

From Triple to Quadruple Roles: Reconceptualising Women's Labour in Bali's Tourism Economy

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Abstract: The paper examines how Balinese women organise their work within a tourism economy shaped by cultural obligations and gendered expectations. Using constructivist grounded theory and fieldwork at the Sukawati Art Market, Bali, it advances a Quadruple Roles framework reconceptualising women's labour as comprising reproductive, productive, sociocultural, and spiritual dimensions. With Moser's triple-role model and *Tri Hita Karana* as sensitising concepts, in-depth interviews and participant observation allowed spirituality to emerge inductively as an analytically distinct dimension of labour. Evidence shows that ritual practices establish the moral legitimacy that structures household work, market participation, and community organisation, even amid constraints of patriarchy, limited capital, and market competition. By reconceptualising spiritual obligation as labour, the paper demonstrates that culturally embedded tourism economies operate within a moral economy rather than a purely market system, with implications for gender-sensitive destination governance and comparative research.

Keywords: Balinese women; quadruple roles; spiritual labour; *Tri Hita Karana*; gendered work; constructivist grounded theory; moral economy

1. Introduction

Tourism is frequently discussed as an intersection of gender, culture, and economy. However, women's work in tourism is often interpreted through narrow economic or managerial lenses. While existing scholarship has foregrounded themes of empowerment, resilience, and well-being, women's contributions continue to be assessed primarily in terms of market participation and income generation. As a result, other forms of labour that sustain social relations, cultural continuity, and moral order remain under-theorised

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(Biddulph & Scheyvens, 2018; Pritchard & Morgan, 2000; Putra, 2011). In many Asian societies, women play a central role in sustaining creative economies and maintaining social cohesion and cultural reproduction, forms of work which extend beyond formal economic activity.

In Bali, these dynamics are embedded in the philosophy of *Tri Hita Karana* (THK), which emphasises harmony among humans, nature, and the divine, and structures daily life, ritual practice, and tourism development (Adityanandana & Gerber, 2019; Roth & Sedana, 2015; Wiryawan, 2024). Balinese Hindu cosmology further articulates this relational worldview through the principles of *Purusa* (male consciousness) and *Pradhana* or *Prakerti* (female nature and energy), animated by the feminine power of *śakti*. These principles are understood as bound together and complementary rather than hierarchical (Lange, 2023; Titib, 1998). Within this cosmological framework, men and women are interdependent forces whose balance sustains households, ritual life and economic activity. Economic practices, cultural obligations, and spiritual devotion do not operate as discrete domains but as mutually reinforcing dimensions of everyday labour. Simultaneously, the mobilisation of THK within tourism development has been both celebrated and contested, reflecting ongoing tensions between cultural sustainability, political agendas and market expansion (Arida & Pitanatri, 2023; Dolezal & Novelli, 2020; Pickel-Chevalier et al., 2019). Such tensions raise critical questions about how women's labour is recognised, valued, and governed within tourism economies shaped by both cultural philosophy and commercial imperatives.

Despite the increasing attention to gendered labour in tourism, dominant analytical frameworks remain limited in their ability to capture this complex reality. A foundational contribution to gender and development studies, Moser's (1993) triple-role model distinguishes reproductive, productive, and community-managing roles and has been widely applied across diverse contexts (Balgah et al., 2019; Matamanda et al., 2022; Maviza & Thebe, 2023; Mtshali, 2000). While valuable, the framework offers limited conceptual space for spirituality as an autonomous domain of labour, despite substantial evidence that ritual practice, cosmology, and faith are central to women's resilience, identity formation, and moral agency (Desrosiers & Miller, 2007; Myint, 2000). Although tourism scholarship acknowledges that women's motivations and constraints are shaped by cultural and spiritual obligations (Ayuningsasi et al., 2022; Duffy et al., 2016), such practices are rarely theorised as labour. This omission obscures a critical dimension of women's everyday work, particularly in contexts such as Bali, where spirituality permeates daily life and moral obligations are present.

Spiritual labour has previously been examined within the sociology of work and organizational studies, where it refers to the incorporation, regulation, and performance of workers' spirituality as part of the labour process. Extending the concept of emotional labour, research shows that institutions may require workers to display appropriate beliefs, moral orientations, and meaningful self-presentation as conditions of participation and legitimacy (Byrne et al., 2011; McGuire, 2010). Subsequent studies have demonstrated that spirituality can function as a productive resource through which organisations structure behaviour, identity, and belonging, transforming inner conviction into a socially expected form of work (Case & Gosling, 2010; Karjalainen, 2022). Rather than voluntary cultural participation, spiritual labour therefore involves socially binding practices that regulate access to recognition and membership within a given social order (Pärna, 2012). However, this literature primarily examines corporate or institutional settings, leaving largely unexplored contexts in which cosmology, rather than managerial authority, structures the obligation to perform spiritually grounded work.

Dominant tourism and development frameworks rest on secular economic assumptions that privilege measurable production, income generation, and market participation as primary indicators of work and empowerment (Adams, 2018; Roelofsen, 2018). Within this logic, activities that do not produce direct financial returns, such as unwaged caring and affective labour, are typically categorised as culture, tradition, or social obligation rather than as labour (Azizah, 2024; Roelofsen, 2018). Ritual practices embedded in everyday tourism life accordingly remain analytically marginal, even when they structure access to markets, social legitimacy, and participation in economic activities (Widiastini et al., 2018).

In the Balinese context, women's involvement in tourism is inseparable from the ritual devotional responsibilities that sustain community order and the symbolic authenticity on which tourism depends (Fagertun, 2016; Yudhistira et al., 2024). The omission of these practices is not merely empirical but epistemological; existing frameworks subordinate forms of work organised through cosmology to those organised through wage relations (Azizah, 2024). The paper addresses this bias by examining spirituality as a foundational dimension of labour in tourism within a cosmological framework that legitimises commercial exchange (Morrison, 2020).

The continuing influence of ritual obligations on economic participation presents a conceptual challenge for existing role-based models of women's work. Although these models address domestic care, income generation, and community coordination, they provide limited analytical guidance for interpreting practices organised through religious duty and cosmological order.

Against this backdrop, the present study examines how everyday economic participation is organised in a setting where devotional responsibilities shape time allocation, social legitimacy, and access to trade. Using constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006, 2014, 2016; Stumpf et al., 2016), the research investigates how Balinese women organise household responsibilities, market activity, and community involvement in relation to ritual practice. Rather than treating spirituality solely as a belief or cultural background, the analysis treats ritual participation and devotional obligations as socially structured practices that require time, effort, and embodied engagement. Women's agency is examined within the social and moral organisation of *Tri Hita Karana*, where economic participation operates alongside cultural and religious obligations.

Empirically, the study is grounded in a case study of the Sukawati Art Market in Gianyar, Bali, an iconic centre of handicraft production and trade in which women constitute the majority of traders. Sukawati is not merely a commercial site but also a cultural space where livelihoods, artisanal knowledge and ritual obligations intersect. Previous research has demonstrated that Balinese women play pivotal roles in sustaining creative and tourism-related economies while facing persistent gender constraints and structural inequalities (Shantika et al., 2021). Studies in Ubud further illustrate how women's agency shapes destination identity through culinary and creative practices (Pitanatri, 2016), while analyses of reproductive politics and strategic decision-making reveal how patriarchal norms intersect with economic participation (Putra & Creese, 2016; Sukardiasih et al., 2025). Market life is deeply intertwined with spirituality, as ritual practices continue to structure everyday activities within Balinese tourism spaces (Narottama, 2016).

For these reasons, the Sukawati Art Market functions as a strategic site and provides a particularly instructive lens through which to examine how Balinese women negotiate many-sided forms of labour that integrate livelihood, culture, and spirituality. Accordingly, this study addresses the following research questions:

1. How do Balinese women organise their multiple responsibilities in relation to ritual obligation, household care, and market participation?
2. In what ways does *Tri Hita Karana* shape the meaning and performance of these roles?
3. What are the theoretical implications of the Quadruple Roles framework for rethinking gender, spirituality, and labour in culturally grounded contexts?

