandmother, my father-in-law passed away years ago and his mother has remarried. My husband isn't yet very experienced with infants, so we decided it would be safer for the baby to remain with my parents." (Informant 31, interview, 19 February 2025, author's translation)

The participant emphasised that primary childcare has been delegated to her husband and her own parents, yet she has crafted a second layer of negotiation to remain actively involved from Japan. Harnessing the affordances of contemporary information-and-communication technologies, she engages in digital parenting: daily video calls, real-time messaging, and remote decision-making about feeding routines, medical appointments, and religious milestones. As she put it:

> "Every day after I finish work, I call (usually video call) my child. Even though I'm far away now, I still keep track and make sure of her development: what new things she can do, how she is progressing, I monitor all of that." (Informant 31, interview, 19 February 2025, author's translation)

The informant's story illustrates how globalisation, more precisely, the technoscape that Appadurai (1993) describes, compresses geographic distance between migrants and the family members they leave behind. Information-and-communication technologies such as phone calls and video chats serve as her chosen instruments for negotiating physical absence in childcare, enabling what Bacigalupe & Lambe (2011, p. 17) call a "sense of co-presence." In Licoppe (2004, pp. 135-136) terms, these digital exchanges create connected relationships in which the boundary between being away and being present becomes increasingly porous.

By choosing to migrate, the informant directly challenges the hegemonic discourse of the "good-mother ideology," which positions mothers as primary, physically proximate caregivers (Williamson et al., 2023). Yet she does not abandon the ideal outright; instead, she renegotiates and re-articulates what it means to be a "good mother" through digital means. By engaging in day-to-day childcare virtually—via video calls, messaging apps, and real-time updates—she crafts a technologically mediated form of presence that sustains her maternal role across distance. As Bacigalupe and Lambe (2011, pp.17–18) note, information-and-communication technologies have become pivotal tools for migrant women seeking to remain active participants in their children's lives and to maintain connected relationships with those left at home.

The informant's digital caregiving is best understood as an agentive bargain, an artful manipulation of norms designed to re-cast herself as a "good mother" even when full compliance with gendered expectations is impossible (Silva & Bartolozzi Ferreira, 2023, pp. 11-12). By orchestrating daily video calls and remote decision-making, she not only satisfies practical childcare needs but also advocates for a revised maternal identity that proclaims, "I remain an ideal mother, even while abroad." The point is underscored in the following excerpt.

> I left when my child was in fifth grade. By then she was already quite independent and no longer relied on me for every little thing. Both of my parents-in-law had retired, so they could focus on looking after her and take her to school and private lessons. Even so, I never relinquished my responsibilities entirely, especially those related to her schooling. I still handle the communication with her classroom teacher and her private tutors, so I can keep track of how she is doing academically." (Informant 16, interview, 6 October 2024, author's translation)

The informant's narrative illustrates how, as a migrant woman, she consciously negotiates an alternative gender script. By factoring her child's age into the timing of her departure, delegating day-to-day caregiving to relatives, and sustaining a digital, long-distance presence, she deploys a suite of symbolic tactics aimed at re-articulating the good-mother ideal. These tactics function as a form of self-advocacy, signalling that, even while abroad, she remains committed to meeting the social expectations attached to motherhood. Such expectations, rooted in gender, operate as a subtle pedagogical force: they compel compliance through norms that feel natural rather than imposed (Silva & Bartolozzi Ferreira, 2023, pp. 1-9).

Across cultural landscapes, local norms around gender possess the power to generate and regenerate the expectations society assigns to each gendered group. The roles attached to women, in particular, crystallise the shifting dynamics of social relations, continually mediated by external conditioning and lived subjectivity (Silva & Bartolozzi Ferreira, 2023, p. 5). For Balinese women, these forces are not easily shed; wherever they go, they carry the community's collective representations and aspirations with them, shaping how they move through the world and how they present themselves as individuals.

In striving to meet the collective expectations attached to womanhood, Balinese migrants deploy negotiation as their principal strategy for bridging the geographic, social, and psychological distances created by migration. Their experiences in Japan reveal how women, long positioned at the centre of gendered domesticity, become complicit in that very system through subtle, symbolic means. Delegating household tasks, "bartering" responsibilities via remittances, and re-articulating the good-mother ideal through digital parenting are all negotiation tactics that ultimately reproduce the gender order, re-affirming the notion that domestic work properly belongs to women. Thus, when physical presence is impossible, these migrants feel compelled to negotiate new arrangements that allow them to meet obligations and responsibilities still understood as uniquely feminine.

