

BALINESE WOMEN IN GASTRONOMIC TOURISM: REDEFINING ROLES AND CULTURAL CAPITAL IN A GLOBALIZING INDUSTRY

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Article Info	Abstract
<p>Keywords: Balinese women, gastronomic tourism, cultural capital, gender roles, social construction.</p> <p>Received: July 17, 2025</p> <p>Approved: November 17, 2025</p> <p>Published: December 05, 2025</p>	<p>This study aims to identify and analyze the construction of Balinese women's roles in sustainable gastronomic tourism in Gianyar Regency. It begins by addressing the underexplored issue of how Balinese women negotiate and redefine their gendered positions within a rapidly globalizing tourism context. Using a qualitative interpretive approach, this research applies a thematic interpretation and constant comparative method supported by role theory, social construction theory, and Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social practice. This research involved eight purposively selected female culinary entrepreneurs. Data were collected through in-depth interviews, participatory observation, and visual documentation. The findings reveal that Balinese women construct their roles in four key categories: cultural initiators, cultural instructors, adaptive professionals, and cultural curators. They successfully convert domestic <i>habitus</i> and cultural capital into economic and symbolic capital within the tourism arena. These findings demonstrate how women's agency bridges domestic and public spheres while fostering gender equality, cultural resilience, and sustainable tourism. Despite facing dual role burdens and structural constraints, their adaptive strategies have generated multidimensional impacts across economic, social, and cultural domains. This study contributes theoretically by integrating three sociological frameworks to explain role transformation, practically by offering insights for gender-responsive tourism development policies in line with the sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).</p>

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INTRODUCTION

Balinese women play a central role in the development of gastronomic tourism, particularly in Gianyar Regency. Since the early growth of this sector, women have been key actors in shaping the local culinary ecosystem ranging from opening modest food stalls to becoming cooking class instructors and family-based entrepreneurs. This role places them not only in the realm of economic activities but also in the creation of authentic tourism experiences imbued with local cultural nuances (Komalasari et al., 2024; Pitanatri, 2016; Yanthy, 2016).

However, the growing visibility of women in gastronomic tourism does not always translate into fair recognition or decision-making power within the industry. Despite their substantial contributions, women’s roles in the formal structures of the tourism industry remain underacknowledged. Many are still relegated to technical or domestic positions rather than recognized as decision-makers (Shantika et al., 2021), a pattern echoed in various global contexts.

This pattern is not unique to Bali but resonates across various contexts worldwide. In Greece, for instance, creative women significantly shape the gastronomic image of destinations, yet continue to face structural gender-based discrimination (Poulaki et al., 2022). Similarly, in Spain, while women serve as key custodians of culinary heritage, particularly with PDO/PGI products, they are often excluded from the official tourism narratives (García-Henche et al., 2024). A parallel condition is found in Indonesia, as demonstrated by the women of Baluwarti, Surakarta, who preserve traditional foodways through festivals and local eateries (Budiningtyas & Turgarini, 2019).

In contrast, women’s cooperatives in Turkey and ethnic minority communities in Vietnam have shown more inclusive and empowering practices by transforming local culinary heritage into collective tourism assets (Akmese et al., 2024; Dang & Phan, 2023). This illustrates that women’s engagement in gastronomic tourism involves both structural challenges and creative strategies that vary across cultural settings. The comparative overview of these patterns is summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Comparative Overview of Women’s Roles in Gastronomic Tourism

Country	Typical Roles	Main Barriers	Adaptive / Empowerment Strategies	Reference
Greece	Creative entrepreneurs shaping destination images	Gender-based discrimination; limited leadership access	Networking through local associations; informal mentorship	Poulaki et al. (2022)
Spain	Custodians of heritage foods (PDO/PGI products)	Exclusion from official tourism narratives and policies	Community-based initiatives; culinary education programs	García-Henche et al. (2024)
Turkey	Members of women’s cooperatives valorizing local gastronomy	Limited access to capital and visibility	Cooperative-based empowerment and shared ownership	Akmese et al. (2024)
Vietnam	Ethnic minority women as cultural educators and guides	Market inequalities; limited institutional support	Mobilizing social and cultural capital for empowerment	Dang & Phan (2023)



Indonesia (Bali)	Cultural curators and economic innovators in gastronomic tourism	Patriarchal norms; dual domestic–public burden	Role negotiation, community solidarity, and cultural entrepreneurship	Shantika et al. (2021)
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Source: Research Data, 2025

As shown in Table 1, women’s participation in gastronomic tourism reflects recurring patterns of marginalization but also diverse forms of agency and adaptation. In the Balinese context, women’s strategies, such as role negotiation, community solidarity, and cultural entrepreneurship, reflect a synthesis of local values and adaptive innovation. These comparative features underscore the global nature of gendered challenges while situating Bali as a distinctive case where cultural identity and empowerment intersect.

In Bali, women’s role in gastronomic tourism is strongly connected to the island’s culinary and cultural traditions. Balinese cuisine is not only about eating but also a way to express social values, spirituality, and identity (Agung & Suryawati, 2024). Food is deeply tied to rituals and community life, and every stage—from farming and spice blending to serving—carries cultural meaning (Sartini, 2018; Sukerti & Marsiti, 2020). Balinese women are the main keepers of this knowledge. Gastronomic tourism in Bali has become a space where women act as guardians and creators of culinary heritage (Giri Adnyani, 2023). Through food stalls, cooking classes, and agro-tourism, they not only serve food but also share stories and traditions through each dish. Many women also run businesses and guide visitors through these experiences (García-Henche et al., 2024; Rocio Beltran Rueda & Alexander Mora Forero, 2022). Yet, their contributions are still not fully recognized in policies and public narratives, which often remain male-centered and profit-driven (Gibson et al., 2017; Khoo & Guan, 2025; Silva & Couto, 2023).

These realities show that Balinese women’s participation in gastronomic tourism involves more than economic activity; it reflects a negotiation of social positions and cultural meanings shaped by gender and tradition, which requires a theoretical lens to explain how such roles are constructed, challenged, and transformed.

Building on these empirical observations, it is essential to interpret women’s experiences through a theoretical lens that explains how such roles are formed, negotiated, and transformed. According to role theory (Biddle, 1986), social roles shaped by norms and expectations tides to individuals’ social positions. Balinese women have long been associated with domestic obligations, yet the expansion of gastronomic tourism enables them to reinterpret these boundaries and convert culinary knowledge into symbolic and economic capital.

Nevertheless, academic studies on gastronomic tourism in Bali, particularly those that critically examine the roles of women, remain scarce. Most existing research tends to focus on tourist experiences or gastronomic products, such as cooking classes and culinary festivals (Bell, 2015; Bestari et al., 2022), without delving into the social construction of women’s roles or their strategies for navigating patriarchal structures and global market demands.

