

Habitus and Capital in the Gastronomy Tourism Field: Cooking Class Businesses in Ubud, Bali

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Abstract

This study examines the practice of cooking class businesses as a form of gastronomic tourism attraction in Ubud, Bali. Cooking classes have rapidly expanded in this destination, yet attention to how they shaped by cultural practice and local strategies of capital conversion remains limitedly researched. Drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice, it analyzes how entrepreneurs and instructors mobilize and position their economic, cultural, and social capital within the tourism field. A qualitative approach was employed, combining participatory and non-participatory observation conducted at some cooking class sites in Gianyar Regency particularly at Ubud area and in-depth interviews to their owners or instructors. Data were analyzed through Bourdieu's concepts of Habitus, Capital, and field to trace how practices emerged and are sustained. The findings reveal that cooking class practices are shaped by the interplay between habitus and various forms of capital. Cultural practices such as *mebat* (communal food preparation) and *ngelawar* (family cooking traditions) rooted in the socio-cultural and domestic fields serve as key sources of cultural and social capital. These resources are transformed and recontextualized into economic capital, enabling local actors to compete and gain recognition in the tourism field. The study shows that gastronomic tourism in Ubud, Gianyar is not only about economic gain but also about turning local knowledge and traditions into tourism experiences. Cooking classes serve as space for preserving culture, sharing community values, and provide local people to improve their livelihoods. The findings also underline the importance of support and policies that build local capacity while maintaining the authenticity of Balinese gastronomic heritage.

Keywords: gastronomy tourism; cooking class; habitus; capital; field; Ubud Bali



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INTRODUCTION

Background

Gastronomy is a concept that encompasses the art and science of food and beverages, their preparation, and the cultural and social contexts in which they are consumed (Rojas-Rivas et al., 2020; Santich, 2007). Gastronomy tourism is a special interest tourism that allows tourists to come to specific tourist destinations to enjoy certain culinary delights according to the origin and characteristics of a region (Jiménez-Beltrán et al., 2016). Cooking class is a form of gastronomic tourism attraction that allows tourists to learn and practice directly in the food processing process (Litavniece et al., 2019).

Cooking class activities as gastronomic tourism attractions are increasingly developing around the world. Cooking classes have become an important aspect of Thailand's tourism industry and an important element in its tourism marketing strategy (Singsomboon, 2015). In Europe, for example, cooking classes are increasingly recognized as authentic and educational experience that preserve local recipes while promoting culture (Bardolet-Puigdollers & Fusté-Forné, 2023). Cooking classes are a unique and immersive way to experience local culture and cuisine. They offer opportunities to discover authentic local products and recipes, while positive interpersonal interactions, make them attractive tourist attraction (Luoh et al., 2024; Qian et al., 2024).

Cooking classes also provide opportunities for local communities to gain economic benefits with the cultural and social capital they have and encourage the appreciation and preservation of local culture, especially gastronomic culture (Walter, 2017). Some local people make their homes or gardens as a place for cooking class activities (Bell, 2015) and also as instructors in cooking classes. Instructors in cooking class attractions are one of the determinants of tourist satisfaction who enjoy this attraction (Saputra et al., 2017).

Ubud in Gianyar Regency is one of the tourist destinations that has a variety of gastronomic tourism activities from simply taste food, visiting markets and plantations, food festival to learning about local cuisine through cooking classes. Cooking class are one of the gastronomic tourism attractions that are widely spread in this area. There are at least 30 cooking class businesses recorded in 2022 in the data from the Gianyar Regency Tourism Office. Meanwhile a search on TripAdvisor in the "cooking classes in Gianyar Regency" category shows that more than 50 cooking classes are listed (TripAdvisor, 2025). This shows the great interest of tourists in participating in cooking classes activities, encouraging both local people and restaurant or hotel enterprises to organize and offer such attractions.

The presence of cooking class as tourist attractions in Ubud provides an opportunity for local community to utilize their capital and culture resources and transform them into economic benefit. This study analyzes cooking class business in Ubud through Bourdieu's theory of social practice focusing on how habitus, and various form of capital interact within the tourism field to shape entrepreneurial practice and cultural reproduction. This study emphasizes how local actors mobilize traditions, convert them into marketable experiences, and compete for recognition and resources in the tourism field or arena.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Cooking class activities as tourist attractions have been widely studied in various countries, both from the aspect of tourists such as tourist motivation and behavior, as well as the broader impact of cooking classes on both local communities and the destinations (Walter, 2016; Qian et al., 2023; Litavniece et al., 2019; Kokkranikal & Carabelli, 2021; Aksenova et al., 2022; Bell, 2014). Most of these studies emphasize the demand side that focusing tourist motivation, satisfaction and co-created

experience. These studies also underline the contribution of cooking classes to the diversification and regional competitiveness, thereby boosting local economies (Litavniece et al., 2019; Suntikul et al., 2020).