By addressing these questions, the paper makes three interrelated contributions to the literature. Theoretically, it refines existing frameworks on women's labour by formally incorporating spirituality as an autonomous and morally binding dimension. Empirically, it provides a detailed account of how Balinese women's everyday practices sustain creative economies, ritual continuity, and social legitimacy. Conceptually, the paper contributes to humanities scholarship by foregrounding spiritual labour as a critical yet often overlooked form of work in Asian societies, inviting a broader reflection on how labour, gender, and cosmology are understood beyond secular economic frameworks.

2. Literature Review

2.1 *Gender, Tourism, and Power Relations*

Tourism scholarship has long examined how gender, the economy, and culture intersect through unequal power relations. Pritchard and Morgan (2000) demonstrate that tourism landscapes are socially produced through gendered relations that determine the visibility and value of certain work. Extending this critique, Biddulph and Scheyvens (2018) argue that development approaches centred solely on income generation overlook the broader dimensions of empowerment, equity, and well-being. Subsequent research has shown that empowerment narratives often mask persistent structural inequalities, with women's agency constrained by institutional, political, and market forces (Curtin & Bird, 2021; Efthymiadou & Farmaki, 2024; Lindvert et al., 2022; Shrestha et al., 2024).

Although the empowerment framework has been valuable in recognising women's participation in tourism, it rests on a largely secular-economic understanding of work, agency, and autonomy. Empowerment is typically evaluated through income generation, decision-making power, or market participation, implicitly assuming that labour is individual, remunerated, and oriented toward economic advancement. However, in contexts where social legitimacy and livelihood are bound up with ritual obligation, tourism participation cannot be understood solely in terms of economic agency. Women may engage in tourism not primarily to increase their income or independence but to fulfil socially mandated responsibilities that sustain community life and enable their participation in the tourism economy. For this reason, empowerment-based approaches struggle to interpret obligatory, unpaid, and spiritually grounded work.

This limitation is particularly evident in Bali, Indonesia. Women play a central role in sustaining both tourism activities and cultural reproduction; however, their contributions are frequently framed only in terms of economic

participation (Sudiarta et al., 2025; Sukardiasih et al., 2025). In market spaces such as Sukawati, women's activities extend beyond trading to include household maintenance, ritual preparation, and the fulfilment of community obligations. These practices materially support tourism while remaining analytically marginal to dominant frameworks. Existing gender and tourism studies have examined productive labour, informal entrepreneurship, and household survival strategies, while feminist scholarship has documented reproductive and community management responsibilities in destination economies. More recent work has emphasised agency and identity negotiation within tourism livelihoods. However, these perspectives remain anchored primarily in economic and social interpretations of work and do not adequately explain the contexts in which participation in tourism is mediated by ritual obligation, moral legitimacy, and cosmological duty. In such settings, women's involvement in tourism is not only a livelihood strategy but also a culturally mandated practice linked to the maintenance of social and spiritual order. A significant dimension of women's work thus remains unrecognised: practices that are socially compulsory, time-intensive, and materially enabling for tourism activity, yet neither waged nor conventionally defined as labour. This unresolved analytical gap motivates the present study, which conceptualises these practices as spiritual labour.

2.2 *Tri Hita Karana and Cultural Sustainability*

Bali offers a distinctive philosophical context through *Tri Hita Karana* (THK), which emphasises harmony between humans, nature, and the divine. Roth and Sedana (2015) traced how THK evolved from a cultural philosophy into a political and developmental discourse, while Adityanandana and Gerber (2019) highlighted its contested mobilisation within large-scale tourism projects. Pickel-Chevalier et al. (2019) further illustrate how THK has been used to legitimise integrated village tourism, even as gendered divisions of labour persist. More recently, Wiryawan (2024) demonstrated THK's relevance for environmental conservation by connecting local philosophical values to broader sustainability debates. While this body of work confirms THK's symbolic, political, and policy significance, it largely operates at the institutional or macro-analytical level. Far less attention has been paid to how THK is enacted through everyday practices, particularly by women in households, markets, and ritual spaces. This gap obscures how gendered labour operationalises THK not as an abstract philosophy but as lived cultural sustainability grounded in daily routines and moral obligation.

Understanding THK as a lived practice shifts the analytical question from cultural meaning to social organisation. Rather than functioning solely as a

normative philosophy, THK operates as a moral framework that regulates when and how individuals engage in production, exchange and social interaction. Women's everyday activities operationalise this framework by linking household care, market work, and ritual obligation. Recognising these practices reveals that the maintenance of cultural sustainability depends on forms of work that are socially compulsory, materially consequential, and economically enabling, yet rarely conceptualised as labour. This insight provides a conceptual basis for analysing spiritual labour as a foundational dimension of tourism.

2.3 Balinese Cosmology: Purusa - Pradhana Duality and Śakti

Balinese Hindu cosmology conceptualises harmony through relational duality, most notably the inseparable principles of *Purusa* (male consciousness) and *Pradhana* or *Prakerti* (female nature and generative energy). Central to this ontology is *Śakti*, the animating feminine force that activates and balances the masculine principle of Lord Siva (Lange, 2023; Titib, 1998). Rather than positioning men and women as hierarchical opposites, this cosmological framework understands gendered forces as complementary and mutually sustaining. This ontology has analytical implications for understanding labour and agency. Within this cosmology, actions are not primarily evaluated by economic output but by their contribution to the maintenance of cosmic order (*dharma*) and relational harmony. Activities such as preparing offerings, temple services, ritual organisation, and household care are therefore not peripheral domestic practices but are necessary forms of world-maintaining work. Women's ritual and reproductive activities do not merely support social organisation; they sustain a balance among the human, natural, and divine realms. In this context, agency is not expressed mainly through individual autonomy or market participation, as assumed in many tourism and development frameworks. Instead, agency operates through relational responsibility: women act as bearers of *Śakti*, performing obligations that secure moral legitimacy, community cohesion, and the ritual viability of economic life. Participation in tourism, including market trading, is thus embedded within a wider system of duties that makes commercial activity culturally permissible and socially legitimate in the region.

This perspective clarifies why certain forms of work that are central to tourism economies remain marginal. Because ritual practices are unpaid and morally obligated, they fall outside conventional definitions of labour that prioritise remuneration and productivity. These practices materially enable tourism by sustaining temple cycles, ceremonial calendars, and the cultural authenticity on which destination value depends. The *Purusa-Pradhana* framework thus provides a conceptual basis for identifying spiritual practice as

labour: not because it resembles wage work, but because it is necessary, time-intensive, socially expected, and economically enabling. Spirituality is not, then, an additional cultural layer surrounding tourism work but a structuring condition that organises when, how, and under what moral authority economic activities can occur in the region. Recognising this cosmological logic allows the analysis to move beyond describing women's participation to explaining why tourism labour in Bali cannot be fully understood through secular economic categories alone.

2.4 Moser's Triple Roles Framework and Its Limits

Moser's triple-role framework remains a cornerstone of gender and development studies, distinguishing reproductive (domestic), productive (income-generating), and community management roles (Moser, 1993). The framework has been widely applied across diverse contexts, including rural development (Balgah et al., 2019; Mtshali, 2000), urban health and water governance (Matamanda et al., 2022), and crisis conditions such as the COVID-19 pandemic (McLaren et al., 2020; Maviza & Thebe, 2023). Within tourism research, it has helped reveal women's unpaid domestic responsibilities, participation in handicraft production and trade, and involvement in community ceremonies.

However, the model's analytical limits become evident in societies where religion and cosmology structure everyday obligations. The triple-role framework implicitly treats labour as a social and economic activity organised around households, markets, and communities. This assumption reflects a secular developmental logic in which work is defined as social reproduction, income generation or collective organisation. Activities are accordingly classified according to who they serve: the household, economy, or community.

In the Balinese context, many women's responsibilities do not fit this classification. Ritual offerings, temple services, and devotional preparations are not undertaken primarily for household welfare or community coordination but to maintain the cosmic balance and moral legitimacy. Their purpose is neither economic production nor social management; it is the maintenance of relations among the human, natural, and divine realms. Although such practices often occur collectively, their obligations derive from religious duties rather than community administration.