4. Conclusion

This study reveals that Balinese women who migrate to Japan navigate a strikingly complex terrain of culturally inscribed gender expectations, above all the imperative to balance domestic and public roles. Their struggle stems from a collision between long-standing gender ideology, which designates women as primary custodians of the household, and the lived reality of spatial separation from family and community. Migration, therefore, is not merely an economic venture; it becomes a site of profound emotional and social contestation. As migrant workers, these women must continually manage guilt, social stigma, and the emotional weight of being absent from domestic duties that local norms still define as unequivocally female responsibilities.

Yet, even within this dilemma, Balinese women are far from passive. They forge negotiation strategies that keep a symbolic hand on the domestic tiller: delegating household rituals to female kin, converting responsibility into remittances, and sustaining child-rearing through digital co-presence. These manoeuvres exemplify female agency in the face of intricate cultural demands and reveal how migrant women actively reinterpret gendered meanings amid transnational mobility. At the same time, the very success of these strategies underscores a paradox: rather than abandoning

the traditional assignment of household labour to women, they reproduce it in newly flexible, border-spanning forms that continue to mark the domestic sphere as a distinctly feminine domain.

Acknowledgment

The authors would like to express their sincere gratitude to *The International Journal of Social Sciences World (TIJOSSW)* for the opportunity to publish this work. Special thanks are also extended to Udayana University for its continuous academic support and research facilitation.

References

Alston, M., & Bowles, W. (1998). *Research for Social Workers: an Introduction to Methods*. Allen and Unwin.

Amanatullah, E. T., & Morris, M. W. (2010). Negotiating Gender Roles: Gender Differences in Assertive Negotiating Are Mediated by Women's Fear of Backlash and Attenuated When Negotiating on Behalf of Others. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *98*(2), 256–267. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0017094

Bacigalupe, G., & Lambe, S. (2011). Virtualizing Intimacy: Information Communication Technologies and Transnational Families in Therapy. *Family Process*, *50*(1), 12–26. www.FamilyProcess.org

Badan Perlindungan Pekerja Migran Indonesia. (2025). *Statistik Layanan Penempatan Pekerja Migran Indonesia*. Kementerian Perlindungan Pekerja Migran Indonesia/Badan Perlindungan Pekerja Migran Indonesia. https://bp2mi.go.id/dashboard-publik

Butler, A. C., & Goodfriend, W. (2015). Long distance vs Proximal Romantic Relationships: Predicting Commitment, Investments, and Bias. *Modern Psychological Studies*, *20*(2), 31–40. https://scholar.utc.edu/mps/vol20/iss2/4

Castellani, S., & Martín-Díaz, E. (2019). Re-writing the Domestic Role: Transnational Migrants' Households Between Informal and Formal Social Protection in Ecuador and in Spain. *Comparative Migration Studies*, *7*(1), 1–18. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-018-0108-0

Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis* (2nd ed.). Sage Publication.

Cohen, J. H. (2011). Migration, Remittances, and Household Strategies. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *40*, 103–114. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-anthro-081309-145851

Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (2008). *Basics of Qualitative Research : Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory* (3rd ed.). Sage Publication.

Darmayanti, A., & Budarsa, G. (2021). Peran Ganda Perempuan Bali di Masa Pandemi Covid-19. *Jurnal Socius: Journal of Sociology Research and Education*, *8*(1), 1–12. https://doi.org/10.24036/scs.v8i1.209

De Puppa, F. Della. (2012). Being Part of the Family: Social and Working Conditions of Female Migrant Care Workers in Italy. *NORA - Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*, *20*(3), 182–198. https://doi.org/10.1080/08038740.2012.685494

Diari, K. P. Y., & Arianti, N. L. S. (2021). Kritik Sastra Feminis dalam Pupulan Cerpen Luh Jalir Karya Mas Ruscita Dewi. *Subasita: Jurnal Sastra Agama Dan Pendidikan Bahasa Bali*, *2*(1), 1–10.

Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (1996). The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory: Differentiating Hostile and Benevolent Sexism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *70*(3), 491–512.

