



**Women workers' experiences in the
hospitality industry on the Colombian
Pacific and Caribbean coasts**

(Social) Reproductive Work, the divisions between
public and private spheres and well-being

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Preface

I am glad to have conducted research where I was able to combine my interests in feminism, working conditions, well-being, and the healing properties of the sea. Throughout this research, I had the support of my friends, every day, and this shows me once again the important role they have in my life. Thanks to my friends who were here in Wageningen during this process, with whom I had long study days and evenings at the university, discussed the topics of this research and shared my leisure time to recharge and continue studying. Additionally, thanks to the ISOW Autumn Board, it was an enriching experience to share the first months of research while being part of the board. Thanks to my friends who, from distance, were attentive to my thesis with their spontaneous messages full of love.

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Alejandra Guijo Bermejo

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Abstract

In Colombia, the Caribbean and Pacific coasts are the regions that tourists visit the most. Unfortunately, there are no studies regarding women's experiences when they work in the hospitality industry in these regions. In contribution to this knowledge gap, this thesis studies how women experience leisure and work time in the private and public spheres when they are part of the workforce in hotels and hostels on Colombia's Caribbean and Pacific coasts. This research is framed under feminist theories that address housework, care work, and emotional labor to understand (social) reproductive labor, the Four Shifts proposed by Soile Veijola, and psycho-social well-being and blue spaces theories. Methodologically, a qualitative feminist research was implemented, and 12 in-depth online interviews were conducted. The findings from this research show that the social reproductive labor creates an unclear division between the activities and relations that women do in their private and public spheres. This borderless relationship between the public and private spheres, which is explained through the Four Shifts, is more evident for women who live in hostels and hotels. All participants produce immaterial labor and reproduce intangibles such as feelings and satisfaction for the guests. When reproductive labor, care work, and emotional labor are not imposed, some women workers enjoy doing it regardless of where it is performed. Additionally, there is a diverse range of activities that women workers do in their leisure time showing that their well-being can be improved at home or in their paid job at hotels or hostels. Women workers' well-being is positively influenced by the blue spaces when they have time to spend close to the sea. Based on the findings, this research suggests that future studies should focus on the gender bias that affects people on the Caribbean and Pacific coasts from a non-binary perspective. Moreover, it would be relevant to study the work conditions that employers offer in the hospitality industry in Colombia, while considering the psycho-social and environmental factors as this research did.

Keywords: feminism, leisure time, work time, private sphere, public sphere, reproductive labor, housework, care work, emotional labor, psycho-social well-being, environmental well-being, blue spaces.

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1. Introduction

In Colombia tourism has increased significantly in the last decade. One of the types of tourism that is more common is the Sea, Sun, Sand because of the weather conditions and landscapes that Colombia has to offer to visitors and the possibility tourists have to disconnect from their daily routines. People visit coastal destinations to enjoy their holidays, connect with nature, and improve their well-being. The areas most visited for this type of tourism are the Caribbean and the Pacific coasts, which offer attractive tourism that generates a lot of profit. However, there is a need to understand the experiences that women have when they work in the tourism industry in these regions, considering their work conditions, personal fulfillment, well-being, life quality, and access opportunities. With this research, I study how women workers experience leisure and work time in the private and public spheres and their well-being when they are part of the hotel and hostel workforce on Colombia's Caribbean and Pacific coasts.

This thesis contains six chapters. The first chapter mentions the Problem Statement, Research Purpose, and Research Questions. The second chapter presents the theoretical framework in three sections: Reproductive Labor, the Four Shifts, and environmental and psycho-social well-being. The third chapter describes the methodology used for the research, where I explain the sampling, access, Feminist In-depth Interviews, transcriptions, coding, data analysis, ethical considerations, and research positionality. Chapter four presents the findings divided into Second Shift, Third Shift, and Fourth Shift. In chapter five, the discussion and limitations are presented. Finally, in Chapter Six I state the conclusions and future research suggestions.