Spirituality cannot be analytically subsumed under a community management role. Community management work involves organising social relations among people, such as coordinating ceremonies, mutual assistance, and neighbourhood activities. In contrast, ritual practice is oriented toward a nonhuman moral order and is believed to affect prosperity, safety, and the viability of economic activity itself. For example, women's participation in market trade

is considered legitimate only when their ritual obligations are fulfilled. Spiritual practice does not simply accompany productive and community activities; it regulates the conditions under which these can occur. Applying the triple-role framework without modification thus risks reproducing the secular assumption that unpaid religious practices are ancillary social activities. In contexts where cosmological duty governs everyday action, these practices constitute a distinct domain of work: they are obligatory, time-intensive, socially recognised, and materially enabling for tourism economies, yet neither waged nor reducible to community management. Recognising this limitation motivated the extension proposed here, which conceptualises such practices as spiritual labour to more accurately represent women's lived experiences.

2.5 Spirituality and Women's Work in Culturally Embedded Tourism

Moser's framework differentiates reproductive, productive, and community-managing roles but fails to account for the ritual practices that organise economic participation in culturally embedded tourism. In this study, "spiritual labour" refers to the embodied time and energy devoted to sustaining cosmological balance through offerings (*canang sari*), temple service (*ngayah*), and devotional craft. Unlike community work, these activities are grounded in the ontological interplay of *Purusa*, *Pradhana*, and *Sakti*, serving to harmonise the human, natural, and divine realms (Titib, 1998).

While research acknowledges that ritual obligations shape women's livelihoods (Ayuningsasi et al., 2022; Duffy et al., 2016) and coexist with economic activity (Curtin & Bird, 2021; Lindvert et al., 2022; Tao et al., 2024), current scholarship largely treats spirituality as a cultural influence or source of resilience (Desrosiers & Miller, 2007; Myint, 2000; Morrison, 2020) rather than as a form of work. However, in Bali, ritual practice is not optional; it is a moral precondition for commerce that dictates schedules, regulates trade, and legitimises economic success.

What distinguishes this definition from "spiritual labour" in management studies, which denotes the organisational appropriation of employee spirituality to enhance productivity (Case & Gosling, 2010; Karjalainen, 2022; McGuire, 2010; Pärna, 2012). In this context, ritual is a cosmological duty rather than a workplace resource. By focusing primarily on employment, entrepreneurship, and empowerment, previous tourism scholarship renders this enabling work analytically invisible, classifying it as culture rather than labour. Reconceptualising these socially binding obligations as labour is essential for understanding not only Balinese tourism but also other heritage, pilgrimage, and indigenous systems, where economic activity operates within moral rather than purely market logic.

3. Methods

3.1 Research Design

The research employed a constructivist grounded theory (CGT) approach (Charmaz, 2006, 2014, 2016) embedded within a qualitative case study of Balinese women working at the Sukawati Art Market in Gianyar Regency, Bali, Indonesia. CGT prioritises participants' lived experiences, emphasises the co-construction of meaning between researcher and participants, and enables analytical categories to emerge inductively from empirical data. This approach is particularly suited for examining forms of labour that are culturally embedded, morally regulated, and insufficiently captured by preexisting analytical frameworks. The triple-role model (Moser, 1993) and Balinese THK philosophy were used as sensitising concepts. Rather than functioning as fixed variables, these concepts served as heuristic guides that oriented data collection and interpretation, while allowing new dimensions of labour to emerge from the participants' narratives. This methodological stance resonates with Balinese cosmology, in which knowledge is understood to be relational and embedded in harmonious relationships among humans, nature, and the divine.

3.2 Case Selection

The Sukawati Art Market was purposely selected as the research site because of its strongly gendered composition and cultural significance to the Balinese people. Approximately 70 percent of traders are women, whose activities extend beyond commercial exchange to include cultural reproduction, ritual participation, and household responsibilities. The market's recent revitalisation further positions it as a setting where tradition, economic adaptation, and cultural continuity intersect, making it an appropriate site for examining women's wide-ranging labour. As a single-site qualitative case study, the work does not aim for statistical generalisation to all Balinese markets or tourism destinations. Rather, the case is treated as theoretically instructive. Sukawati represents a context in which tourism is deeply embedded in ritual obligation and community organisation, enabling a close examination of how cosmological practice shapes economic participation. The results offer analytical transferability to culturally embedded tourism settings, rather than empirical representativeness.

3.3 Participants

Participants were recruited through purposive sampling, requiring a minimum of three years of experience in handicraft production or market

trading. Two categories of informants were engaged (Table 1). The key informants were the heads of Blocks A, B, and C, who provided the institutional context for market governance, trading regulations, and collective ritual obligations. Their accounts were used to contextualise organisational expectations rather than to generate analytic categories. The main informants were eight women artisans and traders across the three blocks, whose everyday practices formed the primary empirical basis for the analysis. Ten informants took part in the research, a sample size consistent with constructivist grounded theory, in which adequacy is determined by theoretical saturation rather than statistical representativeness (Charmaz, 2006). As a single-site, female-dominated, and culturally coherent setting, the Sukawati Art Market provided conditions conducive to saturation within a purposively constructed sample, consistent with CGT practice in bounded tourism contexts (Stumpf et al., 2016).

The sample reflects the gender composition of the Sukawati Art Market, where women comprise the majority of traders. Analytic categories were developed primarily from the women traders' narratives, while key informants were used to triangulate and interpret the institutional conditions that shape these practices. Theoretical saturation was achieved through iterative data collection and concurrent analysis, consistent with constructivist grounded theory. Early interviews identified recurring links between trading activities and ritual obligations. Subsequent interviews were conducted to examine variations across blocks and life stages and refine the emerging category of spiritual labour. Later data elaborated existing categories but did not introduce new properties or relationships, indicating category saturation and concluding the data collection.

Participant identifiers use a letter-number coding scheme: K denotes key informants (market block leaders), and W denotes the main informants (women traders and artisans). Numbers run sequentially within each category rather than across all participants, reflecting the distinct analytical functions of each group. Key informants (K1–K2) provided institutional context for market governance and ritual obligations, while main informants (W1–W8) constituted the primary empirical basis for category construction.

Table 1. Participants Profile

ID	Category	Role/Position	Gender	Age (approx.)	Years in Market	Notes
K1	Key informant	Market Head (Block A & B)	Male	Mid-50s	15+	Provided institutional perspective
K2	Key informant	Market Head (Block C)	Female	Mid-50s	18+	Provided institutional perspective
W1	Main informant	Craft Merchant (Block A)	Female	Late-40s	12	Skilled artisan, specialises in traditional crafts
W2	Main informant	Craft Merchant (Block A)	Female	Mid-40s	10	Balances trade with household responsibilities
W3	Main informant	Handicraft Trader & Entrepreneur	Female	Late-30s	8	Operates accessories business in addition to trading
W4	Main informant	Handicraft Trader & Entrepreneur	Female	Early-50s	20	Produces woven bags; mentors younger women
W5	Main informant	Craft Trader & Entrepreneur	Female	Late-40s	14	Produces wood sculptures alongside handicraft trading
W6	Main informant	Handicraft Trader (Block C)	Female	Mid-50s	9	Long-standing trader; active in community ceremonies
W7	Main informant	Handicraft Trader (Block C)	Female	Early-50s	11	Combines trade with ritual obligations
W8	Main informant	Handicraft Trader + <i>Jro Mangku</i>	Female	Late-50s	17	Temple priest; integrates ritual authority with trading

Source: Fieldwork, 2025.

Participants ranged in age from their late thirties to late fifties, illustrating how handicraft trading sustains livelihoods across different life stages through integrating economic activity and cultural reproduction. One participant also served as a *Jro Mangku* (*Pemangku* or Balinese temple priest), providing a unique perspective on the intersection of spiritual authority and the market.

This diversity of roles and experiences ensured that the analysis captured the full spectrum of women's reproductive, productive, sociocultural, and spiritual responsibilities in tourism-related economies.

