Gender, work, and tourism in the Guatemalan Highlands

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Abstract:

While much of modern tourism research centers on the tourist as a leisure consumer, workers are frequently overlooked. Despite a recent uptick in attention to tourism work, the primary focus remains on employee's skills and qualifications. In contrast, the key contextual factors of race, ethnicity, and gender that surround tourism work are seldom examined. This comparative study addresses the theme of traditional gender roles, particularly in patriarchal societies, and how they affect tourism work. Specifically, it investigates how the presence of tourism influences cultural norms determining appropriate jobs for men and women. Utilizing an ethnographic field research approach, data were collected from participants in two indigenous Maya communities in Guatemala, each with differing models and lengths of tourism development. Free-listing exercises were used to elicit residents' perceptions of employment as it relates to gender in their community and cultural consensus analysis was used to analyze the data. Results show that neither community shares consensus on jobs for women and only one community shares consensus on men's jobs. Results suggest that tourism disrupts cultural norms related to gender roles; yet this may not always benefit women.

Keywords: free-listing | cultural consensus | gender | employment | tourism | women

Article:

Introduction

Tourism researchers often focus on tourists engaging in leisure activity (Ballantyne et al., 2009), giving less attention to those in the workforce (Baum, Kralj, et al., 2016; Mooney & Baum, 2019; Veijola, 2009b). Yet, tourism work is varied and complex. Tourism workers range from high-earning CEOs at multinational corporations to informal laborers in destinations. The latter are often subject to wild swings in tourism demand, over which they have little control. Research has shown that women workers are particularly marginalized (Morais et al., 2005) and there remains a lack of gender sensitive policies in the tourism industry (Alarcón & Cole, 2019).

Furthermore, women in the tourism workforce must often negotiate cultural norms regarding what is deemed gender-appropriate work. Tourism work tends to take women out of the home and engage them in public interaction, but the type of work available to women often replicates entrenched gender roles (Garcia-Ramon et al., 1995; Gil Arroyo et al., 2019; Usher & Morais, 2010). While tourism is frequently promoted as a strategy for modernization (MacCannell, 1976; Swain, 1995), economic growth (Du et al., 2016; Durbarry, 2004; Nissan et al., 2011) and gender advancement (Ferguson & Alarcón, 2015), there is still insufficient research into how women can successfully negotiate these opportunities.

Women in the Global South face a distinct set of challenges in the workforce (Safa, 1995). Widespread tourism development in these destinations (including Latin America) has been fraught with challenges for women workers (Kempadoo, 2004). Therefore, the purpose of this study is to better understand how tourism can improve gender equality and sustainability for women's work in Guatemala. It looks at these issues within the context of the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goal 5 (Gender Equality), which is concerned with "providing women and girls with equal access to education, health care, decent work, and representation in political and economic decision-making" (UN, n.d.). This study specifically investigates how tourism development has influenced gender norms regarding work in indigenous Maya communities and discusses whether tourism has the potential to improve opportunities for decent work as well as representation in economic decision-making.

Tourism work

Mass tourism (i.e. conventional, laissez-faire; Weaver, 2014) is often promoted as a mechanism through which local residents can earn income. However, evidence reveals that accessing these income earning opportunities is rarely equitable. Like other global industries, tourism destinations rely on the constant supply of flexible labor to remain competitive with other destinations (Vandegrift, 2008). Yet, local participants are often excluded from any but the lowest paid un-skilled positions (Cabezas, 2008; HöCkert, 2018). Under-served segments of host communities, particularly women (Gentry, 2007; Sinclair, 1997), struggle to achieve the greatest benefits (Baum, Cheung, et al., 2016). Previous research has suggested that smaller and more controlled (i.e. communitarian-type) tourism is better for residents than free-wheeling neoliberal style tourism (LaPan, Morais, Barbieri, et al., 2016; Nyaupane et al., 2006), but women workers in either scenario tend to be especially vulnerable (Cole, 2017; Kempadoo, 2004).

Though international tourism provides opportunities for increased foreign exchange, large-scale tourism has also been shown to marginalize much of a country's workforce (Cabezas, 2008). Furthermore, a "'global feminization' of the workforce" (Menjívar, 2006, p. 91) has led to an increase in demand for (docile, cheap) female labor and a subsequent decline in male workforce participation. Women, however, are often excluded from higher-paying stable tourism employment (Vandegrift, 2008) and women's work in mass tourism frequently perpetuates traditional notions about female roles, with what are generally considered feminine skills becoming commoditized through tourism (Gentry, 2007). Tourism can perpetuate existing inequalities, leading to increased precarity (including a lack of security and predictability) for tourism workers (Mooney & Baum, 2019; Robinson et al., 2019). This is further complicated in

the Global South, where tourists' hedonism and escapism tendencies ignore the difficult work that takes place in order to provide these diversions (Vandegrift, 2008).

Tourism, through economic globalization, has led to social restructuring, particularly surrounding labor and work. Despite the wide-ranging effects of globalization, key differences play out locally, particularly within the tourism industry. While working in tourism can provide additional income and lead to more participation in household financial decisions and an increase in social status (Cone, 1995; Gil Arroyo et al., 2019; Swain, 1995), women are often expected to maintain the same domestic duties as they did prior to participating in tourism (Garcia-Ramon et al., 1995; Gentry, 2007; Veijola, 2009a). This 'double-shift' disproportionately impacts women (Gentry, 2007; Hochschild, 1997). Even when men are the primary participants in tourism, they sometimes neglect their previously held household duties, creating an increased burden of domestic labor for their wives (Stronza, 2008). Women are also overwhelmingly responsible for social reproduction, or the "work of maintaining existing life and reproducing the next generation" (Laslett & Brenner, 1989, p. 383). This involves the mental, manual, and emotional work of maintaining a household's daily life and maintaining connections across generations. Changing ideas about domestic work can also impact marriages, notions of family, as well as generational dynamics in the home (Menjívar, 2006). This puts women in a double-bind (or no-win situation) when tourism is developed in a community. It increases their labor whether they choose to work in tourism or stay at home.

Despite assurances of better outcomes, alternative forms of tourism (e.g. community-based, sustainable, ecotourism) often blur the divisions between work and the domestic sphere, bringing tourists to the homes and personal spaces of residents (Gentry, 2007; Little, 2000; Veijola, 2009a). Veijola terms this the "fourth shift", where the border between work and home has dissolved and the relationship between life and work has become "both precarious and intimate" (2009a, p. 112). Tourism is often produced in women's homes (Vandegrift, 2008), and this is particularly common among alternative forms of tourism, including homestays and artisan demonstrations. In many instances, shops and commercial spaces are connected to residential spaces. While tourism offers easy entry into the industry through these informal endeavors, they also distort the distinction between workspace and domestic space.