However, relatively little attention has been given to the supply-side of cooking classes, how locals entrepreneurs and instructors mobilize cultural knowledge, economic asset, and social networks to position themselves within the tourism field. the phenomenon of cooking class businesses as a dynamic and interaction in the tourism sector, particularly in relation to the competition of various forms of capital and the influence of habitus on behavior and cultural adaptation, has not received much attention.

In this regard the theory of social practice by Pierre Bourdieu, which explains the interrelations between the concepts of capital, habitus and field, offer a power framework to examine these dynamics and interactions. It enables an understanding of how various form of capital are mobilize, converted, and contested within fields of competition (Ahmad, 2024; Brzozowski, 2022; Carvalho et al., 2023; Glover, 2010; Pimentel, 2024).

Bourdieu's main theoretical concept; habitus, practice, field, and various forms of capital are relevant for analyzing phenomena in the tourism sector (Ahmad, 2024). Habitus can be understood as a series of dispositions, which influence a person's expectations of social life(Huang, 2024). The concept of habitus is a subjective structure formed from through accumulated individual's experience in family, community, and cultural contexts, which are then enacted in new field (Kuswandoro, 2016).

The field, in Bourdieu's perspective, is a structure social space where actors and institutions occupy position and compete over resources, guided by their habitus (Qiu & Zhen-zhi, 2015). Meanwhile, capital according to Pierre Bourdieu includes various forms of resources and strengths

that can be owned and used by individuals or groups to mobilize in different social contexts capital (Bourdieu, 2002; Brzozowski, 2022). In this study, capital is defined into four interrelated forms with each clear indicators used in coding process: (1) Economic capital: financial and material assets such as land, building, cooking equipment, vehicle and startup money; (2) Cultural capital: knowledge and skills of Balinese cuisine and culture and work experience in hospitality; (3) Social capital: networks and relationship with family, community, tourists, business partners including collaborations, information sharing and online connections; (4) Symbolic capital; prestige, recognition gained from tourist reviews, media attentions or being seen as authentic representatives of Balinese food culture.

These indicators guided the coding of data and show how local entrepreneurs and instructors use and transform their capital, shaped by their habits, to gain a position in the Ubud tourism field. The rich culinary of Bali such as *mebat* or *ngelawar*, serve as cultural resources that can be turned into economic and symbolic capital when adapted into cooking class activities.

METHOD

This research was conducted using a qualitative approach. The sampling frame focused on cooking class businesses located in Gianyar Regency, which are most of them are located in Ubud area, with purposive selection to capture variation across ownership type (family run, private enterprise, and resort based) and gender of instructors. Observations and semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted across seven sites: Ketuts Bali Cooking Class, Canting Bali Cooking Class, Paon Bali Cooking Class, Plataran Ubud resort and spa Cooking Class, Casa Luna Cooking School, Pemulan Bali Farm Cooking School and Visesa Ubud Resort Cooking Class.

Observation was carried out from June 2023 to December 2024, combining participatory (joining full session cooking class programs) and non-participatory observations. Field note and photographs focused on the transmission of culinary knowledge, forms of cultural practice, tourist and instructor interaction, and mobilization of various forms of capital.

Semi structured In-depth interviews were conducted with business owners or instructors on site, covering business trajectory, daily practice, mobilization of knowledge and resource and the challenges and opportunities in running cooking class business.

Data were coded manually through repeated reading of transcripts and field notes, using constant comparison to refine emerging themes until saturation. The analysis was based on the social practice theory approach from Pierre F  lix Bourdieu which explains that individuals or groups act based on habitus, capital, and the arena around them.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Cooking Class Activities as Gastronomy Tourism Attraction

Cooking classes in Ubud at Gianyar regency mostly offer experiences in preparing Balinese cuisine while also providing knowledge about Balinese gastronomic culture, food ingredients, traditional cooking tools used by Balinese in processing their food. Cooking class activities in Bali generally begin by inviting participants to take a short tour to a traditional market guided directly by instructors or staff from the cooking class business (Figure 1). During the market tour, instructors or staff will explain various commodities sold in the market, focusing particularly on food products, ingredients, and spices that will later be used in the class.