3.4 Data Collection

Fieldwork was conducted in two phases: December 2024 and June–July 2025. Data collection combined semi-structured interviews lasting 45 to 90 minutes, conducted in Balinese and Indonesian, with participant observation of market practices, craft production, and ritual activities, as well as document analysis of market regulations and relevant policy texts. Interviews were guided by a protocol developed from the sensitising concepts of Moser's triple-role framework and *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy. All interviews were audio-recorded with participants' consent, transcribed verbatim, and translated into English where necessary.

3.5 Data Analysis

Data analysis followed the constant comparative method central to the constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006, 2014, 2016) and proceeded in three iterative stages. First, line-by-line open coding of interview transcripts and field notes generated initial codes anchored in participants' language, such as "closing the stall for *odalan*", "preparing offerings before opening the shop", and "teaching craft skills to daughters". Ritual practices were initially coded descriptively (e.g. preparing offerings, temple duty, and ceremonial market closure) without assigning them to any predefined role.

Second, focused coding grouped recurrent codes into broader categories corresponding to reproductive, productive, and sociocultural responsibilities of men. However, during constant comparison, several practices could not be adequately explained within these categories. Activities such as daily offerings conducted before trading or participation in *ngayah* consumed time, structured market schedules, and influenced business legitimacy, yet were neither domestic care, income-generating work, nor community organisation.

Third, theoretical coding examined the relationships among the categories and their conditions and consequences. Through ongoing memo writing, which recorded coding decisions and theoretical sensitivities, comparisons across interviews indicated that these practices operated as obligations tied to cosmological order rather than social coordination. The repeated pattern of trading activities organised around ritual requirements led to the construction of a distinct analytical category. Although this category emerged inductively from the data, it resonates with sociological discussions of spiritual labour as a form of work involving disciplined spiritual performance and moral self-

regulation rather than economic production (Karjalainen, 2022; McGuire, 2010). In this way, spirituality emerged inductively from the data, prompting the development of the Quadruple Roles framework.

3.6 Ensuring Credibility and Ethics

Credibility was enhanced through the triangulation of interview data, participant observation, and documentary sources, along with member checking with selected participants. A thick description of the market settings, combined with sustained reflexive memoing, further strengthened interpretive rigor and transparency. All participants provided informed consent before data collection. All informants were identified through pseudonyms to protect confidentiality, even in cases where participants expressed no objection to disclosing their identities. This approach balances transparency with the long-term protection of the participants. Throughout the research process, cultural sensitivity was prioritised, particularly in scheduling field activities around ritual events and respecting participants' religious and cultural practices.

4. Findings and Discussion

4.1 Study Site and Context

The Sukawati Art Market, located in Gianyar Regency, Bali, is one of the island's oldest and most recognisable cultural marketplaces. Established in the mid-1980s and revitalised between 2019 and 2022, the market currently comprises three main blocks (A, B, and C) with more than 1,400 trading units. Blocks A and B remain fully occupied by traditional handicraft vendors, whereas Block C, the modernised extension, continues to experience low occupancy, with approximately 30 percent of stalls in use. This uneven spatial distribution reflects ongoing tensions among revitalisation, affordability, and long-term sustainability, echoing broader debates on gentrification and the transformation of creative economies in the heritage markets.

Beyond its function as a trading hub, Sukawati operates as a cultural space where economic exchange is intertwined with its symbolic meaning. Market stalls display *lukisan wayang* (shadow puppet paintings), wooden statues, masks, woven bags, *endek* textiles, and other handmade crafts that embody aesthetic, cultural and ritual values. Purchasing practices in Sukawati accordingly extend beyond consumption to encompass encounters with Balinese heritage, where craft production is rooted in intergenerational knowledge transmission and cultural obligation. As observed in comparable Asian marketplaces that combine economic activity with symbolic capital (Aquino et al., 2021; Biddulph & Scheyvens, 2018), Sukawati illustrates how cultural value is produced and sustained through everyday livelihoods rather than detached heritage narratives.

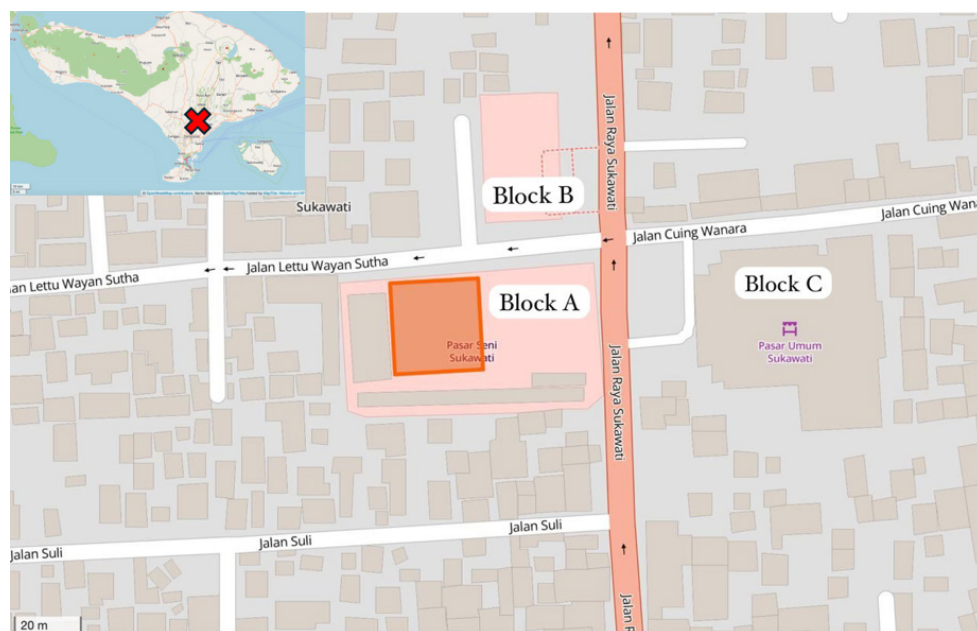


Figure 1. Map of Sukawati Art Market, Gianyar, Bali (Source: Open Street Map, <https://www.openstreetmap.org/way/419885974>).

Women constitute approximately 70 percent of traders at Sukawati, positioning them at the core of the local creative economy. Their presence illustrates how reproductive, productive, sociocultural, and spiritual responsibilities intersect within everyday market life. Sukawati offers a particularly instructive lens for examining how Balinese women enact the Quadruple Roles framework through the philosophy of *Tri Hita Karana* (Adityanandana & Gerber, 2019; Roth & Sedana, 2015; Wiryawan, 2024). Attention to the distribution of traders across Blocks A, B, and C further reveals where women's labour is most concentrated and highlights the vulnerabilities produced by uneven revitalisation and ongoing market restructuring.

Table 2. Distribution of Traders and Units in Sukawati Art Market (2025)

Block / Floor	Potential Units	Active	Inactive	Occupancy Rate	Main Products/ Description
Block A – Ground Floor	168	168	–	100%	Small to medium handicraft vendors
Block A – First Floor	183	183	–	100%	Souvenirs and woven bags
Block A – Second Floor	211	211	–	100%	Wallets, fans, rattan crafts
Block A – Third Floor	217	217	–	100%	Various souvenir products
Block B (single level)	31	31	–	100%	Paintings, wooden statues, traditional masks
Subtotal Block A & B	810	810	–	100%	Fully occupied
Block C – Ground Floor	194	21	173	11%	Clothing and modern souvenirs
Block C – First Floor	120	87	33	73%	Textiles and aesthetic handicrafts
Block C – Second Floor	126	55	71	44%	Batik, <i>endek</i> , home decorations
Block C – Third Floor	155	18	137	12%	General souvenirs, magnets, wooden dolls
Subtotal Block C	595	181	414	30%	Largely under-occupied
Total Overall	1,405	991	414	71%	Traders concentrated in Blocks A & B

Source: Data adapted from the Sukawati Art Market Administration Office (Blocks A, B, and C), 2025.

The distribution of traders across the Sukawati Art Market reveals a pronounced divergence between its older and newer sections. As shown in Table 2, Blocks A and B remained fully occupied, with all 810 trading units actively used. This stability reflects the persistence of long-established vendors and the continuity of intergenerational artisanal practices, in which women play a dominant role in craft production and family based enterprises. In contrast, Block C, despite being revitalised with modern infrastructure, has only 181 active units out of 595, leaving approximately 70 percent of the stalls vacant. This uneven occupancy exposes a dual reality: while revitalisation has improved physical conditions, it has also generated new vulnerabilities for women traders with limited financial capacity to relocate to new sites to do business.