Tourism, gender, and culture

Gender is defined as the "socially constructed and historically variable relationships, cultural meanings, and identities through which biological sex differences become socially significant" (Laslett & Brenner, 1989, p. 382). Given that gender is a personal identity, constructed through social relationships between men and women (Laslett & Brenner, 1989), perspectives from both men and women are essential in understanding gender constructs. Studies of gender that only focus on women's perspectives ignore a host of experiences and perspectives (i.e. men's) that influence the daily reality both men and women face (Swain, 1995).

Feminist studies suggest that while concepts of gender are mutable across time, ideas about gender actually tend to remain relatively stable in the workplace (Gherardi, 1995). In fact, the workplace is one space where gender is institutionalized and where people "do gender" (i.e. perform gender norms; Kelan, 2010; Laslett & Brenner, 1989). Nevertheless, a number of studies

have also shown that women are able to negotiate both the "spatial and moral boundaries" (Tucker, 2007, p. 101) of gender through tourism work;. In fact, research has shown that tourism can offer the possibility for gender roles and relationships to be renegotiated (Boonabaana, 2014; Tucker, 2007) and that small and micro tourism enterprises may allow for greater individual benefits (Garcia-Ramon et al., 1995; Gibson, 2001; LaPan, Morais, Wallace, et al., 2016; Morais et al., 2018). Yet, women's employment condition and opportunities vary greatly across cultures and tourism systems. Therefore, additional research on the socio-cultural and tourism system factors that shape women's involvement in tourism is needed.

Concepts of gender are deeply embedded within culture. Mills (2003) suggests that gender represents "a dynamic cultural terrain wherein forms of domination may be contested, reworked, and even potentially transformed" (p. 42). Tourists can act as agents of contact between cultures (Nash, 1989), spurring extrinsic change. As tourism penetrates remote areas where indigenous groups reside, cultural change is likely to occur (Cohen, 2001). Cultures change in response to both internal and external stimuli, and tourism may bring external stimuli driving cultural change (e.g. incentives for women to seek income outside home) or may simply create the spaces where internal stimuli for change can best be effected (e.g. opportunities for women to congregate and communicate). While involvement in tourism may result in confusion and conflict (Geertz, 1973), it also creates a space of opportunity. Therefore, research into the influence of tourism development on gender roles is critical.

Third world and postcolonial feminism

Studies of indigenous women and women of color must acknowledge that these women are subject to additional issues of intersectionality in their tourism work (Alarcón & Cole, 2019; Mooney, 2018). "Intersectionality refers to women's multiple, mutually constructed systems of subordination and thus how multiple demographic factors such as race, ethnicity, age, education and ability mediate experiences of equality and empowerment" (Alarcón & Cole, 2019, p. 904). The concept seeks to understand how oppressive structures (in this study gender, race, and socioeconomic class) are interconnected and cannot be analyzed independent of each other (Nakhid et al., 2015). The Maya women in the study were female, indigenous, and most often suffered from poverty ($5.50 per day in Guatemala; World Bank Group, 2020).

Accounting for such intersectionality, this study addresses how tourism might shift cultural beliefs about gender norms among the Maya of Guatemala using a third world (Mohanty et al., 1991) or postcolonial (Al-Wazedi, 2021) feminist lens. That is, this paper rejects the false universalism presupposed by Western white feminism and focuses instead on the multiple forms of resistance used by women in developing countries (Herr, 2014). It acknowledges the "common history of profound injustice of … eurocentrism and cultural imperialism imposed on non-European subjects" (Fatima et al., 2017, p. 736) and seeks to dismantle ideas of Western hegemonic feminism (Al-Wazedi, 2021; Mohanty et al., 1991). This study also considers the impact of capitalism and globalization on gender issues and questions the essentialist "women's empowerment" narrative of gender development theorists that assumes that access to work outside the home ultimately leads to better outcomes for women and transitions them from traditional to modern society (Al-Wazedi, 2021; Ferguson, 2020; HöCkert, 2018; Singh, 2007). To do so, it discusses the relationship between paid and unpaid labor by investigating how these

efforts are valued within an indigenous cultural setting and how these labor dynamics manifest under different tourism models.

Methods

Study purpose and setting

This study seeks to determine cultural consensus regarding women's and men's jobs in neighboring communities with varying degrees of tourism development. The study takes place in the popular tourism destination of Lake Atitlán, Guatemala. While Guatemala has been an international tourist destination since the 19th century (Sincal Lopez, 2007), there was limited international tourism during Guatemala's 30-year civil war. Since the 1996 peace accords (Williams, 2011), tourism has steadily grown, with 2.6 million foreign visitors arriving in 2019 (Instituto Guatemalteco de Turismo, 2020). Most visitors come from surrounding Central American countries, with over a half million coming from North America.

Fieldwork for this study took place in two adjacent primarily Tz'utujil-speaking Maya communities (San Juan La Laguna and San Pedro La Laguna) on the western shore of Lake Atitlán. The communities are in close proximity, with their town centers approximately three kilometers apart. The populations of each community are comparable, with San Juan having 11,293 and San Pedro 11,539 residents at the onset of the study (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2020). Both towns have fairly young populations, with more than 70% of the population of San Juan and nearly 60% of that of San Pedro being less than 35 years old (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2019).

Residents in both communities are skilled artisans, crafting a variety of goods including colorful weavings, paintings, pottery, and leatherwork. Other individuals find work in restaurants, hotels, transportation, and agriculture. Both towns are tourist destinations in their own right but offer rather different tourism experiences. While they are similar in terms of natural landscape and local culture, San Pedro La Laguna (San Pedro) has a much more developed tourism infrastructure (e.g. hotels, restaurants, tourist transportation) and a longer history of tourism development that has generally followed a neoliberal growth model (LaPan, Morais, Barbieri, et al., 2016). The community has hosted visitors since the 1980s and growth has developed in response to external demand and tourists are often young backpackers traveling on a small budget. Generally, these travelers are not on a strict schedule and some stay in the town for an extended period of time. Tourism in San Juan, on the other hand, has developed over the past decade, heavily shaped by the presence of local non-governmental organizations featuring primarily communitarian tourism ventures (LaPan, Morais, Barbieri, et al., 2016). These organizations are most often aimed as selling women's weavings and the community usually attracts day-trippers shopping for traditional arts and crafts and has little in terms of overnight or long-term accommodation.