Given this research gap, this study attempts to fill it by examining how Balinese women construct, negotiate, and transform their roles within the field of gastronomic tourism. Conducted in Gianyar Regency, Bali, during 2023–2024, this study involved women entrepreneurs managing family-based culinary businesses, cooking classes, and agro-tourism ventures as representative cases. This study contributes to understanding how

women's cultural institutions and everyday practices redefine gender-based work in tourism while reinforcing local identity and cultural sustainability.

In response to these issues, this article aims to explore two central research questions: first, what roles do Balinese women assume within the sphere of gastronomic tourism?; and second, how are these roles socially constructed, negotiated, and transformed within the dynamic interplay of local cultural values, patriarchal social structures, and global market forces? To address these questions, this study adopts an interpretive-qualitative approach, drawing on three key theoretical frameworks: role theory (Biddle, 1986), the social construction of reality theory (Berger & Luckmann, 1966), and Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social practice (1990).

These three theories are combined to capture the complexity of women's experiences in gastronomic tourism from different yet complementary perspectives. Role Theory explains how women's positions and expectations shift between domestic and public spheres; the Social Construction framework shows how these roles are produced, legitimized, and maintained in everyday life; and Bourdieu's Theory of Practice reveals how cultural knowledge and *habitus* are transformed into social and symbolic capital within the tourism field. Together, these perspectives provide a comprehensive view of how structure and agency interact in shaping women's participation in Bali's gastronomic tourism, allowing the study to explore not only women's economic involvement but also the deeper cultural and social transformations behind it.

By employing this approach, women are not merely perceived as economic agents driving the tourism industry, but as cultural actors who actively reshape and rearticulate their roles, social positions, and symbolic meanings amid the broader socio-cultural transformations brought about by tourism. As such, this study offers both theoretical and empirical insights into the intersections of gender, culture, and tourism, highlighting the transformative potential of women's agency in reconfiguring traditional roles within a globalizing context.

METODOLOGY

Research Approach

This study employs a qualitative approach to explore the meanings, lived experiences, and social strategies of Balinese women involved in gastronomic tourism. This approach allows for a nuanced examination of the dynamics of women's roles within the intersections of local cultural traditions, patriarchal social structures, and the demands of the global tourism market.

Research Location and Subject

This research was conducted in Gianyar Regency, Bali, which was purposively selected due to its reputation as the epicenter of Balinese gastronomic tourism and its recognition by the Indonesian government as the prototype of a national gastronomic destination. Gianyar represents a microcosm of Balinese cultural tourism where women play significant roles both in domestic and public domains.

Eight female informants were purposively selected to reflect variations in age, educational background, and types of gastronomic involvement such as traditional food stalls, cooking classes, agro-tourism, and food festivals. Despite the relatively small



number of participants, this sample size is consistent with qualitative research practices emphasizing depth over breadth, and data saturation was achieved when no new categories emerged.

Data Collection and Research Procedures

Data were collected through in-depth interviews, participatory observation, and visual documentation. Each interview lasted 60-90 minutes, and was conducted in the Indonesian and Balinese languages with verbal consent and later transcribed. Observation took place during daily business and cultural activities to capture women's practices and interactions in gastronomic settings.

Participants in this study are publicly known business owners and culinary actors who regularly interact with tourists. Their real names are used to maintain contextual accuracy, as their professional identities are already public. No personal or sensitive information is disclosed, and all interviews were conducted by respecting research ethics and employing cultural sensitivity to Balinese communities.

Data Analysis Techniques and Analytical Framework

The data were analysed using a thematic interpretation framework combined with the constant comparative method. Analysis proceeded in three coding stages: open coding to identify initial concepts, axial coding to connect categories and subcategories, and selective coding to develop core themes that reflected the central phenomena. Each piece of new data was systematically compared with previous findings until data saturation was reached. The process was conducted reflexively to understand women's real experiences in gastronomic tourism.

To frame the analysis, three interrelated theoretical perspectives were applied. First, Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social practice (1990), particularly the concepts of *habitus*, *capital* (economic, cultural, social, symbolic), and *field*, was used to examine how women mobilize culinary knowledge and cultural values within tourism arenas. Second, the social construction theory of Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1966) provided a lens for understanding how gender roles are shaped, legitimized, and internalized within Balinese social structures. Third, role theory (Biddle, 1986) offered insights into how women negotiate and transform their roles across the domestic-public, traditional-modern, and local-global continuum. These three frameworks complement one another: role theory helps to identify the shifting expectations women face, social construction theory explains how these new roles gain legitimacy and become part of everyday identity, while Bourdieu's practice theory reveals how cultural knowledge and values are transformed into symbolic and economic capital within the tourism field. By combining them, the study goes beyond descriptive accounts and provides a deeper interpretation of power relations, cultural meanings, and women's agency in shaping new socio-cultural spaces through gastronomic tourism.

FINDINGS

Balinese Women's Participation in Gastronomic Tourism

Balinese women have played a pivotal role in shaping the history and development of gastronomic tourism in Gianyar Regency. From the early stages, they emerged as trailblazers by founding home-based eateries that later became culinary landmarks, such as



Ibu Oka's Babi Guling, Nasi Ayam Kedewatan, and Murni's Warung. These entrepreneurial efforts not only reflect their economic contributions but also serve as cultural expressions that embody local values such as *menyama braya* (kinship and communal harmony) and familial solidarity.

As the tourism sector evolved, women's roles expanded beyond the kitchen into the public domain as agro-tourism guides, cooking class facilitators, and managers of community-based enterprises. Through these evolving roles, Balinese women continuously negotiated their position between household responsibility, cultural expectation, and the demands of the competitive global market.

The following subsection presents four key empirical categories identified through the thematic analysis, namely cultural initiators, cultural instructors, adaptive professionals, and cultural curators. Each category captures a distinct yet interconnected dimension of women's participation, demonstrating how Balinese women translate domestic expertise and cultural knowledge into economic, educational, and symbolic capital within the field of gastronomic tourism.

1. Balinese Women as Cultural Initiators in Gastronomic Tourism

Beyond their foundational role in the development of gastronomic tourism in Gianyar Regency, Balinese women have also emerged as cultural initiators who translate local knowledge and tradition into innovative culinary practices. Their efforts are particularly evident in the establishment of family-based culinary enterprises that have transformed into culturally significant gastronomic landmarks. Ni Made Nani (widely known as Menjuwel), the owner of Warung Nasi Ayam Menjuwel, exemplifies how Balinese women strategically integrate domestic expertise, cultural literacy, and market awareness to craft authentic culinary experiences. Other prominent figures include Ni Luh Made Puspawati (Paon Bali Cooking Class) and Citra Dewi (D'Alas Warung), whose entrepreneurial initiatives not only bolster the local economy but also reframe traditional Balinese cuisine as a living cultural expression that continues to evolve, adapt, and thrive amid the shifting currents of global tourism.