One trader (W2, 45 years old) described the dramatic shift in working conditions following revitalisation:

“After the Sukawati Art Market was revitalised, the trading atmosphere became much more comfortable. Previously, it was crowded and hot, and when it rained, we had to cover our products with plastic. Now the facilities are free, the toilets are clean, and the spacious building means we are no longer overheated or drenched... Unfortunately, not everyone can afford to move into the new stalls” (W2, Interview, June 23, 2025).

This testimony illustrates how upgraded infrastructure can create safer and more dignified working environments, aligning with broader aspirations for inclusive tourism (Biddulph & Scheyvens, 2018; Trilaksono et al., 2025; Wang et al., 2024). Simultaneously, this reinforces the observation that women’s economic contributions remain constrained by structural inequalities (Sukardiasih et al., 2025). In Sukawati, revitalisation reveals a paradox of modernisation: while physical improvements enhance comfort and safety, they do not resolve disparities in access to capital. For many women traders, empowerment remains partial and uneven, concentrated in traditional market blocks where livelihoods are sustained through intergenerational skills, relational social networks, and the moral economy embedded in the philosophy of *Tri Hita Karana*.

4.2 Triple Roles of Balinese Women

Addressing the first research question, this section examines how Balinese women enact reproductive, productive, and sociocultural responsibilities to sustain their everyday household economies and market-based livelihoods. Drawing on Moser’s triple-role framework (1993), the analysis demonstrates how these overlapping roles are continuously negotiated in daily life at the Sukawati Art Market. Domestic care, income-generating activities, and community obligations intersect in ways that blur the conventional boundaries between the household, market, and social spheres, revealing the relational and cumulative nature of women’s labour within the creative economy.

4.2.1 Reproductive Roles

In Sukawati, women shoulder the primary responsibility for reproductive labour, including childcare, food preparation, and maintaining household harmony. Although largely invisible in economic terms, this labour forms the foundation of family stability and enables women’s sustained participation in market activities. Reproductive work structures the rhythms of everyday life,

shaping when and how women engage in creative economies. As one trader explained,

“Every day, I wake up at 5 a.m. to cook for my family and prepare offerings before opening my stall.... If there is an *odalan* (temple festival), I wake even earlier, as part of my duty as a wife and mother, even though I also have a business.” (W3, aged 39, Interview, June 20, 2025)

This account illustrates the “double burden” widely documented in gender and development scholarship, in which women’s reproductive responsibilities coexist with and enable their economic activities (McLaren et al., 2020; Mohanty, 2003; Mtshali, 2000). In the Balinese context, this burden is further intensified by ritual obligations that extend domestic labour into the spiritual realm. Tasks such as preparing offerings and observing ritual calendars are woven into everyday household care, blurring distinctions between reproductive and spiritual work.

Comparable dynamics are evident in other agrarian and tourism-linked economies in this region. For instance, Barry and Gahman (2021) demonstrate how women’s unpaid care and subsistence labour in Caribbean communities underpin broader food systems and local livelihoods. Such parallels confirm that reproductive labour, while frequently undervalued and unrecognised (Mohanty, 2003), is foundational not only to household resilience but also to the sustainability of creative and tourism-related economies in the region. In Sukawati, women’s reproductive roles constitute a critical, although often overlooked, dimension of the labour that sustains both family life and market participation.

4.2.2 *Productive Roles*

Productive labour is most visibly concentrated in Blocks A and B of the Sukawati Art Market, where all 810 stalls remain fully occupied by traditional artisans and traders. Women dominate these spaces, producing and selling handicrafts such as paintings, wooden statues, woven bags, and masks. These activities generate household income while also sustaining artisanal traditions that are central to Balinese cultural identity. Women’s productive roles operate at the intersection of economic necessity and cultural permanence. As one trader explained,

“The handicrafts I sell are all kinds of wooden statues, and I produce them myself at home with the help of my family and neighbours. My family has long been engaged in statue-making, inherited from our parents, and now we continue to manage and market it.” (W5, aged 49, Interview, June 20, 2025)

This account reveals two interrelated dynamics: First, women's productive labour is deeply embedded in family and community collaboration, reflecting an entrepreneurial agency that is relational rather than individualised. Craft production often involves shared labour among relatives and neighbours, blurring the distinction between household work and market-oriented activity. Second, productive labour is deeply bound to cultural reproduction, as artisanal skills and aesthetic knowledge are transmitted across generations and continuously adapted to the demands of tourism markets.



Figure 2. Women traders serving customers at textile stalls in the Sukawati Art Market (Photograph by Nararya Narottama, 2026)

Much of this productive work takes place within domestic spaces or small home-based workshops, further dissolving the boundaries between reproductive and productive roles for women. Income generation is interwoven with caregiving, household management, and cultural instruction, producing a cumulative workload that extends beyond formal employment. This embeddedness exemplifies how women's labour sustains inclusive tourism economies, where informal and household-based production underpins both livelihoods and heritage continuity (Biddulph & Scheyvens, 2018). Comparable patterns in heritage and craft-based economies elsewhere likewise demonstrate that women's productive contributions, while frequently undervalued, are central to linking cultural sustainability and tourism-related economic activity.



Figure 3. Balinese women producing handicrafts at Sukawati Art Market (Photograph by Made Diah Pranyaswari, 2025).

Figure 3 provides visual evidence of Balinese women engaged in handicraft production within their market stalls, illustrating how productive labour is artisanal, relational, and embedded in everyday market life. Through this work, women not only meet household needs and finance their children's education, but also create forms of informal employment and sustain the cultural foundations of Bali's creative tourism economy. Productive labour, then, serves as both an economic activity and a vehicle for cultural transmission, linking everyday livelihoods with broader processes of heritage continuity.

4.2.3 Socio-Cultural Roles

The socio-cultural roles performed by Balinese women are central to sustaining both community life and the market economy. Women actively participate in rituals and *banjar* (neighbourhood associations), contributing unpaid labour rooted in the Balinese ethos of *menyama braya* (social solidarity).

These commitments frequently require women to suspend trading activities to fulfil their communal obligations. As one informant explained,

“When there is *ngayah* (communal service) in my village, I close my stall because it is our obligation in Bali. Economic loss can be accepted if social and cultural duties are fulfilled.” (W6, aged 55, Interview, 2025)

This testimony illustrates how communal responsibilities are prioritised over immediate economic gain, reinforcing the observation that women’s community obligations are tightly linked to their participation in market economies. In practice, women rely on flexible trading arrangements to align market work with *acara adat* (customary events) and *menyama braya* (socialising). However, such flexibility also exposes the structural constraints that shape women’s economic vulnerabilities. Another trader noted:

“Working as a trader here is flexible and not binding, so I can manage my time between selling and community activities. The only drawback is that I still must pay the daily administrative fee of Rp 1,000 (approximately US\$0.15), whether my stall is open or closed” (W4, aged 51, Interview, June 20, 2025).

This account reveals the tension between empowerment and precariousness. While flexibility enables women to integrate sociocultural duties into their livelihoods, fixed administrative costs mean that fulfilling communal obligations can have tangible economic consequences. Through these practices, women not only sustain household livelihoods but also legitimise the market as a culturally embedded space, ensuring that economic activity remains aligned with Balinese values.

Across all three roles, the analysis of reproductive, productive, and sociocultural responsibilities demonstrates that Balinese women’s labour is multilayered, adaptive, and deeply rooted in cultural norms. However, even this expanded understanding of women’s triple roles leaves certain dimensions unaddressed. Recurrent references to closing stalls during *odalan*, preparing offerings at market shrines, and prioritising *ngayah* as a sacred duty point beyond socio-cultural obligation toward a distinct spiritual dimension of labour are made in the study. These findings indicate that while Moser’s (1993) framework remains analytically valuable, it is insufficient for the context of Bali. Spiritual labour emerges as an autonomous role within the lived negotiation between ritual devotion and market livelihood in the following ways.