Methodology

Cultural consensus theory (CCT) was used to understand the extent to which individuals in the communities agree on appropriate work for men and women. CCT is "a collection of analytical

techniques and models that can be used to estimate cultural beliefs and the degree to which individuals know or report those beliefs" (Weller, 2007, p. 339). CCT is the umbrella term for the methodological approach, which incorporates the use of a cultural consensus model (CCM) and cultural consensus analysis (CCA) to measure both cultural expertise and consensus. The results presented in this study are part of a larger two-stage ethnographic project that looked at broad issues of gender and indigeneity in the communities of San Pedro and San Juan (LaPan, Morais, Barbieri, et al., 2016; LaPan, Morais, Wallace, et al., 2016). The initial ethnographic data were collected in the onset of the project (stage 1); additional data and thematic validation occurring in follow up trips (stage 2). Data collection and validation for this study spanned two time periods. The initial fieldwork was carried out from May through July 2013. During the initial study period, the primary researcher lived with a family in San Juan and traveled daily between the two communities. A follow-up trip was conducted during the same time frame in 2015, where the results of the study were discussed and validated with community members. During the second study period, the researcher lived in the largest town on the lake and travelled equally to these two communities. Member checks (Birt et al., 2016) and respondent validation were conducted during the follow-up visit (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). A second author has continued to make multiple trips per year to the study region, and his observations provide additional insights that help inform the discussion and interpretation of results.

The study utilized a mixed methodology, including participant-observation, direct observations, in-depth interviews, and free-listing exercises for cultural consensus analysis (Romney et al., 1987; Weller, 2007). This paper relies on data from the free-listing exercises and is supplemented with insights from the ethnographic study. Throughout the fieldwork period, the primary researcher kept a reflective journal and recorded field notes. The journal allowed the researcher to describe her feelings about conducting research in this area of study, including obstacles and challenges (Henderson, 2006) and adjust fieldwork methods appropriately. The field journal allows feminist researchers to engage in reflexive practice about power dynamics in ethnographic analysis (Naples, 2003), particularly in non-Western contexts. Field notes also provided additional data for the analysis and supplement the quantitative free-listing data.

Participants were recruited using both convenience and referral methods. During the initial weeks of fieldwork, the primary author began to form connections with key informants to be recruited for follow-up interviews. Participants were generally recruited in and around areas of tourism exchange within the communities, with some participants referring other people who participated in the tourism economy. Efforts were made to recruit participants who were actively involved in tourism as "this group of people is most significant in terms of understanding perceptions of and responses to tourism and tourists" (Sharpley, 2014, p. 39). However, several participants from each town indicated they did not work in the tourism sector, providing some counterbalance of perspectives.

Free-listing exercises were conducted with 60 participants regarding their perception of tourism, gender, and employment in their community. Participants were asked to list the "appropriate jobs" for Tz'utujil men and women in their own community. They were then given three minutes to list all the jobs they could think of appropriate to each gender. This allowed us to assess the relative "cognitive accessibility" (i.e. which jobs feature most prominently in participants' minds) of men and women's jobs (Levine et al., 2015). CCA generally requires a sample of

about 20-30 individuals, particularly if cultural competence is high (Weller, 2007). This threshold is supported by the fact that saturation was reached (indicated by no new jobs being listed) for women's jobs by the 18th respondent in San Juan and the 19th respondent in San Pedro. For men's jobs, this was reached by the 26th participant in San Juan and 27th participant in San Pedro.

CCA was then used to analyze the free-listing data, as it assesses individual differences in cultural knowledge and culturally appropriate answers to select questions (Weller, 2007). CCA is generally used in ethnographic approaches where the culturally correct answers are unknown. It follows three assumptions: 1) informants should provide answers independently, 2) questions should be on a single topic of similar difficulty, and 3) there should only be a single set of answers possible to the question asked. Free-listing is a technique used in CCT where open-ended questions are used to explore cultural domains (Trotter & Schensul, 2000) or to obtain a comprehensive list of items with unknown boundaries (Weller, 1998). Participants are asked to list all the items they can think of as part of a particular domain. The benefit of free-listing exercises (as opposed to other survey methods) is that the researcher is not imposing pre-determined categories on the participants. CCA is then used to empirically test the similarity or dissimilarity in the cultural knowledge of groups of participants from those lists (Romney et al., 1987).

In addition to the free-listing exercises, a questionnaire was used to capture demographic and background information on the participants. While Tz'utujil is the first language of most participants, Spanish is the language utilized for tourism commerce. Therefore, the free-listing exercises, questionnaires, and interviews were carried out in Spanish. The researchers worked closely with local informants and bi-lingual speakers of the Tz'utujil and Spanish languages to develop and adapt research instruments to be appropriate in the local context. Furthermore, the primary researcher provided participants with the option to have the questionnaire read aloud and to either write or verbalize their responses to the free-listing prompt (which was then recorded by the researcher) to address possible issues surrounding Spanish literacy for participants. All researchers that carried out fieldwork and data analysis are fluent in Spanish.

Data analysis

CCA was used to analyze free-listing job data and collapse job types into domains (Borgatti, 1996). Jobs were first coded so that similar jobs could be analyzed by the software across participants and communities. They were then subsequently translated into English for analysis. For example, items such as "crafts (*artesanía*)", "craftsperson (artesanos)" and "handmade (*artesanales*)" were collapsed into the "artisan" code, whereas all items related to weaving (e.g. *tejedoras*, *hacer más diseños en textiles*, *tinte natural*) were retained as a "weaver" code given its importance in the Maya culture and the fact that participants frequently listed artisan and weaver jobs as distinct. Two of the researchers verified and reached consensus on all codes, translations, and job domains to achieve validity in this process (Charmaz, 2006).

Analysis followed the formal model for categorical data (Weller, 2007). The job domains were analyzed for frequency and salience using Visual ANTRHOPAC 4.98, a cultural domain analysis software (Borgatti, 1996), and Free-List Analysis under Microsoft Excel (FLAME) add-on

(Pennec et al., 2016). UCINET 6.0 (Borgatti et al., 2002) was then used to conduct CCA. UCINET uses principal components analysis to produce eigenratios that calculate a homogeneity of responses as well as produce mean competency scores for each respondent. If the eigenratio is three or more, it is determined that consensus exists within the group (Weller, 2007). Eigenratios below three indicate weak consensus and that more than one culture exists (Borgatti et al., 2002; Romney et al., 1987). Mean competency scores of 0.50 or higher (50%) indicate cultural understanding (Weller, 2007).