Menjuwel recalled, "In the beginning, my *warung* was small, I only sold chicken rice for schoolchildren. Now, many public figures and celebrities have come here, including Mr. Ganjar Pranowo and Bondan Winarno, they have eaten here, too." A similar experience was shared by Ni Luh Made Puspawati: "In 2009, this kind of thing didn't exist... I talked with my husband and said, 'Why don't we try running a cooking class at home?'" Likewise, Citra Dewi, the founder of D'Alas Warung, recounted, "We were pioneers, there were no competitors here at the time. So we opened a small *warung* using standard household utensils. It was a simple idea at first to make sure this land wasn't sold and could instead benefit the family."

These narratives underscore that women's involvement in culinary enterprise initiation, whether consciously or not, functions as a form of cultural preservation and family empowerment. For instance, Warung Menjuwel is not only known for the taste of its food, but also for the emotional and cultural experiences it offers, conveyed through family storytelling and the warm, distinctive hospitality of the Balinese people. The active involvement of children, in-laws, and other family members in the management of the *warung* (local eatery) exemplifies a model of intergenerational regeneration of cultural values and skills within the family unit.



Meanwhile, Citra Dewi has utilized inherited land and reimagined it as a productive space that is both ecological and educational. By maintaining the sustainability of the environment and the social structure of the village, she transformed agricultural land into a site of recreation and learning that introduces the local ways of life to global visitors. These examples indicate that the creation of women-led culinary businesses is grounded in practical family needs yet produces long-term cultural and ecological benefits for the community.

The role of women as cultural initiators is also reflected in their educational strategies. Ni Luh Made Puspawati, for example, designed her cooking class not merely as a space for learning recipes but as an immersive introduction to the Balinese culture. Her program includes insights into the architecture of the traditional Balinese house, the structure of the Hindu belief systems, and the symbolic meanings embedded in local ingredients. She explained, "We always start with a market tour, and then give a simple explanation about the Balinese house, such as what's inside, who sleeps where, the function of each space, and the basic architecture." In this way, the kitchen is no longer just a site of domestic reproduction but is transformed into a cultural stage that bridges local narratives with global audiences.

2. Balinese Women as Cultural Instructors

The evolving role of Balinese women in gastronomic tourism extends beyond the establishment of culinary enterprises. With the emergence of participatory tourism models, women have increasingly taken on strategic roles as cultural instructors most visibly through cooking classes, agro-educational tours, and direct engagement with visitors. In this capacity, women are no longer merely providers of food or agricultural products. Instead, they serve as facilitators of knowledge, custodians of local values, and active cultural intermediaries who bridge intercultural understanding ([Komalasari et al., 2024](#); [Shantika et al., 2021](#)).

Two prominent figures in the development of interactive culinary tourism through cooking classes are Ni Luh Made Puspawati (Paon Bali Cooking Class) and I Gusti Ayu Made Madriani, known as Yukde (Casa Luna Cooking School). Both women do more than teach recipes; they curate immersive cultural experiences, using their home kitchens as narrative spaces to communicate local traditions.

Puspawati intentionally designs her cooking sessions as educational and transformative encounters. The Paon Bali program includes guided tours of traditional markets, introductions to Balinese architectural layouts, and explanations of the symbolic significance of *base genep*, the foundational spice blend in Balinese cuisine. Within a humble and intimate setting, participants are not only taught to cook but also invited to experience Balinese values such as familial bonds, spirituality, and ethical living.

Meanwhile, Yukde leads cooking classes at Casa Luna using an approach that blends education with cultural performance. She not only teaches traditional cooking techniques but also acts as a cultural guide, facilitating interactions between tourists and the local community. In her interview, Yukde shared, "Besides being a tutor, I'm also a guide. Those are my two roles, a guide and a tutor. I do guiding too, although it's still done under the company and not independently, so it is still a part of Casa Luna." In the classes she conducts, the kitchen becomes a dynamic intercultural stage, a space where she shares

narratives about Balinese womanhood, food philosophies, and the intricate links between culinary practices, religious beliefs, and social structures.

The role of a cultural instructor is also embodied by women in agro-educational tourism settings, where knowledge transmission occurs directly on-site. Jero Suwarni, a senior worker at Bali Pulina Coffee Plantation, is frequently tasked with receiving guests and explaining the coffee processing methods in person. She recounted, "Sometimes, when guests arrive and my colleagues are overwhelmed, I take care of them here in this area... I only know a little English, not much, just the basics, but as long as the guests understand, that's what matters. I don't need to use well-ordered verbs and grammar." Beyond roasting and drying coffee, Jero communicates each stage of production to tourists using an intuitive and self-taught approach. These accounts reveal that women often rely on intuitive, self-taught communication to engage with visitors. Their local knowledge and hospitality allow them to share cultural practices effectively despite limited formal education.

3. Balinese Women as Adaptive Professionals in Gastronomic Tourism

Contemporary gastronomic tourism demands more than culinary skills; it also requires managerial competencies, market adaptability, and service innovation that are sensitive to changing tourism trends and visitor expectations. In this arena, Balinese women have demonstrated remarkable capacity as adaptive professionals, blending traditional skills with modern knowledge to manage enterprises strategically, flexibly, and sustainably (Tajeddini et al., 2017).

A compelling example is Citra Dewi, the founder of D'Alas Warung in Tegalalang. With a background in tourism education and a professional experience in luxury hotels, she chose to return to her village and establish a business that yields not only economic profits but also social and ecological impacts. In her interview, Citra explained, "I want to preserve our family land, so it doesn't get damaged by environmentally unfriendly development, and at the same time prepare for retirement in a productive way." By integrating the concept of eco-cultural hospitality, she created a dining space that harmonizes with nature, supported by family-style service and local narratives shared with tourists. These examples show how local women entrepreneurs adapt business strategies to preserve ecological balance and cultural continuity while sustaining family livelihoods.

In this way, Balinese women, as adaptive professionals in the field of gastronomic tourism, not only assert their capacity to meet the demands of the global tourism industry but also illustrate their ability to align local values, cultural responsibilities, and sustainability ethics within a unified economic practice. They are not merely workers or entrepreneurs but also social innovators propelling Balinese tourism toward a more ethical, empowered, and sustainable future.