Figure 1. Market tour activities by Canting Bali Cooking Class (Author's field observation, 30 May 2024)

Some classes adopt a farm-to-table concept, such as Pemulan Bali Farm Cooking School or Visesa Ubud Resort Cooking Class where participants are invited to take a farmland tour to know various food plants while picking the ingredients directly to be used in cooking classes (Figure 2).



Figure 2. Farmland tour by Pemulan Bali Farm Cooking Class (Author's field observation, 27 June 2023)

After the market tour or garden tour, cooking class participants are invited back to the place where the cooking class will be held. The instructors begin the class session by introducing the menu of dishes to be prepared and explaining the ingredients used, with particularly emphasis on the essential spices for Balinese cuisine. Participants are encouraging to recognize these spices by smelling the aroma or tasting them directly (Figure 3). Each participant receives their own set of utensils and ingredients, which they prepare according to the recipe under the instructor's guidance.



Figure 3. Introduction of menus and spices in Ketut's Bali Cooking Class (Author's field observation, 30 September 2023)

A defining feature of Balinese cooking classes is the preparation of spice mixture known as *base genep*. This process is an important or central element of the classes, as it forms the foundation of various Balinese specialties. Preparing *base genep* not only teaches participants about the processing of spices but also introduces them the culture of *mebat*, the communal

practice of cooking together in Balinese society. In *mebat* activities, it is usually coordinated by someone called *mancegera* who delegate the tasks as well as mixing and taste each dish that is made. Similarly, in cooking classes, the instructor acts as a *mancegera* who divides tasks such as cutting various spice ingredients to the participants. The spices are then mixed by the instructor which is then used for cooking. Throughout the cooking class, the instructor explains how Balinese people's habits are related to cooking activities both in the household environment and in their social environment as well as how the eating patterns and food that apply in Balinese society in general.



Figure 4. Cooking class activities by Plataran Ubud (Author's field observation, 19 March 2024)

Capital, Habitus and Field in Cooking Class Business

Analyzing the cooking class business as a tourist attraction in the tourism field from Pierre Bourdieu's perspective can be seen as a dialectical relationship between subjective or individual structures, in this case entrepreneurs or cooking class instructors, with objective structures or arenas, in this case can be described as the tourism field. The dialectic of entrepreneurs and or cooking class instructors formed by their habitus in the tourism field produces what is called "practice" in the form of cooking class businesses.

In Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice, the field or arena is a structured social

space where individuals or groups struggle to gain capital and a better position. They compete with habitus that can become capital in an arena. In the tourism arena, entrepreneurs and cooking class instructors try to maximize their habitus and capital to be able to compete with other tourist attraction businesses and transform it into economic and symbolic profit.

The market tour session, for instance, instructor mobilize their habitus of local food knowledge to introduce ingredients and spices to tourist. Similarly, during farm-to-table garden tour session, agricultural habitus rooted in rural life is recontextualized as a unique selling point. This embodied knowledge, originally acquired through family practice and community traditions, become cultural capital that differentiates their classes from generic cooking experiences. When tourists pay extra for package that include such tours, this cultural capital is effectively converted into economic capital.

As Made Puspawati, owner of Paon Bali Cooking Class, reflected:

“..From hobby it turns into fortune, something that brings income... in the past, it was just inviting friends to cook together, but now it can generate money. We can proudly say in public, ‘this is pepes, this is urab, this is *sate lilit*—these are Balinese specialties.”

This example show how domestic practice and culinary skills, once considered informal and rooted in family habitus, are transformed into cultural capital that not only strengthens symbolic recognition but also becomes a source of economic profit through cooking class enterprises.

The cooking class business in Ubud show how everyday practice can be turned into valuable capital. Knowledge and skills passed down through families and communities become cultural and symbolic strengths, and later economic benefit. Cooking class allows local instructors to strategically use their habitus and resource to compete in the tourism field.

Capital and Habitus in Tourism Field

Capital in economic terms can be defined as property (money, goods, and so on) that can be used to produce something that increases wealth and so on. However, in a social context, Pierre Bourdieu suggests that there are at least three other forms of capital besides economic capital, namely cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital where these forms of capital can accumulate and change form into one another (Savage et al., 2005). The cooking class business seen from Pierre Bourdieu's theory can be understood as an accumulation of capital that makes tourism resources, both natural and cultural, into a tourist attraction that can provide benefits or produce other capital in the tourism arena.