CCA can be used with a relatively small sample size, generally 20-30 participants (Sutrop, 2001). To achieve a high level of validity ($\alpha = .90$) with an average level of cultural competency (.50), each group analyzed should have a minimum of 13 participants (Weller, 2007). Very strong cultural competency is indicated by average scores above 0.66. A total of 60 free-listing exercises were completed, resulting in 54 usable responses (given that the cultural consensus analysis is of binary gender norms, the six individuals who did not indicate their gender were removed from the individual gender analysis, but included in the community profiles). CCA was run among all participants (men and women) in San Juan ($n = 28$) and in San Pedro ($n = 26$), as well as among all men ($n = 26$) and all women ($n = 27$) across the communities. Each group analyzed was sufficiently above the 13-respondent minimum. A total of six eigenratios were calculated to test for consensus.

Participants were asked to list appropriate jobs for Tz'utujil men and women in their respective community. Jobs that were listed by at least two participants in each group are included in the analysis. Jobs that are only listed by one respondent can be considered to exist only in passive use or in some idiolects (i.e. the speech habits intrinsic to a particular person; Sutrop, 2001). In addition to the number of times each job was listed, the relative frequency, and average rank, the Sutrop Index is provided. The Sutrop Index is a cognitive salience index, or the mean position of the term. It measures tendency for the item to occur at the beginning of participants' lists and indicates the psychological salience of that term. The index ranges from 0 to 1. A term not mentioned at all would receive a score of 0 and the most ideally salient term would score 1. Following the CCA protocol (Borgatti, 1996), the jobs were collapsed into domains after analyzing the free-listing job data for frequency and salience.

Results

Participants' demographic profile

In San Juan, there were 15 female, 12 male, and 3 participants who did not disclose their gender. Participants averaged 30 years of age, with a range of 19 to 59 years old. All participants spoke Tz'utujil and the vast majority (89.3%) also spoke Spanish. A few (10.7%) also spoke English. Monthly incomes averaged Q1378 (approximately $179 USD). In San Pedro 14 males, 13 females, and 3 unspecified individuals participated. The average age was 33 years old, with participants ranging from 18 to 63 years of age. Most spoke Tz'utujil (80.0%) and Spanish (83.3%). More than one-third (36.7%) also spoke English. On average, participants earned Q1373 ($178 USD) monthly. One-third (33.3%) of participants reported having completed secondary school. Educational attainment was similar across the communities, with women having completed more years of education, overall, than men. In San Juan, two-thirds of women

(66.7%) had completed secondary school, whereas fewer of men (41.7%) had completed this grade level. The difference between men (16.7%) and women (13.3%) who had attended university was less marked. In San Pedro, the difference in secondary school attendance was even more dramatic, with 69.2% of female participants and 28.6% of male participants having attended secondary school. More men (21.4%) than women (15.4%), however, had attended university.

Nearly all participants in both San Juan (90.0%) and San Pedro (93.3%) reported to be working in the tourism sector. In San Juan, 20.0% of the participants indicated they were some sort of craftsperson (e.g. artisan, weaver), another 20.0% were tour guides and an additional 20.0% were accountants or business managers. Ten percent (10.0%) were housewives. The remaining jobs (i.e. agriculture, student, secretary, construction, teacher, social worker, day laborer) were made up of single participants. In San Pedro, 20.0% of the participants were tour guides, 20.0% were secretaries/receptionists, and 20.0% were teachers. Ten percent (10.0%) were accountants or business managers and 6.7% worked in an internet café. The remaining jobs (i.e. craftsperson, housewife, translator, taxi driver, day laborer, boat pilot) were only held by single participants.

Appropriate jobs for women

Men and women in San Juan listed a total of 111 individual items when prompted to identify appropriate jobs for Tz'utujil women. Forty-one of these emerged as unique jobs. The average list length was four items, with weaver being the most frequently listed job for women (Table 1). Weaving was listed as an appropriate job for women 20 times (66.7%) and it had the highest cognitive salience (0.48) among all jobs. The next most frequently listed job for women was artisan (40.0%), with a salience of 0.24. After these top two jobs, listings dropped off in both frequency and salience. Other jobs included housewife, schoolteacher, cook, office clerk, tour guide, "organize more", cultural guide, harvest coffee, merchant, farmer, selling, and business administrator. Two participants wrote in "none" when asked to identify appropriate jobs for women in their community. The item listed as "organize more" is a relatively unique job to San Juan, which is dominated by the presence of cooperatives. It is also difficult to fully extract this job role from the weaving and artisan jobs as most cooperatives are organized around these activities (LaPan, Morais, Wallace, et al., 2016). While men and women generally agreed that weaver is an appropriate job for women in San Juan, they differed in a few respects. Women, overall, identified artisan (46.7%) and tour guide (26.7%) more frequently as appropriate jobs for women than men did. No male participants identified tour guide as an appropriate job for women, but they did list schoolteacher and "organize more" more frequently than women did.

Participants in San Pedro listed a total of 115 items (four items on average), with 32 distinct jobs for women. Weaver was also the most frequently listed job in San Pedro and was identified as an appropriate job for women by 18 participants (60.0%), with a cognitive salience of 0.31 (Table 2). Although there is a marked drop in both frequency and salience for women's jobs after weaver, jobs that were listed of moderate importance include cook, housewife, and artisan. Other jobs include entrepreneur, tour guide, selling, seamstress, culture guide, professional, office clerk, language teacher, projects, schoolteacher, restaurant worker, waitress, secretary, tourism worker, and washing clothes. Both male and female participants from San Pedro listed weaver as the top job for women, but men (71.4%) listed it more frequently than women (53.9%). Both

groups also agreed that cook (36.7%) and housewife (30.0%) were appropriate jobs for women, but women also listed tour guide and seamstress with relative frequency. Women identified office clerk as an appropriate job for women, whereas men did not. Men, on the other hand, listed waitress and restaurant worker as appropriate jobs for women where women did not.

Appropriate jobs for men

In San Juan, participants listed on average three items yielding a total of 97 jobs for men, 35 of which were unique. Farmer was the most frequently listed (70.0%) and cognitively salient (0.53) job for men by a wide margin (Table 3). Other jobs included builder, fisherman, schoolteacher, artist, tour guide, gathering firewood, artisan, doctor, office clerk, business manager, tourism worker, carpenter, and doctor. Both men (75.0%) and women (73.3%) listed farmer most frequently as an appropriate job for men in San Juan. They also agreed that schoolteacher, builder and fisherman were appropriate jobs. Women identified business manager and gather firewood as jobs for men that men did not. Whereas men identified tourism worker and women did not.