Similarly, Kadek Sumawati, a staff member at Bali Pulina Coffee Plantation, exemplifies adaptive professionalism within the context of agrotourism. In her role, she serves not only as a waitress but also as a tour guide. "At Bali Pulina, I work as a guide, like a tour guide explaining to guests about coffee and other products. Sometimes I rotate into other tasks, too," she explained. Meanwhile, Wayan Metriani, a guide at Pemulan Bali Plantation, uses her multilingual abilities not only to describe different types of plants but also to convey the life values of the Balinese society to foreign tourists. She noted that working in the tourism sector provides space for personal development and broader social roles: "I taught myself French and Russian because we often have guests from those



countries. If you don't understand the language, it's hard to explain, so I learned through apps and directly from other guides.”

It is also important to note that many women who run businesses or work in this sector still have to fulfill their domestic and customary roles concurrently. This dual responsibility requires time management, emotional resilience, and a high degree of role negotiation, as Jero Suwarni shared: “Even if I'm tired from ceremonial duties, I still have to come here to work at 3 p.m.” Likewise, Wayan Metriani added that without family support it would be difficult to carry out these roles simultaneously: “If I didn't have my in-laws, I wouldn't have been able to do this work... but if I didn't work, I wouldn't have money for daily needs and ceremonies.” These examples illustrate that Balinese women are not only economic actors but also custodians of cultural and familial values, managing both spheres in parallel.

In practice, professional women in the gastronomic tourism sector are not merely economic actors; they also serve as cultural mediators, family social managers, and transmitters of local values within a global context. Thus, Balinese women as adaptive professionals in gastronomic tourism not only affirm their capacity to meet the demands of the global tourism industry, but also demonstrate their ability to harmonize local values, cultural responsibilities, and sustainability ethics within a coherent economic practice.

4. Balinese Women as Cultural Curators in Gastronomic Tourism

In the midst of increasing commercialization and homogenization in global tourism, Balinese women have assumed a pivotal role as cultural curators serving as custodians, interpreters, and conveyors of local cultural narratives within the sphere of gastronomic tourism. This role entails a high degree of selective and reflective sensitivity in curating, preserving, and representing culinary heritage and indigenous values, while simultaneously safeguarding cultural authenticity in the face of a global tourism market that is often extractive and homogenizing (Rita & Kumar, 2024; Tajeddini et al., 2017).

Rather than presenting food solely as an economic commodity, Balinese women strategically utilize culinary practices as a medium through which cultural identity is articulated and transmitted. Here, food is framed as a living cultural artifact imbued with philosophical significance, ancestral memory, customary structures, and embedded social relationships that collectively shape the Balinese society (Beer, 2016; Mazzuca & Majid, 2023).

One of the most compelling representations of this curatorial role is Ni Made Nani (Menjuwel), the owner of Warung Nasi Ayam Menjuwel in Sayan. Its modest beginning as a food stall catering to schoolchildren has grown into a culinary destination known for its authenticity, drawing the attention of government officials, celebrities, and national food bloggers. Her eatery maintains a strong sense of familial intimacy, functioning as a space for the intergenerational transmission of cultural values, where recipes are inherited and practiced as part of *menyama braya* (kinship and communal harmony).

Similarly, Ni Luh Made Puspawati of Paon Bali Cooking Class has conceptualized her cooking sessions as a form of cultural education, integrating Balinese Hindu cosmology and social structure within a communicative and personalized gastronomic experience. Likewise, I Gusti Ayu Made Madriani (Yukde) of Casa Luna Cooking School enacts a curatorial function by narrating the philosophical dimensions of Balinese womanhood through her culinary pedagogy. In these settings, the kitchen becomes a dynamic



intercultural space, transforming domestic routines into immersive and transformative cultural encounters.

Women like Citra Dewi of D'Alas Warung also fulfill curatorial roles through ecologically conscious approaches. Her work goes beyond serving food; she curates atmosphere and landscape as integral elements of the experience, weaving together spirituality and environmental ethics to shape a holistic and sustainable form of tourism.

In the context of agro-tourism, figures such as Jero Suwarni from Bali Pulina Plantation exemplify the cultural curatorial role through the traditional processing of coffee. Although her role is informal, the preservation of artisanal techniques and local knowledge becomes an essential part of the cultural narrative shared with visitors. Her work reflects the integration of embodied heritage into tourism experiences that prioritize authenticity and cultural depth.

At a broader institutional level, Ni Made Dwi Ermayanthi (Erma) plays a key curatorial role through her leadership in the Ubud Food Festival. Beyond selecting vendors and showcasing local products, she is responsible for curating an inclusive and sustainable culinary narrative that resonates with both local and international audiences. Her approach illustrates how culinary heritage can be thoughtfully edited, organized, and presented in ways that reinforce cultural continuity while remaining accessible and relevant to diverse publics. Her leadership demonstrates how women curate food events that balance tradition and innovation, ensuring that Balinese culinary heritage remains visible, inclusive, and contextually meaningful within the field of global tourism.

DISCUSSION

Balinese Women's Roles in Gastronomic Tourism

The discussion section builds upon the four empirical identified roles of Balinese women, namely cultural initiator, cultural instructor, adaptive professional, and cultural curator, and interprets these roles through the lenses of Bourdieu's theory of practice, Berger and Luckmann's social construction theory, and role theory. By reorganizing these themes into a coherent analytical narrative, this discussion demonstrates how women in Gianyar's gastronomic tourism sector negotiate, redefine, and expand their social roles while simultaneously producing cultural, economic, and symbolic values.

Beyond their foundational roles in the development of gastronomic tourism in Gianyar Regency, Balinese women have also emerged as cultural initiators who translate local knowledge and traditions into innovative culinary practices. These narratives underscore that women's involvement in culinary enterprise initiation, whether consciously or not, functions as a form of cultural preservation and family empowerment. First, these initiatives reflect an integration between domestic and productive roles. The kitchen, previously seen as a private domestic space, has become the starting point for culturally-driven creative economic activity. Second, these women demonstrate the ability to convert local knowledge into a tourism attraction that is both educational and entertaining, while still rooted in tradition. Third, their initiatives are not individual efforts but are anchored in local social values such as *menyama braya* (kinship and communal harmony) and environmental sustainability, making their culinary ventures not only economically viable but also instruments for social and ecological preservation.



Such initiatives are in line with the findings of Simi S & Manjula KG (2024), which show that empowering women through culture-based creative economies can simultaneously preserve cultural heritage and drive sustainable economic development (Simi S & Manjula KG, 2024). Women who tap into local wisdom including culinary heritage are able to generate economic opportunities while strengthening cultural identity. Rita & Kumar (2024) similarly affirm that women play a vital role in preserving and promoting cultural heritage, including traditions, languages, rituals, and artistic expressions that form the foundation of social cohesion and community resilience (Rita & Kumar, 2024).

