

Sacred Spaces and Sustainable Livelihoods: Examining Temple Micro-Economies, Gender Inclusion, and SDG Alignment in Rural Gujarat: Mixed-Methods Study

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ABSTRACT

Background: Religious institutions in India function simultaneously as spiritual centres and engines of informal economic activity. Temple-adjacent micro-economies sustain livelihoods for large numbers of vendors, ritual assistants, and service workers, yet remain understudied at the level of individual workers and precinct-level dynamics—particularly regarding gender equity and alignment with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

Methodology/Principal Findings: This study employed a sequential mixed-methods design combining a structured questionnaire survey ($N = 56$) administered at two temple complexes in Madhavpur, Gujarat—the Madhavrai Trikamrai Mandir and the Rukmini Mandir—with field observation and informal interviews. Survey data were analysed using IBM SPSS Statistics, employing descriptive statistics, chi-square tests of association, and bivariate correlation. Key findings include: a majority of respondents (66.1%) worked full-time at the temple precinct, indicating primary rather than supplementary livelihood dependence; monthly income was positively associated with years of tenure (Spearman $\rho = .392$, $SD = 1.16$, $p = .003$); 64.3% reported improving income trends while 71.5% confirmed income dependence on festival cycles (skewness = -1.567); workplace safety perceptions were strongly positive ($M = 4.18$, $SD = 0.77$) with no significant gender difference (chi-square(4) = 3.436, $p = .488$); and women's economic participation was systematically denied by male co-workers (chi-square(3) = 15.909, $p = .001$).

Conclusions/Significance: The study demonstrates that temple precincts constitute viable but precarious livelihood ecosystems aligned with SDG 8 (Decent Work), while also revealing structural gender inequalities that impede progress toward SDG 5 (Gender Equality) and SDG

10 (Reduced Inequalities). Gender-responsive governance frameworks, inclusive financial services, and gender-disaggregated livelihood mapping are identified as priority interventions.

Keywords: temple economy, informal labour, gender inclusion, Sustainable Development Goals, pilgrimage, Gujarat, micro-enterprise, decent work

1. INTRODUCTION

Religious institutions in India transcend their primary function as spaces of worship, serving simultaneously as loci of economic organisation, social reproduction, and cultural identity. Temples, in particular, have historically operated as multi-functional civic institutions, managing wealth, directing resource flows, and anchoring neighbourhood-level governance (Appadurai & Breckenridge, 1976; Mudaliar, 1976). Contemporary scholarship corroborates this dual character: pilgrimage and religious tourism generate substantial informal employment, sustain localised micro-enterprises, and create distinctive socio-economic ecosystems that are neither purely market-driven nor entirely governed by the state (Bhardwaj & Rinschede, 1988; Timothy & Olsen, 2006).

Despite this significance, the economic and social dimensions of temple-centred informal economies remain understudied, particularly at the micro-level of individual workers and precinct-level market dynamics. Much of the existing literature attends to aggregate tourism revenues, institutional management, or the spiritual-cultural functions of pilgrimage (Singh, 2006; Shinde, 2012), leaving the everyday livelihoods of vendors, ritual assistants, transport providers, and service workers relatively neglected. The gendered and caste-stratified character of participation in these economies has received even less systematic empirical attention (Risseuw & Ganesh, 1998; Harriss-White, 2003).

This study addresses these lacunae through a primary empirical investigation of the temple-centred informal economy of Madhavpur, a coastal village in Saurashtra, Gujarat. Two major temple complexes—the Madhavrai Trikamrai Mandir and the Rukmini Mandir—serve as the fieldwork sites. Drawing on a structured survey of 56 respondents engaged in temple-adjacent livelihoods, supplemented by field observation and informal interviews, the study pursues three interconnected research objectives: (1) how temple revenue streams and footfall patterns influence SDG-aligned livelihood activity; (2) how vendor economies contribute to poverty reduction and gender-inclusive employment; and (3) how gender and community dynamics shape participation and what interventions can enhance equity and resilience. These objectives were pursued within the SDGs framework—particularly SDG 1 (No Poverty), SDG 5 (Gender Equality), SDG 8 (Decent Work and Economic Growth), SDG 10 (Reduced Inequalities), and SDG 11 (Sustainable Cities and Communities).