4.3 *Tri Hita Karana as the Basis for an Emerging Spiritual Dimension*

This section examines how *Tri Hita Karana* (THK), the Balinese philosophy of harmony among humans, nature, and the divine, shapes spirituality as a distinct dimension of women's labour at the Sukawati Art Market. The evidence demonstrates that women's ritual practices cannot be reduced to socio-cultural obligations alone; rather, they constitute autonomous spiritual duties that actively shape the everyday market life. During field observations, women traders were frequently seen *majejaitan*, arranging various offerings such as *canang sari*, *segehan*, and *banten* while also attending to their customers. *Banten* (or *bebanten*) is the Balinese term for ritual offerings, physical assemblages of natural materials prepared and presented to gods, spirits, and ancestors as acts of devotion, communication, and cosmological maintenance. A *banten* is not merely a gift or decoration. It is a structured cosmological object: each component (flowers, palm leaf, rice, fruit, incense, holy water) carries symbolic meaning tied to the Balinese Hindu understanding of the universe. The arrangement, colour, direction, and timing of a *banten* are prescribed by *adat* (customary law) and religious knowledge passed down through generations, often by women.

Ritual preparation occurred alongside economic activities rather than outside them. As one participant explained,

"Daily, and especially during *piodalan* (temple festivals), I perform *majejaitan* and prepare *banten* for the temple, even while at the market.... For me, *ngayah* is a non-negotiable obligation." (W7, aged 52, Interview, June 23, 2025)

Majejaitan is not merely a technical or decorative activity; it is imbued with spiritual meaning and understood as *yadnya/yajna* (an act of devotion or *Seva*). Within the philosophy of THK, such practices express harmony between economic livelihood (*pawongan*), the sacred (*parahyangan*), and material (*palemahan*) aspects. Rather than viewing ritual as an interruption to trade, women perceive it as integral to legitimising and sustaining their economic roles. Ritual labour, in this way, operates alongside productive labour as a parallel and equally necessary aspect of daily work.



Figure 4. Various kinds of *banten* with *canang sari* displayed at the market, illustrating the integration of ritual practice into daily trade (Photograph by Nararya Narottama, 2026).

A particularly illustrative case involves a trader (W8, aged 59) who also serves as a *jro mangku istri* (female temple priestess) alongside her husband, a *jro mangku lanang* (male priest). Together, they manage a handicraft stall but routinely suspend trading when ritual leadership is required during the *piodalan* or *ngayah* ceremonies. This arrangement positions the market as both a commercial and sacred space where spiritual authority and economic livelihood intersect. The dual priesthood reflects the Balinese cosmological principles of *Purusa* (male consciousness) and *Pradhana* (female energy), in which neither principle can function independently (Titib, 1998). Through her ritual leadership, the *jro mangku istri* embodies *Śakti*, the feminine power that animates and balances the masculine principle, demonstrating that women's spiritual agency is not secondary but complementary and indispensable (Remington & Kitterlin-Lynch, 2017). Economic and ritual duties are co-performed as parallel expressions of cosmological balance, affirming that gendered labour in Bali is structured by duality rather than by hierarchy. One trader explained:

"Every day, I wake up at 5 a.m. to prepare the household and make *canang sari* offerings before opening my stall." (W8, Interview, June 23, 2025)

This testimony reveals how spiritual devotion is embedded within daily market routines, extending women's roles beyond reproductive, productive, and sociocultural responsibilities into an autonomous, spiritual domain.

Other traders articulated similar priorities. One trader noted,

"If there is *ngayah* in the *banjar*, I close my stall temporarily, because it is our obligation in Bali." (W2, Interview, June 23, 2025)

Another explained,

"I close my stall during temple ceremonies because *ngayah* is an obligation. Even if I lose a day's income, my heart feels at peace, and my customary relationships are maintained." (W7, Interview, June 23, 2025)

Taken together, these accounts highlight how *ngayah*, a form of voluntary service performed without material compensation, embodies solidarity, devotion, and collective moral responsibility. In Sukawati, women willingly suspend trading to participate in communal rituals, accepting short-term economic losses in exchange for spiritual harmony and social legitimacy.

What is significant here is that women articulate these practices not simply as communal expectations but as sacred duties, underscoring spirituality as an autonomous domain of labour. Sacred responsibilities are structurally embedded within market routines, confirming Sukawati's status as both a commercial and sacred space. For female traders, spirituality exceeds Moser's (1993) reproductive and community-managing categories, demanding recognition as a distinct dimension of their agency. The Quadruple Roles framework is rooted in the lived practice of *Tri Hita Karana* and the cosmological balance of *Purusa*, *Pradhana*, and *Śakti*.

In labour sociology, spiritual labour differs from socio-cultural participation because it involves an obligatory performance tied to legitimacy and recognition within a social order. Unlike voluntary cultural activities, spiritual practices function as normative requirements, and their absence results in social sanctions or loss of moral standing (Byrne et al., 2011; McGuire, 2010). Rather than being a symbolic expression alone, they function as disciplined practices requiring time, bodily effort, and self-regulation (Karjalainen, 2022). In Sukawati, participation in ritual life similarly shapes acceptance within trading networks and access to community cooperation, indicating that these practices function as labour rather than merely as cultural traditions.

The disciplinary dimension of this obligation is equally significant. Women who are perceived to neglect ritual duties risk social censure, reputational loss within the trader community, and the withdrawal of the cooperative reciprocity (including assistance during busy trading periods and shared ceremonial responsibilities) on which market livelihoods depend. Spiritual labour, therefore, does not only authorize economic participation; its non-performance actively jeopardizes it. This coercive dimension distinguishes spiritual obligation from voluntary cultural practice and reinforces its analytical status as labour.

Table 3. Spiritual Labour of Balinese Women at Sukawati Art Market

Aspect	Manifestations	Characteristics	Function	THK Alignment
Transcendence (Personal Devotion)	Placing daily <i>canang sari</i> at stall shrines; sprinkling <i>tirta</i> (holy water) on products; brief prayers before trading; assuming ritual leadership (<i>pemangku/jro mangku</i>)	Obligatory practices performed prior to commercial exchange and independent of market demand; embedded in routine trading preparation	Establishes the moral legitimacy of trading and authorises participation in the marketplace	<i>Parahyangan</i> – harmony with the Divine
Healing (Well-being & Protection)	Offering <i>segehan</i> (ground offerings) for protection; preparing <i>loloh/jamu</i> (herbal drinks) for family and traders; providing comfort during hardship	Sacred care extending beyond households; rituals that protect, nurture, and sustain collective well-being	Maintains social and psychological stability necessary for continuity of economic activity	<i>Pawongan</i> – harmony among people
Cosmic Connection (Livelihood–Ritual Integration)	Closing stalls during <i>odalan</i> ; contributing income to ceremonies; decorating and cleaning temple grounds	Integrates livelihood with ritual economy; situates market activities within cosmic balance	Regulates temporal rhythms of market operation and synchronises commercial activity with ritual cycles	<i>Palemahan</i> – harmony with nature and the cosmos

Source: Fieldwork, 2025.

Spiritual labour (as summarised in Table 3) is analytically distinct from socio-cultural obligation because its organising principle is cosmological rather than relational. Sociocultural roles coordinate relations among community members, whereas ritual practices in Sukawati are performed to maintain harmony among the human, natural, and divine realms, as prescribed by *Tri Hita Karana* (THK). Daily *canang sari* and *segehan* offerings and the closure of stalls during *odalan* are not merely collective social activities but required ritual acts that condition the moral legitimacy of trade in the temple area. The

marketplace, by extension, operates as both an economic arena and a ritually sanctioned space for the community.

This interpretation differs from most organisational studies, where spiritual labour is defined as the mobilisation or regulation of workers' spirituality within institutional settings (Case & Gosling, 2010; Karjalainen, 2022; McGuire, 2010). In Sukawati, spirituality is neither commodified nor managerially imposed. Rather, devotional practice precedes and authorises participation in exchanges. Ritual obligation does not function as workplace performance but as a community-recognised condition of economic legitimacy.