Participants in San Pedro listed on average four jobs for men for a total of 112 items, identifying 32 unique jobs. Farmer was also the most frequently listed (66.7%) and most salient (0.40) job in San Pedro (Table 4). Tour guide was also listed with moderate frequency (43.3%). Other jobs listed less often included builder, fisherman, automobile driver, office clerk, entrepreneur, schoolteacher, artisan, day laborer, boat driver, merchant, carpenter, artist, restaurant worker, professional, and tourism worker. Both men (78.6%) and women (53.9%) identified farmer most frequently as an appropriate job for men. Women, however, listed tour guide as frequently (58.9%) as they did farmer, whereas men listed it less frequently (35.7%). Men and women listed fisherman and office clerk with similar frequency, though women listed schoolteacher and tourism worker more often than men did. Men listed several jobs more often than women, including construction worker, driver, artisan, and professional

Cultural consensus analysis

CCA resulted in six collapsed domains that included jobs that overlapped between men and women: craftspeople (e.g. artists, artisans, weavers), public and service sector professionals (e.g. office clerks, working for the government, teachers), merchant and retail workers (e.g. entrepreneurs, business managers, street sales), hospitality services (e.g. tour guides, culture guides, hotel and restaurant workers), agriculture (e.g. harvesting coffee, chopping firewood), and miscellaneous (e.g. organizing, working in a cooperative). Some domains included jobs that were considered exclusive to women including craftspeople (e.g. seamstresses), public and service sector professionals (e.g. secretaries, nurses), domestic work (e.g. working in the home as a housewife or hired help), and traditional medicine (e.g. natural plant medicine, healer). Other domains were considered exclusive to men, including working in the public and service sectors (e.g. accountants, lawyers), agriculture (e.g. farmers, fisherman), domestic work (e.g. helping women at home), construction (e.g. carpenters and stone masons), and working in the transportation sector (e.g. taxi drivers, *lancha* drivers).

Table 1. Appropriate jobs for Tz'utujil women in San Juan.

Job	All participants				Female participants				Male participants			
	# of times listed	Frequency (%)	Average rank	Sutrop index	# of times listed	Frequency (%)	Average rank	Sutrop index	# of times listed	Frequency (%)	Average rank	Sutrop index
Weaver	20	66.7	1.4	0.48	9	60.0	1.9	0.32	10	83.3	1	0.83
Artisan	12	40.0	1.7	0.24	7	46.7	1.4	0.33	4	33.3	1.5	0.22
Housewife	6	20.0	2.0	0.10	2	13.3	2.0	0.07	3	25.0	2.0	0.13
Schoolteacher	6	20.0	4.3	0.05	2	13.3	3.5	0.04	4	33.3	4.8	0.04
Cook	5	10.0	5.0	0.02	3	20.0	4.7	0.04	1	8.3	6.0	0.01
Office clerk	4	13.3	2.5	0.05	2	13.3	2.0	0.07	1	8.3	3.0	0.03
Tour guide	4	13.3	3.3	0.04	4	26.7	3.3	0.08	0	0.0	0.0	0.00
Organize more	4	13.3	3.3	0.04	0	0.0	0.0	0.00	4	33.3	3.3	0.10
Cultural guide	3	10.0	3.0	0.03	2	13.3	3.5	0.04	1	8.3	2.0	0.04
None	2	6.7	1.0	0.07	2	13.3	1.0	0.13	0	0.0	0.0	0.00
Harvest coffee	2	6.7	3.0	0.02	0	0.0	0.0	0.00	2	16.67	3.0	0.06
Merchant	2	6.7	3.5	0.02	2	13.3	3.5	0.04	0	0.0	0.0	0.00
Farmer	2	6.7	3.5	0.02	1	6.67	3.0	0.02	1	8.33	4.0	0.02
Selling	2	6.7	4.0	0.02	1	6.67	4.0	0.02	1	8.33	4.0	0.02
Business administrator	2	6.7	5.5	0.01	2	13.3	5.5	0.02	0	0.0	0.0	0.00

Table 2. Appropriate jobs for Tz'utujil women in San Pedro.

Job	All participants				Female participants				Male participants			
	# of times listed	Frequency (%)	Average rank	Sutrop index	# of times listed	Frequency (%)	Average rank	Sutrop index	# of times listed	Frequency (%)	Average rank	Sutrop index
Weaver	18	60.0	1.9	0.31	7	53.9	2.0	0.27	10	71.4	1.9	0.38
Cook	11	36.7	2.7	0.13	5	38.5	2.6	0.15	6	42.9	2.8	0.15
Housewife	9	30.0	1.9	0.16	5	38.5	2.2	0.18	4	28.6	1.5	0.19
Artisan	8	26.7	2.1	0.13	3	23.1	2.0	0.12	4	28.6	2.5	0.11
Entrepreneur	5	16.7	2.8	0.06	3	23.1	2.3	0.10	2	14.3	3.5	0.04
Tour guide	5	16.7	3.8	0.04	4	30.8	3.5	0.01	1	7.1	5.0	0.01
Selling	4	13.3	1.8	0.08	3	23.1	2.0	0.12	1	7.1	1.0	0.07
Seamstress	4	13.3	2.8	0.05	4	30.8	2.8	0.11	0	0.0	0.0	0.00
Culture guide	4	13.3	3.0	0.04	2	15.4	3.5	0.04	2	14.3	2.5	0.06
Professional	4	13.3	3.3	0.04	2	15.4	3.0	0.05	2	14.3	3.5	0.04
Office clerk	4	13.3	4.3	0.03	3	23.1	4.3	0.05	0	0.0	0.0	0.00
Language teacher	3	10.0	1.3	0.08	1	7.7	2.0	0.04	2	14.3		
Projects	3	10.0	3.3	0.03	1	7.7	3.0	0.03	1	7.1	4.0	0.02
Schoolteacher	3	10.0	4.0	0.03	1	7.7	4.0	0.02	2	14.3	4.0	0.04
Restaurant worker	2	6.7	2.0	0.03	0	0.0	0.0	0.00	2	14.3	2.0	0.07
Waitress	2	6.7	3.0	0.02	0	0.0	0.0	0.00	2	14.3	3.0	0.05
Secretary	2	6.7	3.5	0.02	2	15.4	3.5	0.04	0	0.0	0.0	0.00
Tourism worker	2	6.7	4.0	0.02	2	15.4	4.0	0.04	0	0.0	0.0	0.00
Wash clothes	2	6.7	4.5	0.01	1	7.7	6.0	0.01	1	7.1	3.0	0.02

Table 3. Appropriate jobs for Tz'utujil men in San Juan.