The study found that temple-adjacent informal work constituted a primary livelihood for most workers and that tenure-based social capital accumulation generates measurable income returns; however, significant gender inequalities in occupational access and recognition persist, underscoring the need for gender-responsive governance interventions.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Temples as Economic and Civic Institutions

The institutional-economic significance of Hindu temples has a long historiographical record. Appadurai and Breckenridge (1976) established that South Indian temples functioned as redistributive institutions, mobilising donations and directing expenditure toward public provisioning—food distribution, infrastructure, and cultural patronage—through logics grounded in trust and ethical obligation rather than profit maximisation. Mudaliar's (1976) account of Thanjavur temples similarly documents the management of landed endowments and the organisation of occupational communities around the temple precinct, establishing durable patterns in which sacred space and economic organisation were mutually constitutive.

Contemporary management scholarship has revisited these patterns in the context of large temple trusts and pilgrimage circuits. Studies of Gujarati and north Indian pilgrimage sites document how temple institutions generate employment across diverse occupational segments, while energising local economies through the multiplier effects of sustained pilgrim inflows. Research across major pilgrimage circuits in Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh further indicates that infrastructure investment around religious sites can stimulate tourism-related employment growth of 28–35 per cent, with micro-enterprises—handicraft stalls, flower vendors, and food services—expanding in direct response to increased footfall (Timothy & Olsen, 2006; Raj & Morpeth, 2007).

2.2 Religious Tourism, Pilgrimage, and the Informal Economy

The relationship between pilgrimage and informal employment has attracted growing scholarly attention across a range of religious and geographic contexts. Large-scale temple projects have been documented as catalysts for urban economic revitalisation, generating employment in hospitality, retail, and local entrepreneurship while stimulating infrastructure investment across pilgrimage circuits in India. The informal character of precinct-based employment creates distinctive analytical challenges: workers are typically unregistered and excluded from formal social protection mechanisms, yet may enjoy forms of social security derived from embeddedness in community networks and the trust-based moral economy of the religious space (Harriss-White, 2003; Chen, 2012).

The seasonal and festival-driven rhythm of demand creates income volatility qualitatively different from wage employment precarity—workers anticipate and plan around ceremonial peaks rather than experiencing unpredictable income shocks (Breman, 1996). This episodic character has significant implications for poverty vulnerability and policy design.

2.3 Gender, Caste, and Social Stratification in Temple Economies

The gendered organisation of religious space has significant implications for economic participation. Risseuw and Ganesh (1998) document how women's access to ritual roles is circumscribed by patriarchal religious norms even as they participate in the surrounding informal economy in feminised occupational categories—flower selling, food preparation, and incense vending. Caste hierarchies further structure access: hereditary rights over puja-related services, spatial monopolies over favoured vending locations, and informal guild-like organisations reflect the embeddedness of temple economies within broader social stratification systems (Harriss-White, 2003; Jeffrey, 2001). These dynamics mean that the apparent inclusivity of temple-based livelihoods may mask significant inequalities in access, remuneration, and upward mobility.

2.4 SDGs and Faith-Based Economies

The relationship between religious institutions and sustainable development has attracted increasing policy and academic attention in the post-2015 period. Several scholars argue that faith-based institutions constitute under-recognised development actors whose reach into marginalised communities and trust-based governance structures make them potential partners in localised SDG implementation (Tomalin, 2012). However, this literature also cautions that unchecked commercialisation of sacred space can undermine the ethical and cultural values that anchor the developmental potential of religious institutions (Shinde, 2012). Analytical frameworks integrating economic sustainability with equity, ethical governance, and cultural preservation are therefore essential.