In the context of Gianyar, these patterns are clearly reflected in figures such as Menjuwel, Puspawati, and Citra Dewi, who transform kitchens, family courtyards, and domestic space into centers of cultural production and education. These women are not merely establishing tradition-based businesses; they are also actualizing core local values such as *menyama braya* (kinship and communal harmony) through their everyday business interactions with tourists.

Drawing from Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice, these women activate and mobilize the cultural capital embedded within their *habitus* as Balinese women, such as culinary knowledge, inherited recipes, and family values, reconfiguring it into economic and symbolic capital that is acknowledged and valued within the global tourism arena. The transmission of culinary knowledge and kinship values from one generation to the next not only serves as a symbolic force but also becomes a core element of the tourist experience, offering an emotional and authentic encounter with the Balinese culture. This aligns with the findings of Hoxha and Nini (2025), who emphasize that women play a central role in the transmission of intangible cultural heritage such as languages, rituals, and everyday practices within local communities (Hoxha & Nini, 2025).

Thus, cultural initiation becomes the foundational mechanism that bridges domestic space, where *habitus* is formed, with the public arena of tourism, which demands cultural performance and interpretive labour. At this stage, women shift from being cultural initiators to cultural instructors, actively teaching the philosophies, symbolism, and live values of the Balinese culture to tourists. To effectively perform the role of a cultural instructor, Balinese women draw upon a complex combination of capitals, as conceptualized by Pierre Bourdieu. First, they possess embodied cultural capital, internalized through everyday life experiences such as cooking skills, understanding of traditional architecture, and knowledge of ritual foodways. This knowledge is not the product of formal education but is inherited and cultivated within family and customary community settings. Second, they develop social capital through networks with local communities, tourism stakeholders, and tourists themselves, expanding their access to both economic and symbolic resources. For instance, Yukde's long-standing professional affiliation with international institutions has earned her trust as a cultural educator. Third, through recognition by tourists and media narratives, they acquire symbolic capital establishing reputations as authentic cultural representatives of Bali.

Through Bourdieu's lens of practice theory, these various forms of capital, especially embodied cultural capital, are effectively converted into economic and symbolic capital within the tourism field. Concurrently, Berger and Luckmann's theory of social construction reveals how these women externalize and objectify their local knowledge into

new social realities that are legible and valued by global visitors. Practices once embedded in the private sphere of daily life are reformulated into communicative and educational performances within the tourism space, generating new cross-cultural meanings.

When examined through the lens of role theory, the initiatives undertaken by figures such as Menjuwel, Puspawati, and Citra Dewi reflect a nuanced negotiation between domestic responsibilities and public engagement. While their efforts originate within the traditionally private space of the kitchen, they have successfully redefined it as a multidimensional arena encompassing economic activity, cultural transmission, and social interaction. Through this process, the *warung*, the kitchen, and the family courtyard are no longer confined to household functions; instead, they become strategic spaces where women assert their agency while preserving the spiritual and cultural ethos of Balinese life.

This transformation becomes apparent in gastronomic and agro-tourism settings, where women as mothers, wives, and members of traditional communities continue to fulfill socially prescribed domestic responsibilities. Yet, when standing before tourists to explain cooking processes, culinary symbolism, or architectural layouts, they activate socio-cultural roles as bearers of communal values. Simultaneously, they assume public roles as educators, facilitators, and creative economy actors. Through kitchens, farms, and household spaces, they redraw the boundaries between private and public domains, transforming these spaces into participatory arenas of cultural learning that engage both cognitive and affective dimensions of tourist experiences.

In a broader sense, Balinese women are reshaping the very contours of cultural education. Their role transcends the transmission of recipes or production techniques, encompassing the articulation of spiritual values, philosophical worldviews, social hierarchies, and customary practices that are deeply woven into the fabric of Balinese daily life. Domestic spaces such as the home, kitchen, and farmland are transformed into intercultural classroom spaces where the intimacy of local tradition meets the openness of global exchange.

Accordingly, the role of Balinese women as cultural instructors within gastronomic and agro-tourism not only underpins the advancement of sustainable tourism, but also asserts their agency as pivotal actors in the creation, curation, and circulation of cultural knowledge (Giri Adnyani, 2023). Far from being passive custodians of heritage, these women engage in its strategic management, positioning tradition as a living narrative of identity and cultural diplomacy. In doing so, they maintain the authenticity of Balinese values and social relations, even as they navigate the demands of an increasingly globalized tourism economy.

As women expand their roles from those of a cultural initiator and a cultural instructor, their participation in gastronomic tourism further reveals a distinct form of adaptive professionalism shaped by everyday experience, informal learning, and demands of intercultural interaction. These adaptive capacities emerge in response to the fluid, unpredictable, and highly interpersonal nature of gastronomic tourism, where women must navigate service expectations, cultural expressions, and social norms simultaneously.

These statements show that women in this sector are expected to possess role flexibility, cross-cultural communication skills, and mastery of local product narratives. Their ability to quickly switch between service and educational roles reflects a form of adaptive professionalism and embodiment of practical intelligence, which are developed through work experience, informal training, and contextual learning derived from direct



interaction with tourists (Jafarova, 2020). Their professional competence is rooted not in formal hospitality education but in embodied cultural knowledge, years of domestic practice, and interpersonal sensitivity shaped by Balinese social life.

Within Pierre Bourdieu's framework, the abilities demonstrated by women like Citra and Kadek represent a conversion of cultural and social capital into economic capital that is relevant within the modern tourism arena. Their prior work experience in the hospitality industry, social interactions with visitors, and communication skills acquired through hands-on practice serve as embodied capital, internalized and activated in their business and professional spaces (Tajeddini et al., 2017). This process illustrates how domestic *habitus* becomes professional expertise once situated in the tourism field.

From the perspective of social construction theory by Berger and Luckmann, the transformation of Balinese women into adaptive professionals reflects a process of internalizing a new social reality in which women are no longer confined to traditional domestic roles, but instead shape new identities through experience and social interaction in the tourism sector. They emerge as agents of change, actively responding to opportunities and challenges with context-sensitive and long-term adaptive strategies (Komalasari et al., 2024).

Meanwhile, role theory (Parsons, Biddle) interprets their adaptive professionalism as an expansion of domestic roles into the public sphere without fully abandoning the sociocultural values rooted in their communities. These women move fluidly between familial and professional responsibilities, between customary obligations and professional demands, exhibiting a form of flexibility that reflects not only compliance with systems but also their ability to redesign their positions and contributions within an ever-evolving arena.

Adaptive professionalism plays an important role in connecting women's cultural work with the wider tourism industry. It helps them meet tourist expectations, deal with gender-based challenges, adjust their work around their customary obligation, and maintain trust in their workplace. Adaptive professionalism thus serves as both a survival strategy and a form of empowerment that elevates women's status within households, communities, and the tourism industry. It becomes a transformative force, one that reshapes identity, elevates agency, and reinforces the economic and symbolic contribution of Balinese women within gastronomic tourism.