Job	All participants				Female participants				Male participants			
	# of times listed	Frequency (%)	Average rank	Sutrop index	# of times listed	Frequency (%)	Average rank	Sutrop index	# of times listed	Frequency (%)	Average rank	Sutrop index
Farmer	21	70.0	1.3	0.53	11	73.3	1.1	0.67	9	75.0	1.6	0.48
Builder (construction)	7	23.3	2.9	0.08	3	20.0	2.7	0.08	3	25.0	2.7	0.09
Fisherman	6	20.0	2.7	0.08	3	20.0	2.0	0.10	3	25.0	3.3	0.08
Schoolteacher	6	20.0	3.7	0.05	3	20.0	4.3	0.05	3	25.0	3.0	0.08
Artist	3	10.0	2.0	0.05	1	6.7	1.0	0.07	2	16.7	2.5	0.07
Tour guide	3	10.0	2.3	0.04	2	13.3	2.0	0.07	1	8.3	3.0	0.03
Gather firewood	2	6.7	1.5	0.04	2	13.3	1.5	0.09	0	0.0	0.0	0.00
Artisan	2	6.7	1.5	0.04	1	6.7	2.0	0.03	1	8.3	1.0	0.08
Office clerk	2	6.7	1.5	0.04	1	6.7	2.0	0.03	0	0.0	0.0	0.00
Business administrator	2	6.7	2.5	0.03	2	13.3	2.5	0.05	0	0.0	0.0	0.00
Tourism worker	2	6.7	3.0	0.02	0	0.0	0.0	0.00	2	16.7	3.0	0.06
Carpenter (wood worker)	2	6.7	4.0	0.02	0	0.0	0.0	0.00	1	8.3	3.0	0.03
Doctor	2	6.7	5.5	0.01	1	6.7	4.0	0.02	1	8.3	1.0	0.01

Table 4. Appropriate jobs for Tz'utujil men in San Pedro.

Job	All participants				Female participants				Male participants			
	# of times listed	Frequency (%)	Average rank	Sutrop index	# of times listed	Frequency (%)	Average rank	Sutrop index	# of times listed	Frequency (%)	Average rank	Sutrop index
Farmer	20	66.7	1.6	0.40	7	53.9	1.3	0.42	11	78.6	2.0	0.39
Tour guide	13	43.3	2.5	0.18	7	53.9	2.7	0.20	5	35.7	2.2	0.16
Builder (construction)	7	23.3	2.9	0.08	1	7.7	2.0	0.04	4	28.6	3.0	0.10
Fisherman	6	20.0	3.2	0.06	3	23.1	2.7	0.09	3	21.4	3.7	0.06
Driver	5	16.7	2.8	0.06	1	7.7	2.0	0.04	3	21.4	3.0	0.07
Office clerk	5	16.7	3.6	0.05	2	15.4	3.5	0.04	2	14.3	4.0	0.04
Entrepreneur	4	13.3	2.3	0.06	1	7.7	2.0	0.04	2	14.3	2.5	0.06
Schoolteacher	4	13.3	3.3	0.04	3	23.1	2.7	0.09	1	7.1	5.0	0.01
Artisan	3	10.0	2.3	0.04	0	0.0	0.0	0.00	2	14.3	3.0	0.05
Day laborer	3	10.0	2.3	0.04	2	15.4	1.0	0.15	1	7.1	5.0	0.01
Boat (lancha) driver	3	10.0	2.7	0.04	1	7.7	1.0	0.08	1	7.1	2.0	0.04
Merchant	3	10.0	3.3	0.03	1	7.7	3.0	0.03	2	14.3	3.5	0.04
Carpenter (wood worker)	3	10.0	4.0	0.03	1	7.7	3.0	0.03	2	14.3	4.5	0.03
Artist	3	10.0	4.0	0.03	1	7.7	3.0	0.03	1	7.1	5.0	0.01
Restaurant worker	2	6.7	2.5	0.03	1	7.7	2.0	0.04	0	0.0	0.0	0.00
Professional	2	6.7	3.0	0.02	0	0.0	0.0	0.00	2	14.3	3.0	0.05
Tourism worker	2	6.7	4.0	0.02	2	15.4	4.0	0.04	0	0.0	0.0	0.00

Competency scores indicate a strong degree of shared cultural understanding or cultural truth regarding appropriate jobs for Tz'utujil Maya men and women in the communities of San Juan and San Pedro (Table 5). The highest average within-group competency scores were among female participants in San Juan regarding men's jobs (0.68). Other groups with high competency scores included both men (0.63) and women (0.63) in San Juan regarding women's jobs. Men indicated competence regarding men's jobs in San Juan as well (0.53). While there was an above average level of competence among men (0.59) and women (0.51) regarding appropriate jobs for women in San Pedro, neither group reached the 0.50 threshold for competence regarding men's jobs. Despite the high level of competence demonstrated by members of most groups, consensus was only reached regarding men's jobs in San Juan. This held true at the community level, where the eigenratio reached 4.3, as well as for the sub-groups of men (3.6) and women (4.8). Participants did not indicate consensus regarding women's jobs in San Juan (2.36), women's jobs in San Pedro (1.58) or men's jobs in San Pedro (1.66) at the community level or for any of the subgroups. There was also lack of consensus among all female and male participants across the communities regarding jobs appropriate for women (2.19 and 1.43 respectively) or men (2.98 and 2.96 respectively).

Table 5. Competency scores and cultural consensus across job domains.

	N	Eigenratio	Mean competence (SD)
Women's jobs in San Juan (SJ)			
Male & female participants	26	2.36	0.64 *(0.29)*
Male participants	12	2.20	0.63 *(0.29)*
Female participants	13	2.20	0.63 *(0.30)*
Men's jobs in San Juan (SJ)			
Male & female participants	27	4.30[a]	0.61 *(0.46)*
Male participants	12	3.60[a]	0.53 *(0.53)*
Female participants	14	4.80[a]	0.68 *(0.42)*[a]
Women's jobs in San Pedro (SP)			
Male & female participants	26	1.58	0.55 *(0.26)*
Male participants	13	1.66	0.59 *(0.23)*
Female participants	12	1.77	0.51 *(0.30)*
Men's jobs in San Pedro (SP)			
Male & female participants	27	1.66	0.38 *(0.52)*
Male participants	12	2.16	0.36 *(0.42)*
Female participants	12	1.80	0.49 *(0.38)*
Women's jobs in SJ & SP			
All female participants	25	2.19	0.56 *(0.33)*
All male participants	25	1.43	0.53 *(0.33)*
Men's jobs in SJ & SP			
All female participants	26	2.98	0.55 *(0.43)*
All male participants	24	2.96	0.50 *(0.40)*

[a] Eigenratio > 3.0 indicates consensus.
[b] Competence scores over 0.66 indicate very high cultural competence (Weller, 2007).