Spiritual labour intersects with reproductive, productive, and sociocultural responsibilities but remains functionally distinct from them. Practices such as *majejaitan* are incorporated into household routines, while participation in *ngayah* reorganises trading schedules and suspends commercial activity. These actions are not undertaken for reciprocity, income generation, or domestic care; they are obligations whose fulfilment enables livelihood. Prior research shows that unpaid care and ritual responsibilities support economic resilience (Barry & Gahman, 2021; Matamanda et al., 2022; Maviza & Thebe, 2023) however, in Bali, the relationship is stronger: economic participation is structured by ritual duty rather than merely being supported by it.



Figure 5. Women arranging *banten* as part of collective ritual preparation at a market temple (Photograph by Nararya Narottama, 2026).

Recognising this distinction extends Moser's (1993) triple-role framework into a quadruple-role model. The additional dimension does not subdivide community work but identifies a separate category of labour defined by its ontological orientation and regulatory function. Spiritual labour regulates when trade can occur, legitimises participation in tourism economies, and explains time allocation and temporary market withdrawal, which cannot be interpreted through reproductive, productive or socio-cultural roles alone. This formulation complements research linking women's spirituality to resilience and agency (Desrosiers & Miller, 2007; Myint, 2000) while grounding the analysis in tourism settings, where ritual obligation structures economic practices (Ayuningsasi et al., 2022; Duffy et al., 2016).

Within Balinese cosmology, the relationship between *Purusa* (consciousness) and *Pradhana* or *Sakti* (generative energy) further clarifies the role of women. Through ritual leadership and devotional practice, women enact the generative principles that maintain cosmic balance. Their authority derives not from community delegation but from ritual competence. Gendered agency is constituted through complementary cosmological functions rather than hierarchical positions. Spiritual labour has emerged as an institutionalised form of work that both authorises and sustains household livelihood, community order, and market activity.

4.4 The Quadruple Roles and Implications for Sustainable Tourism

Addressing the third research question, this section synthesises the Quadruple Roles framework and considers its implications for gender, spirituality, and sustainability in tourism. Women's agency at the Sukawati Art Market spans the reproductive, productive, sociocultural, and spiritual domains, all of which are grounded in the philosophy of THK. Women's economic activities are bound up with household care, community obligations, and rituals. Beyond selling handicrafts, women act as cultural mediators, narrating the symbolic meanings of artefacts and transforming everyday trade into a cultural tourism. Items such as statues, textiles, and masks serve as souvenirs and ritual objects alike, positioning women as custodians of authenticity and agents of sustainable tourism (Biddulph & Scheyvens, 2018). However, this integration of commerce, culture, and devotion exposes vulnerabilities as women navigate capital constraints, market restructuring and patriarchal norms (Pickel-Chevalier et al., 2019; Sukardiasih et al., 2025).



Figure 6. Balinese women managing a stall while preparing ritual offerings (*canang sari*) during an interview session (Photograph by Made Diah Pranyaswari, 2025).

Spirituality emerges as central, rather than peripheral, to women's work. Nearly all traders prepare *banten* and *canang sari* at home and in the market, embedding devotion directly into their economic routines. As one trader explained,

"Making *canang sari* and other offerings while trading is my duty, so that my business remains aligned with the divine" (W7, Interview, June 23, 2025).

These practices require time and energy and may reduce trading hours; yet, women consistently describe them as sources of calm, legitimacy, and social respect. Rather than viewing rituals as interruptions, traders understand devotion as a condition for market success. This supports the argument that spirituality underpins women's resilience and leadership (Desrosiers & Miller, 2007; Myint, 2000) and aligns with tourism research emphasising the role of cultural obligations in shaping women's labour (Ayuningsasi et al., 2022; Duffy et al., 2016).

Reproductive responsibilities are the foundation of this labour configuration. Many women begin their day with household care and ritual preparation before opening their stalls, demonstrating how reproductive and spiritual labour enables productive engagement. Closing stalls during temple festivals is not framed as an economic loss but as an alignment with THK principles. In this sense, this study extends Moser's (1993) framework by showing how reproductive labour in Bali is uniquely ritualised and morally regulated.

Productive roles remain anchored in intergenerational craft traditions; however, women increasingly face barriers related to competition, digitalisation, and access to capital. Sociocultural duties, particularly *ngayah* and *menyama braya*, reinforce social solidarity but can temporarily reduce income. As one participant explained,

"If there is *ngayah* in the banjar, I prefer to close the stall temporarily for *menyama braya*, because that is our tradition and obligation in Bali. *Manava seva Madhava seva*, which means service to humanity is service to God. God will give us sustenance in different forms." (W6, Interview, June 20, 2025)

This testimony frames voluntary service not as a sacrifice but as a cosmologically sanctioned duty. By aligning community service with devotion, women legitimise their temporary withdrawal from trade as an investment in spiritual and social balance, reinforcing THK's integration of divine, human, and natural harmony. Such practices exemplify what Mohanty (2003) describes as a negotiated agency: women operate within patriarchal constraints but actively align economic activity with cultural and cosmological obligations.

Patriarchal expectations continue to shape these dynamics, particularly through the gendered socialisation of daughters into domestic and ritual responsibilities, while sons are often exempted (Putra & Creese, 2016). However, these norms are neither fixed nor uncontested in the literature. Some households increasingly pursue more equitable arrangements, revealing patriarchy as at once resilient and negotiated, a pattern echoed in agrarian and tourism economies elsewhere (Barry & Gahman, 2021; Matamanda et al., 2022).

This complexity was summarised by a market manager:

“Here, women have very complex roles. They must complete their responsibilities at home before taking on the obligation of earning a living.... Some traders collaborate with their husbands, with men focusing on marketing paintings or statues, while women sell souvenirs such as necklaces, bracelets, and fabrics” (K1, Interview, July 1, 2025).

This account underscores that women's agency is negotiated across the household, economic, and ritual domains. Women's labour sustains tourism not only through commerce but also through cultural and spiritual continuity. Economic participation thus becomes a contemporary form of *ngayah*, in which devotion extends beyond ritual service to include cultural and economic contributions.

Finally, the Quadruple Roles framework resonates with Balinese cosmology. The dual priesthood of *jro mangku istri* and *jro mangku lanang* embodies the complementary principles of *Purusa* (male consciousness) and *Pradhana* (female energy), animated by *Śakti*, the feminine power that balances and sustains the creation. Women's spiritual labour is therefore cosmologically indispensable. Mapping reproductive, productive, sociocultural, and spiritual roles onto THK's harmonies of *parahyangan* (divine), *parwongan* (human), and *palemahan* (nature) anchors the framework within Balinese epistemology (Adityanandana & Gerber, 2019; Roth & Sedana, 2015; Titib, 1998; Wiryawan, 2024). As summarised in Table 4, this synthesis demonstrates how Balinese women's interwoven labour secures household resilience, cultural continuity, environmental stewardship and spiritual legitimacy, providing a holistic foundation for sustainable tourism.

Table 4. Quadruple Roles of Balinese Women, *Tri Hita Karana* Alignment, and Implications for Tourism System

Quadruple Roles	THK Domain	Practices	Functions	Implications for Tourism System
Reproductive (domestic care, household responsibilities)	<i>Pawongan</i> (humans relations) + <i>Parahyangan</i> (ritualised care)	Child-rearing, preparing meals, early-morning <i>mabanten canang sari</i> before opening stalls or trading	Reproduces labour capacity and moral discipline within the household; links daily subsistence routines with devotional order; <i>Śakti</i>	Secures household resilience and intergenerational continuity; legitimises women’s participation in tourism
Productive (income-generating activities)	<i>Palemahan</i> (nature and material resources) + <i>Pawongan</i> (collaborative exchange)	Handicraft production in family workshops, trading in Blocks A and B, sourcing materials	Generates livelihood and circulates locally embedded goods; converts cultural skills into economic value	Sustains the creative economy and material basis of tourism exchange
Socio-Cultural (community organisation and ritual obligations)	<i>Pawongan</i> (social cohesion)	<i>Ngayah</i> , banjar rituals, temple cleaning, suspending trade for communal ceremonies (<i>menyama braya</i>)	It coordinates collective responsibilities and social relations, regulates cooperation, trust, and reciprocal obligation among traders, and frames communal service as a religious duty.	Stabilises market governance and embeds commercial activity within community institutions
Spiritual (ritual and devotional labour)	<i>Parahyangan</i> (divine relations) + integrating <i>Pawongan</i> and <i>Palemahan</i>	<i>Canang sari</i> and <i>banten</i> offerings, sprinkling <i>tirta</i> on products, closing stalls during <i>odalan</i> , priestly roles (<i>jro mangku</i>)	Regulates moral legitimacy of economic participation and temporal organisation of trade; authorises when and how exchange may occur, legitimising markets as sacred spaces	Constitutes the moral infrastructure of the tourism system by ritually sanctioning commercial activity

Source: Fieldwork (2025); adapted from Moser (1993) and *Tri Hita Karana* principles

Table 4 maps the Quadruple Roles of Balinese women (reproductive, productive, socio-cultural, and spiritual) onto the three harmonies of *Tri Hita Karana* (*parahyangan*, *pawongan*, and *palemahan*) and provides the conceptual basis for the framework illustrated in Figure 7.