Beyond their adaptive professionalism, Balinese women also take on the role of cultural curators, shaping how Balinese identity is presented, interpreted, and experienced within gastronomic tourism. Their ability to deliver narrative with authority and authenticity allows them to occupy influential position as cultural representatives. Through this work, they turn local food, rituals, and everyday practices into meaningful stories that resonate with global visitors.

From the perspective of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice, these women activate symbolic capital by mastering and legitimizing cultural narratives within the tourism arena. Their ability to shape and deliver these narratives with authority and authenticity enables them to occupy influential positions as cultural representatives (Dang & Phan, 2023). Concurrently, drawing on Berger and Luckmann's theory of social construction, their actions can be seen as processes of objectifying and institutionalizing local cultural knowledge into forms that are recognizable and valued within the social structure of tourism without losing the spiritual and symbolic meanings embedded in them.

Viewed through the lens of role theory, Balinese women as cultural curators do not perform fixed or singular roles, but rather navigate multiple roles simultaneously and fluidly. At any given moment, they may embody domestic roles as mothers, wives, and custodians of tradition, while also acting as editors of cultural narratives, designers of tourist experiences, and stewards of value continuity in the public sphere. Their capacity to creatively repackage cultural heritage into narratives that are both intelligible and appealing to global audiences reflects an active integration of domestic, socio-cultural, and public roles.

Accordingly, Balinese women engaged in gastronomic tourism perform the role of living cultural curators through kitchens, farms, dining spaces, and festivals. They ensure that cultural heritage is not merely preserved, but actively lived, appreciated, and communicated with dignity amidst the tides of global tourism (Paul, 2016). Rather than passively inheriting tradition, these women intentionally curate and transform cultural meaning through strategic acts of selection, interpretation, and presentation.

Through this process, they contribute to a form of tourism that is not only economically viable but also culturally affirming and socially inclusive. Their curatorial labor enables the articulation of Balinese identity in a globalized context, anchoring tourism experiences in local values while fostering cultural resilience. Ultimately, the work of these women illuminates how cultural curation within tourism is a deeply gendered, situated, and strategic practice, one that positions them as vital agents in shaping the cultural and ethical landscape of contemporary tourism (Silva Dos Santos et al., 2025).

The Construction of Balinese Women's Roles in Gastronomy Tourism

The involvement of Balinese women in gastronomic tourism extends far beyond economic participation; it represents a dialectical arena where social identities and roles are continuously negotiated and redefined. While they have emerged as strategic, adaptive, and empowered actors, their contributions often remain sidelined by the masculine and capitalist logic embedded in the formal structures of the tourism industry. For example, in Turkey women face gendered barriers in the culinary profession such as discrimination and limited career mobility (Temizkan & Uslu, 2023; Türkmenbaş & Karaman, 2024). Similarly, Balinese women also confront structural constraints, yet they respond by creating alternative spaces in gastronomy tourism that turn domestic knowledge into cultural and economic capital. Hence, it is essential to understand how Balinese women actively construct their roles through dynamic interactions between local traditions, social change, and global demands in the gastronomic tourism sector.

This construction not only reflects the social representations attributed to women but also demonstrates how Balinese women themselves design and redefine their roles through strategies of adaptation, resistance, and transformation within existing social structures. A closer examination of this process offers deeper insight into how meaning is ascribed to their roles, and how these women generate and regenerate new forms of *habitus* in Bali's evolving cultural and economic landscape.

The construction of Balinese women's roles in gastronomic tourism is a dialectical outcome involving role dimensions, structural challenges, and adaptive strategies enacted within Bali's socio-economic and cultural contexts. Based on field findings, Balinese women simultaneously perform three major roles: productive, reproductive, and socio-

cultural. These dimensions are interwoven and constitute a new role configuration that differs significantly from static, traditional models of women's roles (see Figure 1).

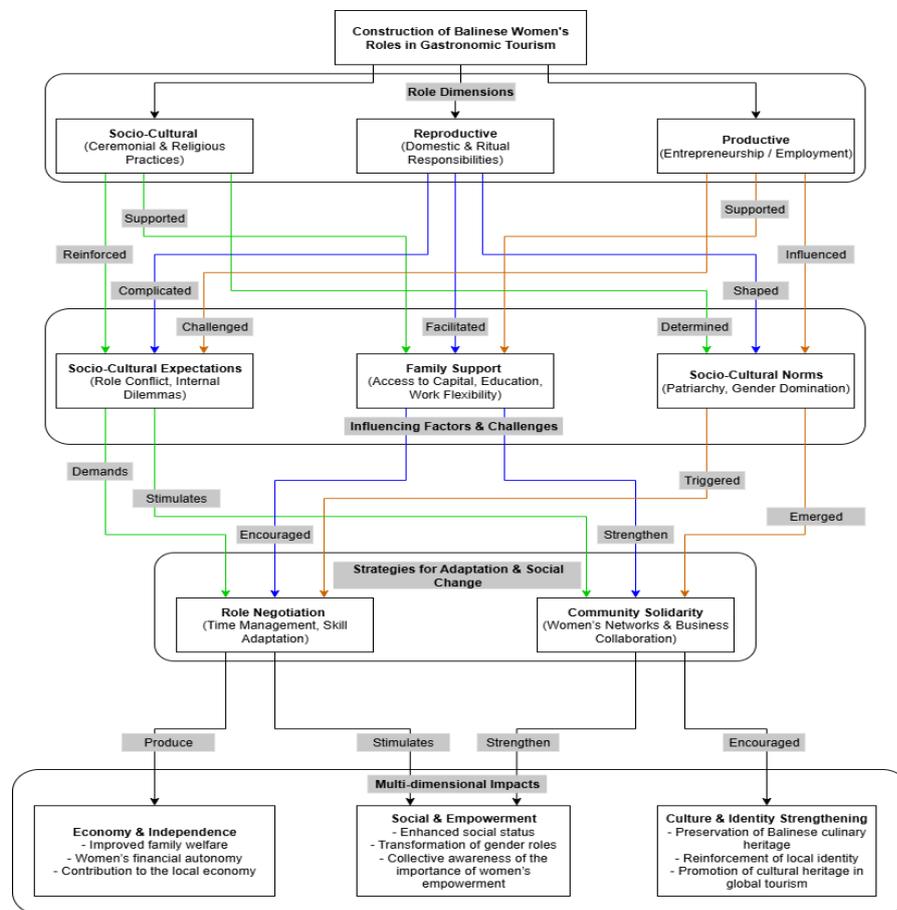


Figure 1. Model Construction of Balinese Women's Roles in Gastronomy Tourism

Source: Research Data, 2025

Within the productive dimension, Balinese women emerge as independent economic agents. Their roles encompass managing *warungs* (local eateries), leading cooking classes, and guiding agro-tourism experiences. Beyond operational tasks, they are also responsible for marketing, financial management, and strategic decision-making within family enterprises. This active engagement is closely tied to their capacity to transform domestic knowledge into cultural and symbolic capital that holds value in the tourism economy (Bourdieu, 1990). Culinary expertise, service ethics, and storytelling traditions once embedded in the domestic sphere are now recontextualized as formal and symbolic assets with tangible economic returns (Dang & Phan, 2023; Praminatih & Juwita Sari, 2022)