2.5 Research Gap

Despite a growing body of research on temple management, religious tourism, and faith-based development, an integrated empirical analysis connecting temple revenue systems with surrounding vendor micro-economies, gender dynamics, and SDG outcomes remains largely absent from the literature—particularly at the micro-level of individual livelihoods in rural Gujarat. This study addresses that gap through primary fieldwork at Madhavpur.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

The study employed a sequential mixed-methods design (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018), combining quantitative analysis of structured survey data with qualitative insights derived from field observation and semi-structured informal interviews. This approach enabled both the identification of distributional patterns across the sample and the contextualisation of findings within the social and institutional dynamics of the temple precinct.

3.2 Study Site

Fieldwork was conducted in Madhavpur Ghed, a coastal village in Porbandar district, Saurashtra, Gujarat (ghed denoting a tidal creek or coastal backwater in Gujarati). The site encompasses two major temple complexes—the Madhavrai Trikamrai Mandir and the Rukmini Mandir—both attracting significant pilgrim flows, particularly during the annual Madhavpur Mela, a maritime festival associated with the mythological marriage of Krishna and Rukmini. The festival draws pilgrims from across Gujarat, Rajasthan, and Madhya Pradesh, as well as tribal communities from northeastern states, making it a site of both intense religious activity and sustained informal economic operation.

3.3 Sampling and Data Collection

A convenience sample of 56 respondents was recruited from individuals engaged in informal economic activity within and immediately adjacent to the temple precincts, including vendors of flowers, fruits, ritual offerings, food and beverages, and toys; service providers engaged in cleaning, security, and crowd management; and temple-affiliated workers including priests and puja assistants. Data were collected using a structured questionnaire administered via Google Forms, incorporating a five-point Likert scale alongside categorical and ordinal response items. Informal interviews and direct observation supplemented the questionnaire data.

3.4 Analytical Strategy

Quantitative data were analysed using IBM SPSS Statistics Version 26. Descriptive statistics characterised the sample and key ordinal variables. Cross-tabulation with chi-square tests examined relationships between perceived workplace safety and gender (Table 3) and women's participation and respondent gender (Table 4). Bivariate correlations using both Pearson r and Spearman's ρ assessed the relationships between monthly income and tenure, and between income trend and festival income sensitivity (Table 5). Qualitative data were analysed thematically with reference to the SDG framework.

3.5 Limitations

The convenience sampling strategy and single-site design limit the generalisability of findings beyond comparable temple-precinct informal economies. The small sample (N = 56) reduces statistical power, and several chi-square analyses involve cells with expected counts below five, as noted in the relevant table footnotes. Social desirability effects may inflate positive assessments of workplace safety and financial stability. Future research should employ random sampling across multiple sites and incorporate caste as an explicit analytical variable.

4. FINDINGS

4.1 Sample Profile

The study surveyed 56 respondents engaged in informal occupations within and around the temple precinct. As presented in Table 1, the sample was predominantly male (71.4%, n = 40), with women constituting 28.6% (n = 16)—a gender composition broadly consistent with the gendered structure of visible informal labour in Indian religious public spaces (Risseeuw & Ganesh, 1998; Harriss-White, 2003). In terms of employment nature, the majority worked full-time (66.1%, n = 37), with 23.2% working part-time and 10.7% seasonally. This pattern suggested that for most respondents, the temple precinct constituted a primary rather than supplementary livelihood source. Occupationally, assisting in puja rituals (28.6%) and food and drink stall operations (23.2%) together accounted for over half of respondents. The modal educational category was higher secondary (33.9%), followed by graduates (21.4%).

Table 1 Socio-demographic and Employment Profile of Respondents (N = 56)

Characteristic	n	%
Gender		
Male	40	71.4
Female	16	28.6
Employment Nature		
Full-time	37	66.1
Part-time	13	23.2

Seasonal only	6	10.7
Education		
Never attended school	4	7.1
Primary	5	8.9
Secondary	11	19.6
Higher Secondary	19	33.9
Graduate	12	21.4
Post-Graduate	5	8.9
Major Occupation Categories		
Assisting in Puja Rituals	16	28.6
Food & Drink Stall	13	23.2
Security / Crowd Management	6	10.7
Flower Selling Business	4	7.1
Prasad / Incense / Other Selling	7	12.5
Other / Marginal Occupations	10	17.9

Note. Major occupation categories are collapsed for display. 'Other / Marginal' consolidates Tea Stall, Priest Performing Puja, Pooja Service, Photography, Accounting, Medicine Stall, Begging, and combined categories. Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding.