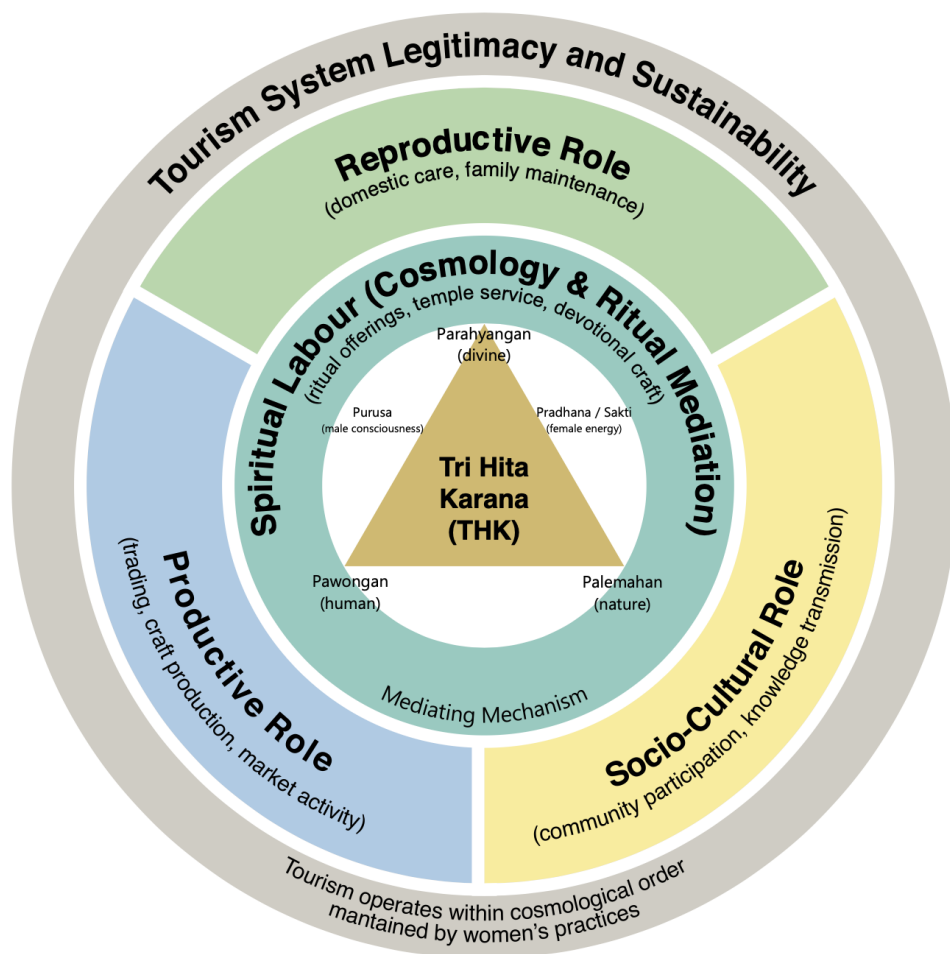


Figure 7. Quadruple Roles Framework (Source: Authors, 2026)

In contrast to Moser's (1993) triple-role model, the Balinese case identifies spirituality as an autonomous role in which ritual offerings, priestly duties, and devotional practices are structurally integrated into the market activity. Anchored in *Purusa-Pradhana* cosmology and the principle of *Sakti* as sustaining feminine energy, women's labour operates within a cosmological order rather than solely economic or social domains. Participant testimony, expressed in the phrase "*Manava Seva Madhava Seva*" ("service to humanity is service to God"), shows that *ngayah* is understood as communal service and spiritual devotion

at once, thereby legitimising the temporary withdrawal from trade as a sacred obligation rather than as economic inactivity.

The Quadruple Roles framework shows that spiritual labour does not merely accompany other roles but mediates them. Ritual practice regulates when economic activity may occur, aligns household responsibilities with devotional duties, and situates community participation within the moral obligation. Spiritual labour, in short, authorises participation in the tourism economy by ritually sanctioning commercial exchange and defining the conditions under which trade is considered to be proper and sustainable. Conversely, the failure to fulfil devotional obligations carries social costs, a dynamic that exposes the coercive, not merely enabling, character of spiritual labour and its function as a regulatory mechanism within the moral economy of the market. Within the harmonies of *Tri Hita Karana*, tourism sustainability in Bali depends on women's interwoven labour, which sustains household resilience, social cohesion, environmental balance and spiritual legitimacy.

This ritual regulation of market activity has governance implications. Tourism management cannot be organised solely around economic schedules, as temple cycles, *odalan* closures, and *ngayah* obligations structure legitimate trading time. Planning that ignores ritual calendars risks interpreting temporary closures as inefficiencies rather than normative practices. Destination authorities should incorporate ritual time into market regulations, operating schedules, and planning frameworks. Sustainability assessment should extend beyond visitor numbers and revenue to include cultural labour that maintains social cohesion and ritual continuity.

While spiritual labour as a cultural obligation applies broadly to Balinese society, its intensity, time burden, and moral weight are distributed unequally along gender lines. Women bear a disproportionate share of daily ritual preparation, including *canang sari*, *banten*, and *majejaitan*, which are understood as primarily feminine domestic-spiritual duties embedded in the *Purusa-Pradhana* cosmology. Men participate in *ngayah* and *odalan* observances, but the daily embodied labour of ritual maintenance falls predominantly on women. Women's economic legitimacy is, moreover, more directly contingent on ritual fulfilment, as their roles as wives, mothers, and bearers of *Śakti* are evaluated through visible devotional performance. For this reason, while the framework may offer analytical transferability to men in future research, the quadruple burden documented here is structurally gendered in the Balinese context. Future studies should include male traders as primary informants to test whether and how spiritual labour operates differently across gender lines.

5. Conclusion

Working from constructivist grounded theory and evidence from the Sukawati Art Market, the analysis shows how Balinese women sustain everyday life through interwoven reproductive, productive, sociocultural, and spiritual roles grounded in the philosophy of *Tri Hita Karana*. Theoretically, the analysis repositions spiritual labour as a form of work structured through moral obligation and cosmological legitimacy rather than wage relations or managerial regulation. While the existing literature has examined spiritual labour mainly within organisational and workplace settings, this research demonstrates that, in culturally embedded tourism economies, participation in economic exchange itself depends on ritual fulfilment and recognised devotion. Spiritual practice functions, in effect, as a condition of labour participation rather than as a symbolic culture.

Empirically, the evidence reveals a moral economy in which trading schedules, market legitimacy, and perceptions of success are organised around ritual requirements. Women's agency is exercised through the concurrent sustenance of household resilience, cultural continuity, and spiritual legitimacy. Conceptually, the framework suggests that tourism systems may rely on forms of labour that remain invisible within secular economic models of work. The Quadruple Roles framework offers a lens applicable beyond Bali to pilgrimage destinations, ritual heritage economies, and indigenous tourism contexts. Future research should employ comparative and longitudinal designs to examine how spiritual labour varies across cultural settings and how it adapts over time in response to tourism development, market pressure, and social change.

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