Yet, such economic participation remains inseparable from their reproductive obligations, which continue to anchor them in domestic and customary responsibilities. Women are expected to attend ceremonial duties (*ngayah*), prepare ritual offerings (*banten*), and manage everyday household affairs. Accounts from informants like Jero Suwarni and Wayan Metriani highlight the ongoing negotiation between public and private demands revealing the emotional and temporal tensions inherent in balancing entrepreneurial roles with traditional expectations.

Their socio-cultural roles unfold through their position as guardians and storytellers of cultural heritage. Rather than simply passing down traditional recipes, Balinese women reimagine domestic spaces, kitchens, homes, and agricultural fields as stages for cultural expression. As curators of heritage, they thoughtfully interpret and convey local values in ways that are meaningful and accessible to visitors. Through narratives that encompass the structure of Balinese homes, the philosophy of Tri Hita Karana, and ritual-based culinary practices, they cultivate encounters that transcend mere transactions, turning them into deeply immersive and transformative experiences.

This construction of roles does not emerge in isolation. It is continuously negotiated within the constraints of structural forces such as patriarchy, gender stereotypes, and elevated societal expectations. In many cases, women are required to assert their professional capabilities within male-dominated tourism systems while simultaneously navigating customary norms that continue to position them in subordinate roles. Similar dynamics are also evident in other global contexts: in China, women in rural tourism enterprises must constantly negotiate between traditional gender expectations and the demands of modern hospitality markets (Liu et al., 2020; Yujiao, 2021). Likewise, studies in Turkey and Spain highlight that even as women contribute significantly to culinary heritage and gastronomic image-building, they remain excluded from leadership and decision-making arenas (Temizkan & Uslu, 2023; García-Henche & Cuesta-Valiño, 2022; García-Henche et al., 2024). These parallels underscore that the struggles of Balinese women are not isolated, but part of a broader global pattern where women's agency in gastronomic tourism is simultaneously enabled and constrained by intersecting cultural norms and structural inequalities.

In navigating these structural challenges, Balinese women develop a range of adaptive and negotiated strategies, including flexible work arrangements, family alliances, and community-based solidarity. Some demonstrate autodidactic learning capacities, such as acquiring foreign language skills via digital media or incorporating digital tools into business management. Such practices illustrate that their engagement is far from a passive continuation of tradition; instead, it represents a deliberate, strategic, and reflective construction of social roles (Tuco & Culajara, 2024). Comparable adaptive strategies are evident globally: for instance, in South Africa and India, women rely on community-based solidarity and shared leadership models to navigate male-dominated professional spaces (Pillay-Naidoo & Vermeulen, 2023; Simi & Manjula, 2024). Likewise, in Vietnam, ethnic minority women mobilize social capital and cultural knowledge to negotiate tourism markets, reinforcing both cultural identity and economic resilience (Dang & Phan, 2023). These parallels reveal that the adaptive strategies of Balinese women resonate with broader global patterns, where women actively transform structural constraints into opportunities for agency, resilience, and innovation in the tourism economy.

The shaping of these roles is neither immediate nor linear. It unfolds through intricate processes of adaptation and negotiation in response to intersecting demands from domestic, customary, and professional spheres. By embracing strategies that are both personal and collective, these women sustain their presence in the public domain while continuing to uphold traditional responsibilities. This dual capacity not only underscores the depth of their agency but also positions them as pivotal actors in advancing inclusive and sustainable social transformation.



One of the most salient forms of adaptation is the negotiation of roles, particularly in terms of time management and skill flexibility (Armstrong, 2017). Kadek Sumawati, for example, arranges her work schedule to accommodate customary obligations, explaining, "I usually choose the afternoon shift if there's a ceremony." This strategy illustrates how temporal coordination becomes a crucial means for maintaining balance between professional commitments and cultural responsibilities.

Similarly, I Gusti Ayu Made Madriani embodies role flexibility by undertaking multiple functions within the tourism sector, simultaneously serving as a cooking class instructor and a tour guide. Her ability to shift between roles reflects not only responsiveness to industry demands but also a conscious effort to integrate cultural values into modern professional settings (Tuco & Culajara, 2024).

Beyond individual strategies, Balinese women also cultivate collective resilience through community-based solidarity, which serves as a form of social capital to sustain their enterprises and enhance communal welfare (Lapan et al., 2016). Citra Dewi, founder of D'Alas Warung, exemplifies this approach by organizing her business under a family-oriented management structure, complete with clear regulations to prevent internal disputes. This model underscores a broader vision of solidarity that not only promotes harmony but also embeds principles of shared leadership and equity within everyday workplace dynamics.

A collective approach is also exemplified by the initiative of Ni Made Dwi Ermayanthi, who established a community-based café that sources its coffee from local farmers in Pelaga. Her enterprise functions not only as an economic space but also as an inclusive platform for young women to engage in a sustainable gastronomic ecosystem. In this context, women's solidarity becomes a vital foundation for expanding networks, sharing resources, and fostering cross-sector collaborations (Johnson & Mehta, 2024; Pillay-Naidoo & Vermeulen, 2023).

Such expressions of solidarity not only reinforce economic resilience but also cultivate inclusive spaces for empowerment and intergenerational participation. Ni Made Dwi Ermayanthi established a community-based café that sources its coffee from local farmers in Pelaga. Her enterprise functions not only as an economic space but also as an inclusive platform for young women to engage in a sustainable gastronomic ecosystem. In this context, women's solidarity becomes a vital foundation for expanding networks, sharing resources, and fostering cross-sector collaborations (Johnson & Mehta, 2024). Together, these individual and collective strategies reveal how Balinese women negotiate the intersections of tradition and modernity, local values and global markets. Their actions demonstrate that empowerment is not merely a personal achievement but a socially embedded process, one that is nurtured through cooperation, cultural continuity, and conscious adaptation to changing socio-economic terrains.