Like other forms of business, economic capital in the form of assets is one of the main capitals needed by a cooking class business. As stated by Made Puspawati, the owner of the Paon Bali cooking class, to start a cooking class business, capital is needed for equipment, buildings, and cars. The initial capital for her business was obtained from the sale of livestock and the place that was originally a livestock pen was built into a place to run her business. As stated by Mrs. Made Puspa:

"Here used to be ducks, the backyard, what was that before? teba.... I used to have 200 ducks, raising them.... before the bird flu issue I sold all the ducks, the information came from a foreigner when the pole in the hotel had bird flu, I sold them cheaply... I used it for this (the building where the cooking class is located) ...”

Made Puspawati transformed the economic capital she owned from the assets of her duck cage and livestock into building assets for the cooking class business she runs (Figure 6). In order to compete in the tourism arena, Made Puspawati changed the form of economic capital from duck raising capital to building capital to achieve a position and compete for other

capital in the tourism sector through the cooking class tourist attraction business.

Instructors or teachers in cooking classes are another very important asset. The ability and expertise of instructors in delivering material in cooking classes are certainly not obtained immediately but through training or repeated learning either in the workplace, school institutions or in the social environment. This is a form of cultural capital inherent in instructors that can be transformed into economic capital, especially in cooking class businesses. Most of the cooking class instructors who were interviewed had previously received education or work experience in the cooking or hospitality sector so that they had been trained and had the skills needed by an instructor in a cooking class business. As Ketut Budiarsa, the owner and instructor at Ketut Bali cooking class, stated

"For the cooking class, I had experience in hotels before, I was in hotels in Ubud like at the Champlung Sari Hotel, when I was in Candidasa, as a cook then there was a group at the hotel, the guest asked for a cooking class at the hotel, and at that time I taught (cooking).."

Cultural capital can come from the family environment, school, informal education, media, and self-taught learning (Carvalho et al., 2023). As cultural capital, knowledge of Balinese cuisine is very important in cooking classes because the culture of Balinese food and cuisine is what is sold as a tourist attraction. Knowledge of Balinese cuisine, apart from being learned at work, is mostly obtained from the family environment and the culture of the community where the instructors were raised. This aligns with findings that domestic culinary practices in Bali can be mobilized as cultural and economic resources in the tourism sector, particularly through the agency of female entrepreneurs (Yanthi et al., 2016). Made Mardika, who teaches at the Canting Champlung cooking class, also admitted that the skills of cooking Balinese food are actually learned more from *mebat*

activities that are often carried out in the community where he lives. Before becoming an instructor, Made Mardika previously worked on a cruise ship as a waiter.

The cooking class instructors, who were respondents in this study, were all Balinese who lived in a society where Balinese cuisine was part of their daily lives so that knowledge and skills in preparing Balinese cuisine were obtained in the family or community environment both consciously and unconsciously. The *mebat* tradition is also a habitus that strengthens the cultural capital possessed by the cooking class instructors.

Social capital is an important element in tourism development (Hwang & Stewart, 2016; Shakya, 2016). In Pierre Bourdieu's concept of capital, social capital refers to a collection of resources that individuals can access through their social networks. Several cooking class businesses such as Canting Bali and Ketut Bali cooking class are the result of collaboration between several people in a circle of friends.

Friendship as social capital deliver Ketut Budiarsa succeeded in opening a cooking class business. Together with his friend, Wayan, who had economic capital in the form of land assets, were used as a place for his cooking class business. as stated by Ketut Budiarsa as follows:

"For that business, it can't be done (alone) we need a lot of capital, that's why with Wayan, who used to work with me, we met at Champlung Sari Hotel, he was a chef, as well as me....then once Wayan said, "let's open it in the north" then we open it (a cooking class business) here ..."

Likewise, Made Puspa utilized various information obtained from tourists and friend in her previous work environment to start her cooking class business.

The use of various social media platforms is also an effort that allows the accumulation of social capital through interaction, sharing information, and mobilizing resources in the tourism sector. Paon Bali

cooking class utilizing various social media platforms such as business websites (www.paon-bali.com), Instagram (@paon-balicookingclass) and cookly.me (www.cookly.me/by/paon-bali-cooking-school/), to build friendship networks and as a means of promotion and communication for cooking class businesses. This can be seen as an effort to gain social capital while utilizing it to be transformed into economic capital (Rasmussen, 2014).