Discussion

Results indicate an overall high level of cultural competence in relation to jobs appropriate for Tz'utujil men and women. Yet, consensus generally does not exist on appropriate work, within or across communities. This means that while each individual participant indicated a high level of Tz'utujil cultural expertise, participants overall do not agree on appropriate job roles for women in either community or for men in the community with long-standing tourism development (San Pedro). They also did not reach the competence threshold for men' jobs in San Pedro, where men are highly involved in tourism work. These results indicate a disruption in cultural norms in the presence of tourism. Consensus was not found regarding men's or women's jobs in San Pedro, or regarding appropriate jobs for women in San Juan. Each of these groups has become increasingly involved in tourism work. The only group for which consensus was found for men's jobs in San Juan, as these individuals still participate primarily in the agricultural economy and are not meaningfully active in the tourism sector. While the design of this study does not permit us to make direct causal inferences between the arrival of tourism and changes in the host community's culture, the *types* of jobs listed (e.g. cook, tour guide, cultural guide, restaurant worker, waitress, tourism worker) do give us an indication that tourism is driving some of this transformation.

Many of the appropriate jobs listed in San Pedro were part of the formal tourism and hospitality industry. This community also indicated a greater overall variety of jobs. On the other hand, many of the jobs listed in San Juan were closely aligned with traditional roles. Importantly, however, women in San Juan identified tour guide as an appropriate job for women, where men did not. This is generally a male-dominated occupation in both communities, but women in San Juan are already actively involved in providing tourism services as well as in the governance of NGO-supported weaving cooperatives. This indicates they recognize additional opportunities for themselves within the formal tourism sector. Indigenous women are also considered the bearers of cultural heritage (Gil Arroyo et al., 2019; LaPan, Morais, Wallace, et al., 2016), so serving as guides may seem a natural extension of their existing roles. Alternatively, men in San Pedro identified jobs in the tourism sector as appropriate for women (i.e. waitress, restaurant worker) that women did not. This indicates that male participants see opportunities for women within the tourism workforce and deem them culturally appropriate, even if women have yet to identify these opportunities for themselves. Collectively, these findings support previous research that suggests that a sustained involvement in tourism creates social confusion and conflict (Geertz, 1973) that opens the opportunity for changes in cultural norms (Cohen, 2001). For example, results from previous studies in these communities suggest that work outside the home has caused marital tensions when wives were taken away from their longstanding domestic duties for income-earning tasks (LaPan, Morais, Wallace, et al., 2016). Yet, the close alignment of some tourism work with culturally sanctioned gender roles has allowed women to enter the tourism sector and push cultural boundaries to participate in other tourism work. Nevertheless, these findings also hint to the resilience of cultural norms despite the possible effects of tourism, which is evident from participants' overwhelming affirmation of traditional jobs as most appropriate for Tz'utujil men and women.

When considering Maya women's ability to take advantage of tourism work opportunities, it must be noted that they are triply burdened by issues of gender, ethnicity, and social class. They are females in a male-dominated society, indigenous in a national culture that has subjugated them for centuries, and likely to be impoverished (Pan American Health Organization, 2017).

Therefore, we must consider this intersectionality in the lives of Maya women when interpreting the study results (Mooney, 2018). These factors shape their ability to take full advantage of emerging tourism work opportunities. Indeed, not all women in these communities are eager to enter the paid job market, but rather many do so out of necessity. Women's wage-earning capability has often become necessary to bolster household income due to fluctuations in coffee prices (Leutert, 2018). Others were widowed during Guatemala's long civil war and must support themselves and their families (LaPan, Morais, Wallace, et al., 2016). While women are sometimes permitted to enter male spaces out of economic necessity (Holvino, 2008), this does not always lead to greater emancipation, as it does not result in a reduction of unpaid domestic labor. Furthermore, appropriate work still aligns with traditionally feminine skill sets and are still constrained within those boundaries (Gentry, 2007).

In prior studies, Maya women have described themselves as being constantly at work (Bonder et al., 2005). This is a concern given that the current study findings indicate that as tourism grows, there are more opportunities for work outside the home. This may be associated with previous findings among these Maya communities (LaPan, Morais, Wallace, et al., 2016) that suggests that women are subject to the fourth shift, where the lines between personal and public spaces are blurred (Savage et al., 2020; Veijola, 2009a). Furthermore, researchers point out that women of color have often lacked the distinction between public and private spheres that white feminists have enjoyed (Holvino, 2008) and Maya women's paid work is often intertwined with domestic work. They are also responsible for other "tasks of obligation" (Bonder et al., 2005), including extended family and community responsibilities (Holvino, 2008). This unpaid labor is a direct threat to the achievability of the Sustainable Development Goals (Alarcón & Cole, 2019). Despite the common perception that paid work through tourism joins seamlessly with domestic obligations, participation in this sector may ultimately result in significantly more labor on the part of Maya women. Additionally, married Maya women's participation in tourism work can be problematic if their husbands perceive their tourism work is taking them away from domestic obligations at home (LaPan, Morais, Wallace, et al., 2016). Moreover, fear of ridicule for engaging in women's work (Carey, 2008; Feng, 2013) makes men unlikely to take on women's traditional roles or to share domestic duties. Therefore, women working in tourism are at risk of taking on increasingly more work with no reduction in domestic obligations.

Nonetheless, tourism has provided women with the opportunity to earn income from tasks, such as weaving, that were not historically compensated (Greene, 2010). Consistent with previous research reporting economic empowerment among indigenous women (Gil Arroyo et al., 2019), women in these communities have reported being able to use the money they earn through tourism work to support their children, indicating that they have some economic decision making in the household (LaPan, Morais, Wallace, et al., 2016). While tourism has created employment opportunities for women in both communities, the town with longer, more sustained tourism development (San Pedro) offered a greater variety of employment options. Yet, the type of work available to women in San Juan (e.g. cooperative tourism models) more frequently offer access to decent work and a greater involvement in economic decision making (LaPan, Morais, Wallace, 2016). The cooperative model benefits the women in several ways. First, they can work at their own pace and integrate weaving into their daily schedule. Second, they can set (and receive) what they believe is a fair price as there is no haggling in the cooperative. Third, much of their time is freed up from the task of selling to take care of other obligations. While

mainstream (i.e. White, Western, capitalist) feminist models would suggest that more opportunities for women to work outside the home offer the greatest chance of emancipation (Ferguson, 2020), research has suggested that this is not always the case, particularly in indigenous or non-Western communities (LaPan, Morais, Wallace, 2016; Singh, 2007). Therefore, these findings support previous research that suggest that capitalist, neoliberal models are less effective than communitarian tourism models at leveraging economic opportunities from tourism for women toward achieving Sustainable Development Goal 5 (LaPan, Morais, Barbieri, et al., 2016; LaPan, Morais, Wallace, et al., 2016).