The dynamics of adaptation and social transformation among Balinese women may be analytically framed through the theoretical lens of Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann's (1966) triadic process of externalization, objectivation, and internalization. Within this paradigm, women actively project new practices such as operating culinary enterprises or assuming roles as cultural educators into broader social arenas. As these practices become validated through collective experience and public recognition, they undergo a process of objectivation, acquiring a shared and stable meaning within the social

order. Over time, these roles and identities are internalized, becoming part of the socially accepted fabric of everyday life. Consequently, the transformation of women's roles transcends the personal realm and evolves into an institutional process that reconfigures the broader social reality (Fernandes & Gaunkar, 2021; Yujiao, 2021).

Accordingly, the adaptive strategies and social transformations undertaken by Balinese women demonstrate a nuanced capacity to not only confront and negotiate structural constraints, but also to cultivate emergent pathways for empowerment. Their responses to cultural and market pressures are not limited to survival or compliance; rather, they entail an active rearticulation of social positions and an expansion of empowerment frameworks through practices that are contextually grounded, critically reflective, and inherently transformative.

The adaptive strategies and processes of social transformation pursued by Balinese women in the context of gastronomic tourism have generated not only individual resilience in navigating the complexities of multiple roles, but also broader societal shifts. These impacts are multidimensional encompassing economic, social, and cultural spheres and underscore the role of women as key agents in strengthening local identity while simultaneously contributing to the transformation of social structures.

Economically, their active engagement in gastronomic enterprises has facilitated financial autonomy and reinforced household economic stability. Women such as Citra Dewi have explicitly rejected reliance on spousal income, as reflected in her statement: "I don't want to wait for my husband's allowance just to buy groceries," a sentiment that signals a broader shift in women's orientation from dependency toward self-sufficiency. Their involvement extends beyond participation; they serve as entrepreneurs, job creators, and catalysts for local economic development, particularly in tourism-driven areas such as Gianyar and Ubud.

In the social dimension, the transformation of gender roles has led to tangible forms of empowerment. Balinese women have experienced an elevation in social status alongside a growing awareness of their intrinsic value as empowered subjects. As Ni Made Dwi Ermayanthi observes, Balinese women "have power, but are unaware of it," largely due to the absence of collective spaces in which such power could be recognized and affirmed. Through active participation in gastronomic tourism, women have not only gained social recognition but have also cultivated gender consciousness, thereby opening new avenues for participation and leadership (García-Henche et al., 2024; Poulaki et al., 2022).

Culturally, women serve as curators of values and narrators of local identity. The culinary practices they manage transcend mere economic function; they embody cultural artifacts imbued with philosophical meaning, familial history, and customary social structure. For example, Ni Luh Made Puspawati employs cooking classes not only to teach recipes, but to introduce to the participants Balinese Hindu cosmology, domestic spatial arrangements, and the symbolic significance of food ingredients, transforming the kitchen into a cultural stage that connects local tradition with global audiences.

Taken as a whole, the construction of Balinese women's roles in gastronomic tourism produces multi-layered and far-reaching effects, strengthening household economies, repositioning women within existing social hierarchies, and reaffirming Balinese cultural identity amid the forces of global tourism. Within the framework of role theory (Biddle, 1986), this phenomenon reflects how gender roles are not static prescriptions but dynamic sets of expectations negotiated across domestic and public

domains. Balinese women, in this context, do not merely perform inherited roles but actively reinterpret and renegotiate them through the interface of cultural tradition and market demands. As Berger and Luckmann (1966) theorize, the repeated enactment of these roles in public space through practices such as teaching cooking classes or managing culinary enterprises becomes externalized, validated, and ultimately internalized as new, socially legitimate identities. Simultaneously, drawing on Bourdieu's (1984, 1990) theory of practice, these women mobilize their *habitus* structured by generational knowledge, ritual obligations, and domestic experience and convert it into cultural, symbolic, and economic capital that is recognized and rewarded in the global tourism field. Seen together, these three perspectives complement one another: role theory shows how women's responsibilities shift and expand, social construction theory explains how these shifts gain recognition and legitimacy, while Bourdieu's practice theory highlights how cultural knowledge and values are transformed into tangible resources. Through this integration, it becomes clear that Balinese women are not only adapting to the demands of tourism but also actively reshaping social roles and creating new spaces of empowerment that bridge tradition and innovation, while challenging patriarchal norms and capitalist logics in the tourism industry.

CONCLUSION

Balinese women in Gianyar Regency occupy a strategically significant and multidimensional position in the development of gastronomic tourism. Their roles as cultural initiators, culinary instructors, adaptive professionals, and cultural curators demonstrate how women simultaneously drive economic value and safeguard cultural heritage. By transforming domestic knowledge and localized values into forms of cultural and symbolic capital, they contribute to the reinforcement of local identity within the broader landscape of modernization and globalization. These findings highlight gastronomic tourism not only as an economic field but also as a social arena where women negotiate identity, authority, and mobility.

Despite these substantial contributions, women continue to encounter structural barriers rooted in patriarchal norms, gendered stereotypes, and market-driven institutional dynamics. Balinese women respond with role negotiation, time management strategies, and community-based solidarity which enable them to navigate the intersection of domestic obligations, cultural expectations, and professional demands. Collectively, these strategies generate economic, social, and cultural impacts that position women as transformative agents capable of reshaping gendered roles in Bali's evolving socio-cultural structure.

The study also offers a theoretical contribution by illustrating how women's *habitus* undergoes transformation through the interaction of cultural capital, customary obligations, and the institutional rhythms of tourism industry. Through Bourdieu's practice theory, role theory, and social constructionism, this research expands current understandings of gender labour, cultural production, and women's agency in Southeast Asian gastronomic tourism. Future research may explore other regions or focus on how digital gastronomic ecosystem and younger generation further influence these role transformations.

These findings point to several key implications for strengthening women's roles in Balinese gastronomic tourism. At the policy level, alignment with SDG 5 and SDG 8 is necessary to address structural barriers that limit women's economic participation.



Expanding access to financial capital and developing certification mechanism for women-led culinary enterprises would enhance their legitimacy and competitiveness in the global tourism market. Within the tourism industry, associations and hospitality networks can support women's advancement through targeted training in management, digital literacy, and entrepreneurship, complemented by promotional collaborations that highlight women's cultural expertise in the global tourism market.

At the community level, the implications align with SDG 11 and SDG 5, emphasizing the need for more inclusive governance and equitable participation. Strengthening women's involvement in local communities can also build collective-based solidarity and foster fairer distribution of economic benefits, such as through women's culinary cooperatives (*Koperasi Perempuan Kuliner*) or village-based tourism groups (*Pokdarwis*). These strategies not only empower women economically but also strengthen the sustainability and authenticity of Balinese gastronomic tourism. These community-based strategies create more participatory and sustainable tourism environment in which women's agency is fully recognized and supported.

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