At the same time, the use of social media does not only accumulate social capital but can also generate symbolic capital. While social capital arises from the networks of friends, followers, and communications channels, symbolic capital emerges when these online interactions are translated into recognition and prestige. High visibility on Instagram, positive reviews or being listed on global booking sites like TripAdvisor or Cookly.me create a form of reputation that legitimizes the business in the eyes of tourists. In this sense, symbolic capital plays a mediating role, it transforms the rational value of social networks into a recognized status that further strengthens the conversion of social and cultural resources into economic capital in the tourism field

As a tourist destination that has developed for decades, the people of Ubud are accustomed to interacting with tourists and are involved in the tourism industry. This habitus strengthens the cultural capital of the Ubud community so that it is possible to capture business opportunities by maximizing the capital they have.

Mebat: Cultural Habitus

Mebat is a tradition of cooking together in Balinese society which is generally held at certain events such as religious ceremonies at temples or traditional activities such as weddings, births, deaths or just thanksgiving (Sari et al., 2020). In the *mebat* tradition, cooking events are divided into several stages of work and are carried out in groups as well. For example, there is a group whose job is to make spices, cut

meat or vegetables and also cook or prepare food (Figure 5).



Figure 5. *Mebat* in Banjar Ambengan Community at Peliatan Ubud (Photo courtesy of A. A. Raka Dalem, personal collection, 2024)

The *mebat* culture in Balinese society is mostly carried out by men and is an obligation. As members of society who are required to participate in this *mebat* activity regardless of their educational background, occupation or expertise, everyone is required to take part in this *mebat* tradition. as expressed by Mr. Kadek Budi Astrawan, a cooking class instructor at The Plataran Hotel, the obligation of *ngayah* for community members in their social environment requires them to learn to do various jobs including cooking Balinese food, as expressed by Mr. Kadek Budi Astrawan:

"Like *ngelilit* satay, you automatically have to be able to do it, because it is our obligation when we are *ngayah*, to make "*base*" (seasoning)...it is mandatory to be able to "*matektekan*" "

This *mebat* cultural habitus makes Balinese people get used to processing and cooking Balinese cuisine. Knowledge and skills about Balinese cuisine learned autodidactically from this *mebat* culture. As expressed by I Made Mardika below:

"Most of them come from the community.... Balinese cooking skills do not come from education, self-taught and in the community can be directly involved..."

Mebat activity is generally led or commanded by someone who is trusted by the community to have the ability and expertise in Balinese culinary specialties called *mancegera* or *belawa* (Margaretha & Sulistyawati, 2022). *Mancegera* is tasked with dividing the work to other community members, mixing spices, and controlling the quality of the dishes made.

In the tourism or touristic arena, the role of *mancegera* is adopted and recontextualized in the cooking class business. Instructors take on the role of *mancegera* by dividing task among participants, for instance, assigning some tourists to slice vegetables, others to pound spices, while the instructor oversees the mixing process and ensures the final taste of the dishes. This mirrors the communal structure of *mebat* while adapting it into a pedagogical format suitable for international visitors.

Mebat culture is a habitus in the socio-cultural arena that provides or strengthens cultural capital, especially for cooking class instructors. In the social space where they occupy positions as members of society in the socio-cultural arena, they must follow the work rules made by both the *mancegera* and the community rules. The position of *mancegera* does not belong to the instructor in the socio-cultural arena but in the cooking class business, this instructor plays the role of *mancegera*. However, knowledge and skills as *Mancegera* are learned autodidactically and then become cultural capital in the cooking class business to be transformed into economic capital in the tourism arena. As expressed by Bourdieu quoted by Huang (2019):

"Cultural capital, according to Bourdieu, is gained mainly through an individual's initial learning, and is unconsciously influenced by the surroundings (Bourdieu, 2000). In the case of habitus, it relates to the resource of knowledge (Bourdieu 1990)".

***Ngelawar*: Family Cooking Tradition**

Family is an arena where social and cultural capital is formed and transmitted

between generations. In Balinese families, cooking knowledge and skills start from the family. Generally, the task of cooking in Balinese families is carried out by women. However, on certain days such as during religious or traditional ceremonies, men also participate in cooking.