Ihara, E. S., Tompkins, C. J., & Sonethavilay, H. (2012). Culture and Familism: An Exploratory Case Study of a Grandparent-headed Household. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*, *10*(1), 34–47. https://doi.org/10.1080/15350770.2012.645737

Kumbara, A. A. N. A. (2021). *Paradigma Teori-Teori Studi Budaya*. Swasta Nulus.

Matsuda, M. (2002). *Japan: an Assessment of the International Labour Migration Situation The Case of Female Labour Migrants*. Gender Promotion Programme International Labour Office.

Mhandu, J., & Ojong, V. B. (2018). Virtuous Life and Enjoyable Life: An Overview of the well-being of Zimbabwean Migrant Women Hairdressers in South Africa. *Gender & Behaviour*, 1168–11694.

Milyan, Idaman, & Sahili, L. O. (2021). Analisis Sosial Budaya Terhadap Partisipasi Angkatan Kerja Wanita Dalam Meningkatkan Kesejahteraan Keluarga. *Intelektiva: Jurnal Ekonomi, Sosial, Humaniora*, *3*(1), 147–157.

Nazari, S. (2016). Destination of International Female Migrant Workers. *Review of European Studies*, *9*(1), 43–59. https://doi.org/10.5539/res.v9n1p43

Nguyen, D. T. T. (2020). The Effects and Solutions of Population Aging on the Japanese Economy and Society. *International Journal of Mechanical and Production Engineering Research and Development*, *10*(3), 16255-16260. www.tjprc.org

Oishi, N. (2005). *Women in Motion: Globalization, State Policies, and Labor Migration in Asia*. Stanford University Press.

Omifolaji, V. (2010). Nigerian Women in the Diaspora in Pursuit of Self-actualization: A Case Study of Three Women in Britain, USA and Australia. *Practice Reflexions*, *5*(1), 17–41.

Petrassi, D. (2012). 'For me, the Children Come First': A Discursive Psychological Analysis of How Mothers Construct Fathers' Roles in Childrearing and Childcare. *Feminism and Psychology*, *22*(4), 518–527. https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353512442928

Rahmawati, N. N. (2016). Perempuan Bali dalam Pergulatan Gender (Kajian Budaya, Tradisi, dan Agama Hindu). *Jurnal Studi Kultural*, *1*(1), 58–64. http://journals.an1mage.net/index.php/ajsk

Sahlstein, E. M. (2004). Relating at a Distance: Negotiating being Together and Being Apart in Long-distance Relationships. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, *21*(5), 689–710. https://doi.org/10.1177/0265407504046115

Sancaya, I. D. G. W., & Sukrawati, C. I. (2015). Demitifikasi Ideologi Gender dalam Dua Teks Bhudistis dalam Sastra Bali Tradisional. *Jumantara* , *6*(1), 150–201.

Saraswati, L. A. (2017). The Gender Politics of Human Waste and Human-as-Waste: Indonesian Migrant Workers and Elderly Care in Japan. *Gender, Work and Organization*, *24*(6), 594–609. https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12183

Silva, E. M. da, & Bartolozzi Ferreira, E. (2023). Gender Habitus: Tensioning the Concept of Habitus in Bourdieu. *Pro-Posições*, *34*, 1–21. https://doi.org/10.1590/1980-6248-2020-0045en

Somech, A., & Drach-Zahavy, A. (2016). Gender Role Ideology. In N. A. Naples (Ed.), *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Gender and Sexuality Studies* (pp. 1–3). John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118663219.wbegss205

Struening, K. (2000). Fatherless Families: Rousseau and the Contemporary Defense of the Gender-structured Family. *Women and Politics*, *21*(1), 85–106. https://doi.org/10.1300/J014v21n01_04

Tacoli, C. (1999). International Migration and the Restructuring of Gender Asymmetries: Continuity and Change among Filipino Labor Migrants in Rome. *International Migration Review*, *33*(3), 658–682.

Williamson, T., Wagstaff, D. L., Goodwin, J., & Smith, N. (2023). Mothering Ideology: A Qualitative Exploration of Mothers' Perceptions of Navigating Motherhood Pressures and Partner Relationships. *Sex Roles*, *88*(1–2), 101–117. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-022-01345-7

Yanthy, P. S., Dewi, L. G. L. K., & Juwitasari, W. C. (2015). Quality of Life (QOL) of Balinese Women Working in Spa Tourism Industry. *Journal of Business on Hospitality and Tourism* , *1*(1).