Adopting a third world feminist lens in this study proved to be critical to avoid prescribing a Western view of women's emancipation. Women in these communities rely heavily on their social relationships and bending cultural norms is not always in their best interest. Research suggests that Maya women who break gender norms have often felt more oppressed than liberated (Carey, 2008). Third world feminism acknowledges that women of color do not necessarily see men or children as oppressive forces in their lives (Holvino, 2008). Rather, family structures can be an important support system in achieving upward mobility (Higginbotham & Weber, 1992). Furthermore, re-envisioning gender norms can be difficult and painful when it goes against national and cultural norms as well as one's sense of self (Narayan, 1997). Therefore, we also must move beyond simplistic ideas of economic empowerment to consider how shifting gender norms may bring other types of positive outcomes to both women and men (Tucker & Boonabaana, 2012). The importance of gender *relations* also cannot be understated as Maya women's wellbeing will be not be improved if they are shunned by their community, including men. This study supports previous research (Boonabaana, 2014; Tucker, 2007) that has shown that the presence of tourism offers new employment opportunities that push the cultural boundaries of appropriate work, yet in a way that does not require a full destruction of cultural norms.

Limitations and recommendations for future study

This study took place in two ethnically similar Maya communities that varied in type and duration of tourism development. As such, study findings are particularly situated within this context and are limited by time and space. While this design allowed for unique comparison between the communities, it does limit generalizability (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Future studies should explore the role of similar kinds of tourism development on effecting cultural change in communities that have contrasting gender norms to see how involvement in tourism might affect women differently depending on their socio-cultural condition (e.g. see Morais et al., 2005). The participants represent a relatively small sample within the communities, but the group size is appropriately above the minimum threshold for the type of analysis (CCA) used and was well balanced between men and women within and across the communities.

This study focused primarily on workers in tourism, so the extent to which gender norms are changing among residents not involved in tourism remains less clear. Future studies should include perspectives of workers outside the tourism industry or those who do not work outside the home. Additionally, much of the data were collected several years ago and current changes to global tourism caused by the COVID-19 outbreak could affect perceptions about tourism employment (Baum et al., 2020). Furthermore, follow up studies should be done in several years

as children in the community become young adults to explore how their perception of gender roles and employment has shifted from that of their mothers and fathers. Finally, this study only considered a binary gender distinction as the researcher did not encounter individuals within the fluid gender identity, nor did any themes related to this emerge during the in-depth interviews. Therefore, a discussion of binary gender hierarchy (Knights & Kerfoot, 2004) should be considered, and future studies might seek the input of non-binary gender identified participants.

Conclusion

Changes in gender norms in the Lake Atitlán region may not appear radical at the surface nor follow the trajectory of women's emancipation that Western (i.e. white, middle-class) feminists favor (Amos & Parmar, 2005; Margolis, 1993). However, these shifts are non-trivial and do challenge patriarchal forms of domination that are pervasive throughout Latin America (HöCkert, 2018). Tourism work moves women outside of the home and into the public sphere (Gil Arroyo et al., 2019; Mohanty et al., 1991). This has allowed for an increase in autonomy as well as opportunities to build new skills and enhance social networks (LaPan, Morais, Wallace, et al., 2016). The benefits are stronger for women working in an organized fashion (e.g. cooperatives), who are privy to formal training opportunities and social support from their female colleagues than those who stake out on their own under a traditional tourism model (LaPan, Morais, Barbieri, et al., 2016; LaPan, Morais, Wallace, et al., 2016).

This study supports the assertion that tourism creates spaces of negotiation that spur, or enable, cultural change (Cohen, 2001). Women in these communities are very likely in a state of hybridity (Tucker, 2010) or "in-between-ness" (Holvino, 2008) in this space of change. This is to say that there is no end point on the spectrum of "development", but rather the (re)negotiation of cultural norms is an ongoing and continual process. This study provides an important glimpse into the shifting dynamics happening at a specific point in time in communities with different lengths and types of tourism development. This study has provided additional evidence that through tourism work, women are able to improve their livelihoods and bring value to their household. These activities have brought awareness of the women's worth and potential both to themselves and their communities (LaPan, Morais, Wallace, et al., 2016).

Therefore, tourism development organizations working in indigenous communities should carefully consider the cultural context. They should consider balancing job opportunities for women and men so as not to cause undue strain in interpersonal relationships. Further, organizations should support women to have the flexibility to complete wage-earning tasks while maintaining household obligations. They should also provide spaces where women can separate work from home as this has been shown to be important in expanding their skill set and gaining social support (LaPan, Morais, Wallace , 2016). Given that tourism microenterprises and community-based tourism are often carried out close to the domestic sphere, an ideal balance of duties would allow women both time to work at home and time to work outside the home, such as a rotating schedule where the women spend time in a cooperative, store, or other tourism enterprise. Since elite groups can often dominate tourism development efforts and reap the benefits (Tucker & Boonabaana, 2012), concerted efforts at engaging the most marginalized is also recommended. Ultimately, development organizations must consider women's interlocking social identities (Nakhid et al., 2015) when considering the full impact of tourism work.

Acknowledgments

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James M. "Tim" Wallace, Associate Professor Emeritus, recently retired (January 2019) as the Director and Associate Professor of the Anthropology Program in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at North Carolina State University. He was also the "Chief Instigator" and Director, for 25 years, of the NCSU Ethnographic Field School, located in Lake Atitlán, Guatemala. He is President of the Association of Senior Anthropologists at the American Anthropological Association and a past president the National Association for the Practice of Anthropology (NAPA) and founding chair of the Society for Applied Anthropology's Tourism and Heritage Interest Group. Recent published research concerns issues of tourism micro-entrepreneurship, ecotourism and heritage related projects in Madagascar, Hungary, Costa Rica, Guatemala, and Colombia. He continues to collaborate in teaching and research with colleagues in Industrial Design at the Universidad Tadeo Lozano, Bogota. He has over 75 published books, journal articles, and book chapters, and hundreds of conference presentations. He is also a co-founder of People-First Tourism, Inc.

Carla Barbieri, Ph.D., is a Professor in Sustainable Tourism at North Carolina State University where she founded and leads the Agritourism and Societal Well-being lab. She investigates tourism in agricultural settings as a sustainable development strategy.

Myron F. Floyd is Dean of the College of Natural Resources and Professor in the Department of Parks, Recreation and Tourism Management at North Carolina State University. He studies impacts of Race and ethnicity in the contexts of leisure and park and protected area management.