When there is a religious ceremony in the family environment such as celebrating *Galungan*, specifically for several menus such as *lawar*, *satay*, *betutu* or several food menus that are generally specifically for ceremonial purposes are usually done by men because Balinese women take part in making offerings.

Balinese cuisine is an inseparable part of religious ceremonies. Balinese cuisine is part of the offerings presented at every ceremony, both religious and traditional (Purna & Dwikayana, 2019). Not only as a tool for offerings, Balinese cuisine also plays a role in the social life of Balinese society. Lontar Dharma Caruban is a basic guide for Balinese people, especially for a "mancegera" in processing, cooking, and serving Balinese cuisine both as a tool for offerings and as a means of socializing (Wulandari et al., 2023). The *lawar* menu is the type of Balinese cuisine that is most often used in offerings and also as a Balinese family dish. The tradition of making *lawar* is known as *ngelawar* where this term is similar to the term *mebat* but is more identical to cooking activities together in the family environment.

The *ngelawar* tradition becomes a habitus where knowledge and skills in cooking Balinese cuisine are transferred from generation to generation as cultural capital. In practice, these skills are not transmitted through formal measurement or written recipes, but through embodied teachable moments. For example, seasoning mixtures are gauged by tasting directly with the tongue or estimating portions by hand, which teaches younger family members tacit methods of judging flavor and balance. When these tacit practices are introduced in cooking classes, guests often perceive them as markers of authenticity,

reinforcing the cultural capital of instructors.

In addition, this *ngelawar* tradition is also a habitus to build social capital where interactions between family members in the *ngelawar* tradition teach the basic things needed to develop social capital such as building trust in others, respecting, and appreciating each other and instilling values that apply in their environment.

Habitus in the family arena provides cultural capital and social capital that can underlie the actions of agents to fight for positions in different arenas. Likewise, entrepreneurs and cooking class instructors, the habitus of *ngelawar* in the family arena provides capital to be able to compete and achieve positions in the tourist arena.

CONCLUSION

The phenomenon of cooking class businesses in Ubud is a social practice where the richness of gastronomic culture is accumulated through economic, cultural, and social as well as symbolic capital in the tourism field. The actions of entrepreneurs and instructors in cooking class businesses reflect the interaction of habitus, and the capital they mobilize. Embodied knowledge and skills in cooking Balinese cuisine that shape through *mebat* and *ngelawar* tradition become valuable cultural resources for entrepreneurs and cooking class instructors. These resources are not only maintained within families and communities but strategically adapted in tourism product.

In the tourism arena, cultural capital and social capital obtained from the socio-cultural and domestic arenas, coupled with economic capital and supporting habitus, are then transformed into economic capital in the form of cooking class businesses. Symbolic capital, in the form of reputation and recognition gained through tourist reviews or media visibility, further strengthens their market position. Together, economic, cultural, social, and symbolic

capital are continuously mobilized and converted in the tourism field.

Living in a tourism environment, entrepreneurs and cooking class instructors are accustomed to seeing how the tourism industry develops so that they understand at least a little about things that can attract tourists and to transform their accumulated resources into business opportunities. Their previous work experience in the tourism industry further enhances these capacities, equipping them with practical skills to interact effectively with international visitors.

The ways in which entrepreneurs adapt their cultural resources and professional experiences to meet tourist expectations highlight broader lessons for sustaining these businesses. From this perspective, several practical implications can be drawn. Capacity-building programs that integrate culinary knowledge with entrepreneurship would strengthen the capacity of local actors. Community-based standards are important to safeguard authenticity while still allowing room for innovation, ensuring that traditions such as *mebat* and *ngelawar* are respected rather than commodified. Moreover, because many cooking classes are conducted within family compounds, clear guidelines to protect the privacy of domestic space are crucial to balance hospitality with cultural preservation.

The Bourdieu practice theory approach applied in this study provides a picture of how entrepreneurs and instructors, through their habitus and capital, shape the cooking class attraction business in the tourism field. Nevertheless, the study has limitations: it focuses mainly on entrepreneurs and instructors, with less attention to the perspectives of tourists or to the dynamics between different types of providers, and it is geographically limited to Ubud. Further studies could examine more closely at tourists' perspectives, especially how their experiences and evaluations or conduct comparative studies to other gastronomic destinations. It also valuable to

examine how cooking classes affect local communities, not only in terms of economic benefits but also in shaping inter-generational knowledge transfer, gender relations, and everyday community life.

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