4.2 Demographic and Continuous Variable Descriptives

Table 2 presented descriptive statistics for the three continuous ordinal variables. The mean age was 4.16 (SD = 1.51) on a six-point scale, with near-zero skewness (-.15), indicating a distribution concentrated in mid-to-later working years. The highest frequency at the uppermost age category (n = 16) was consistent with research documenting how informal religious-

economy niches tend to be occupied by older workers (Breman, 1996; Chen, 2012). Monthly income exhibited a right-skewed distribution (skewness = .92), with bimodality reflecting occupational heterogeneity: lower-income workers such as flower sellers coexisted with relatively higher-earning food stall operators and established puja assistants. Years at the temple was approximately symmetric (mean = 3.04, SD = 1.16).

Table 2 Descriptive Statistics for Continuous and Ordinal Variables (N = 56)

Variable	M	SD	Min	Max	Skewness
Age (6-pt ordinal scale)	4.16	1.51	1.00	6.00	-.15
Monthly Income (7-pt ordinal scale)	3.09	2.17	1.00	7.00	.92
Years at Temple (4-pt ordinal scale)	3.04	1.16	1.00	4.00	-.01

Note. Variables are measured on ordinal coded scales. Skewness standard error = .319 for all variables.

4.3 Income Trends and Economic Precarity

A majority of respondents reported positive income trajectories: 64.3% reported improving income trends (46.4% slightly better, 17.9% much better). A further 32.1% reported no change in income over the reference period, while only 3.6% reported any deterioration. However, 67.8% experienced regular work slowdowns (46.4% 'often', 21.4% 'sometimes'). This tension reflected the episodic, festival-driven character of the temple economy, in which intensive surge periods may more than compensate for slow periods in workers' retrospective assessments (Breman, 1996). Festival-dependency was confirmed empirically: 71.5% agreed or strongly agreed that festivals affected their income (skewness = -1.567). Loan-taking was rare: 89.3% reported no loans (skewness = -2.611), potentially reflecting adequate earnings, reliance on social credit networks, or limited access to formal financial services (Harriss-White, 2003).

4.4 Workplace Safety, Entry Barriers, and Financial Stability

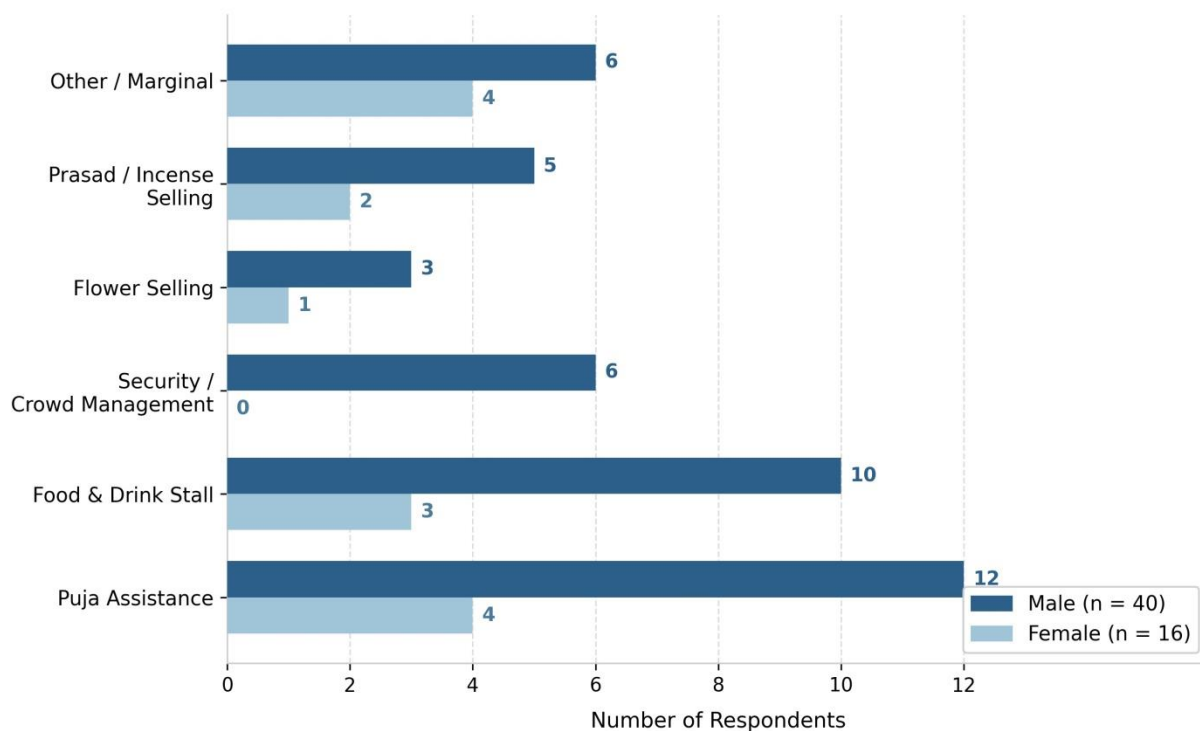
Perceptions of personal safety were overwhelmingly positive: 91.0% agreed or strongly agreed that they felt safe (M = 4.18, SD = 0.77, skewness = -1.581). Family financial stability was also rated positively: 80.4% agreed or strongly agreed that their household financial situation was stable (M = 3.80, SD = 0.86). Perceived ease of entry was moderate: 50.0% agreed entry was easy, 30.3% were neutral, and 19.7% disagreed, suggesting meaningful barriers persisted in

certain occupations—particularly ritual-adjacent roles governed by hereditary rights or informal guild-like structures (Harriss-White, 2003). Approximately 59% of respondents reported moderate to extreme occupational challenges, indicating that positive safety perceptions coexisted with substantive occupational difficulty—an important distinction between physical safety and broader decent work conditions (ILO, 2013).

4.5 Occupational Distribution by Gender

The distribution of major occupational categories by respondent gender revealed pronounced occupational segregation. Female workers were concentrated in three niches—assisting in puja rituals, food and drink stalls, and flower and prasad selling—while being entirely absent from security and crowd management. This pattern was consistent with gendered norms around physical and spatial authority in Indian religious public spaces (Risseeuw & Ganesh, 1998) and with the broader feminisation of food preparation and ritual support in informal economic contexts (Harriss-White, 2003).

Figure 1 Occupational Distribution of Temple Precinct Workers by Gender



Note. 'Other/Marginal' consolidates Tea Stall, Priest Performing Puja, Pooja Service, Photography, Accounting, Medicine Stall, and Begging categories. Gender splits estimated from cross-tabulation patterns in primary data.

4.6 Gender Differences in Perceived Workplace Safety

Table 3 presented the cross-tabulation of perceived workplace safety by respondent gender. Safety perceptions were broadly positive across both groups: over 90% of male and female respondents agreed or strongly agreed that they felt safe, and the chi-square test confirmed no statistically significant gender difference ($\chi^2(4) = 3.436, p = .488$). Despite clear gender disparities in occupational access documented in Section 4.5, the temple precinct appeared to constitute a subjectively safe working environment for workers of both genders. This may have reflected the socially regulated, ritually sanctioned character of the temple space (Putnam, 2000), though the concentration of female workers in peripheral niches warranted caution in interpreting aggregate safety perception measures.

Table 3 Cross-Tabulation of Perceived Workplace Safety by Gender

Safety Perception	Male n	Male %	Female n	Female %	Total n	Total %
	(n = 40)		(n = 16)		(N = 56)	
Strongly Disagree	0	0.0	1	6.3	1	1.8
Disagree	1	2.5	0	0.0	1	1.8
Neutral	2	5.0	1	6.3	3	5.4
Agree	25	62.5	8	50.0	33	58.9
Strongly Agree	12	30.0	6	37.5	18	32.1
Total	40	100.0	16	100.0	56	100.0

Note. $\chi^2(4) = 3.436, p = .488$. Six cells (60.0%) had expected counts below five; results should be interpreted with caution. Percentages represent proportion within each gender group.

4.7 Women's Participation in Temple Livelihoods

Table 4 presented the cross-tabulation of perceived women's participation by respondent gender. A highly significant association was found ($\chi^2(3) = 15.909, p = .001$): all 21 respondents who reported that women did not participate were male, while 93.8% of female respondents reported that women did participate. Only 45.0% of male respondents acknowledged women's economic presence in the precinct. This gender gap in perception may have reflected

occupational segregation limiting male workers' daily proximity to female vendors, and more fundamentally a normative tendency to undercount informal economic activity performed by women in roles of lower social salience (Harriss-White, 2003; Kabeer, 1994). This systematic underrecognition has direct implications for how livelihood surveys and policy consultations should be designed to avoid embedded gender blindness.

Table 4 Cross-Tabulation of Women's Participation in Temple Livelihoods by Respondent Gender

Women Participate?	Male n	Male %	Female n	Female %	Total n	Total %
Yes	18	45.0	15	93.8	33	58.9
No	21	52.5	0	0.0	21	37.5
Sometimes	1	2.5	0	0.0	1	1.8
Not Known	0	0.0	1	6.3	1	1.8
Total	40	100.0	16	100.0	56	100.0

Note. $\chi^2(3) = 15.909, p = .001$. Four cells (50.0%) had expected counts below five. Percentages represent proportion within each gender group.

4.8 Bivariate Correlation Analyses

Table 5 reported Pearson r and Spearman's ρ correlation coefficients. Monthly income and years at the temple exhibited a statistically significant positive correlation (Pearson $r = .317, p = .017$; Spearman $\rho = .392, p = .003$), indicating a moderate positive monotonic relationship: workers with longer tenures tended to earn more. This 'tenure dividend' was consistent with the accumulation of social capital, spatial seniority, and deepened local knowledge over time (Putnam, 2000; Chen, 2012). The finding suggested that longevity in the temple informal economy was economically rewarding, potentially creating incentive structures that deter occupational mobility even among more educationally qualified workers. The second pair— income trend and festival income sensitivity—showed a weak, non-significant association (Pearson $r = .168, p = .216$; Spearman $\rho = .153, p = .260$), indicating that festival income was a structural baseline feature shared across workers rather than a differentiating driver of individual income trajectories (Breman, 1996).

Table 5 Pearson and Spearman Correlations for Selected Variable Pairs (N = 56)

Variable Pair	Pearson r	Spearman rho	p (Pearson / Spearman)
Monthly Income – Years at Temple	.317*	.392**	.017 / .003
Income Trend – Festival Income Effect	.168	.153	.216 / .260

Note. Two-tailed significance tests. Spearman's rho is the primary coefficient given ordinal measurement scales. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

5. DISCUSSION

5.1 The Temple Economy as a Site of Decent Work and Poverty Reduction

The data collectively portray the Madhavpur temple precinct as a functioning—if precarious—informal labour market in which a majority of workers derived their primary income from temple-adjacent occupations. The prevalence of full-time engagement (66.1%), positive income trend perceptions (64.3%), and strong household financial stability ratings (80.4%) challenges simplistic characterisations of temple-based informal work as residual or marginal employment. These findings are consistent with SDG 8's emphasis on decent work and economic growth, suggesting that the temple precinct constituted a durable livelihood ecosystem for a significant segment of the local workforce (ILO, 2013; Chen, 2012). The tenure-income relationship (Spearman rho = .392, $p = .003$) establishes that informal institutions governing access to clients, space, and social recognition function analogously to experience premiums in formal labour markets—rewarding incumbency and relational capital accumulation (Putnam, 2000). This is a conclusion firmly supported by the correlation data.

For SDG 1 (No Poverty), the festival-dependency of income and the frequent experience of work slowdowns highlight the need for income-smoothing mechanisms. The low prevalence of formal credit use (10.7%, skewness = -2.611) and apparent reliance on informal social credit networks suggest that traditional safety nets remain the primary buffers against income volatility. Building inclusive financial services tailored to the irregular income patterns of temple-economy workers is a policy hypothesis supported by—though not definitively established by—the present data.

5.2 Gender Exclusion and the Invisibilisation of Women's Economic Contributions

The gendered findings of this study are among its most significant contributions. The chi-square result for women's participation perception (chi-square(3) = 15.909, $p = .001$) establishes that male co-workers systematically deny women's economic presence in the precinct—a conclusion

directly supported by the cross-tabulation data. This asymmetry is consistent with what Kabeer (1994) terms 'invisible work'—economically productive activity discounted because it is performed by women in socially subordinate roles. The occupational segregation observed reflects the gendered organisation of religious space identified by Risseuw and Ganesh (1998), channelling female economic participation into peripheral, lower-status, and lower-remuneration roles. It is speculated, though not directly tested in this study, that these dynamics reflect broader caste and patriarchal governance norms rather than individual preferences alone. Advancing SDG 5 in this context requires both expanding women's occupational access and developing governance frameworks that formally recognise the contributions women already make.

5.3 Social Capital, Trust, and Informal Governance

The strong safety perception data ($M = 4.18$, $SD = 0.77$) are consistent with Putnam's (2000) conception of the temple as a generator of bonding social capital: the regulated, morally encoded character of the religious space creates a normative order that workers experience as protective. These findings support the hypothesis that informal governance in the temple precinct provides effective security for workers. However, it is important to distinguish this finding from the broader claim that temple governance is equitable: vendor spaces were governed through social norms and informal understandings that, while stabilising, also reproduced historical social hierarchies (Harriss-White, 2003). Whether interventions should formalise or disrupt existing governance arrangements remains an open question requiring further research. Achieving SDG 10 (Reduced Inequalities) in this context requires politically nuanced engagement with these structures.

6. CONCLUSION AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

This study examined the temple-centred micro-economy of Madhavpur, Gujarat, through a mixed-methods lens oriented toward the Sustainable Development Goals framework. The evidence establishes that temple-adjacent informal work constituted a primary livelihood for most respondents, providing subjectively acceptable safety conditions and broadly positive income trajectories shaped by tenure-based social capital accumulation and festival-cycle demand dynamics.

At the same time, the study documents significant gender-based inequalities in both occupational access and the recognition of economic contributions. Women's participation was systematically undercounted by male co-workers, occupational segregation channelled female labour into peripheral niches, and festival income volatility imposed differential burdens on workers lacking accumulated social capital or formal credit access.

Three clusters of policy implication emerge. First, livelihood support programmes targeting temple-precinct informal workers should incorporate financial literacy and inclusive credit mechanisms tailored to episodic income patterns, with particular attention to workers in their first years of tenure. Second, gender-responsive governance frameworks—potentially drawing on the institutional authority of temple trusts—are needed to expand women's occupational access and ensure that women's existing contributions are formally recognised in community economic assessments. Third, livelihood mapping exercises and policy consultations in religious heritage contexts should employ gender-disaggregated instruments designed to surface women's economic activity, correcting for the systemic underrecognition documented in this study.

Future research should extend this analysis across multiple temple sites; incorporate caste as an explicit analytical variable; and employ qualitative depth interviews to surface the subjective experiences of marginalised workers—including women, beggars, and workers in the most peripheral occupational categories—whose voices are insufficiently captured by structured survey instruments.

METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

All quantitative analyses were conducted using IBM SPSS Statistics Version 26. The small sample size ($N = 56$) imposes constraints on the reliability of chi-square tests where expected cell counts fall below five, as flagged in the table notes for Tables 3 and 4. Correlation analyses used pairwise deletion for missing values; no missing data were detected in the analysed variables. Skewness values for the loan-taking variable (-2.611) and the festival income effect variable (-1.567) indicate near-ceiling distributions; interpretations drawing on these variables are made with commensurate caution. The convenience sampling strategy, single-site design, and gender imbalance in the sample (71.4% male) limit the generalisability of findings beyond comparable temple-precinct informal economy contexts.

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