It is crucial to understand women's experiences holistically, considering both the paid and unpaid work in the private and public spheres. Post-Fordism has brought different service relations where it is more common to find job flexibility, immaterial labor, and reproduction of intangibles for women in paid jobs (Betti, 2016; Irving, 2015). Different studies have shown the tourism industry's changes due to post-Fordism in aviation, hospitality industry, alternative tourism, and sustainability (Egresi, 2016; Williams, 1998; Lafferty & van Fossen, 2001). Soile Veijola explains that in post-Fordist societies, the border between home and work has dissolved because of the tasks women perform that aim to produce experiences, images, and affects for tourists (Veijola, 2009). However, there is a research gap in the experiences that these new service relations based on job flexibility, immaterial labor, and reproduction of intangibles have brought to women who work in hospitality in Colombia.

In the last decades, tourism started to have a crucial role in the economy of Colombia (Williams et al., 2016). International tourism arrivals have doubled in the last ten years (World Bank, 2020), promoting the arousal of more business and activities related to tourism. The promotion of Colombia's nature for tourism is based on the geographical characteristics that bring a wide variety of ecosystems, landscapes, climates, thermal floors, and diversity of fauna and flora (Gutiérrez Quiroga, Castro-Casallas & Lagarcha-Martínez, 2021; Marca País, 2021). The Caribbean and Pacific regions are the main areas travelers want to visit in Colombia (Mincit, 2021). These destinations are key for tourism because of the sun, beach, nature, megadiverse ecosystems, among other reasons (Mincit, 2021). Even though tourism increases wellness and quality of life for travelers, little attention has been paid to the well-being and benefits that it offers to workers, specifically to women.

In official figures, Colombian women represent 32% of the formal workforce in Colombia's tourism industry (Leguizamón, 2016). However, it is not possible to state how many women work in tourism in Colombia due to the country's high levels of informal tourism. Informal employment in the tourism sector in Colombia corresponds to an average of more than 53% of the total employed (MinCit, 2018). Informal

work often occurs in lower-level positions where women tend to do jobs that are low paid or in small hotels and hostels where no permanent staff is employed due to seasonal variability. The fact that people cannot access formal employment in Colombia's tourism sector leads people to lack social security coverage, and desirable employee benefits among other limitations (Leguizamón, 2016).

Talking about women's work in the tourism sector in Colombia is complex. In addition to the lack of inaccurate figures due to the high numbers of informal employment, there is no academic research about women workers' work in the private sphere. Gender equality is a struggle for women in Colombia regarding **reproductive labor**, which includes **housework, care work, and emotional labor**. The OECD says that in Colombia, women participate in unpaid work, including housework and family care, on average 7.23 hours per day compared to 3.10 hours per day for men (2020). However, there is no specific information about gender and tourism work labor in Colombia which makes it challenging to understand the situations that women workers face in the coastal destinations in Colombia when they work in the tourism industry.

Regarding well-being at Sea, Sun, Sand destinations, researchers have studied the healing properties that blue spaces provide for humans. The preference for these locations relies on the recreation activities and the scenic beauty of the coastal landscape (Mendoza-González, et al., 2018). Gammon & Jarratt (2019) cite different authors, such as Kaplan and Kaplan (1989), who outline that restorative natural environments bring the possibility to ease mental fatigue. Gammon & Jarratt (2019) also refer to White et al. (2010) to highlight that the restorative natural properties of these environments are related to the visual properties, restorative sounds, and the possibility of immersing in water (Gammon& Jarratt, 2019). I consider that these multisensorial experiences and interaction with blue spaces might improve the **environmental well-being** not only of the people who visit coastal destinations but also of the people who work in these natural areas, such as women who have paid jobs in the tourism industry on the Caribbean and Pacific coasts. However, there is no research or data available on the impact that the blue spaces have in women workers who live in coastal destinations in Colombia, or the way women interact with these blue spaces.

Additionally, to study women worker's well-being it is crucial to consider **the psycho-social well-being** that is influenced by women's daily routines. Women's daily lives are constituted by the activities they do in their **leisure and work time**, regardless if they are paid or unpaid. Research shows that less attention has been paid to leisure, work, and well-being from in-depth qualitative academic studies as most of the research has been done from a quantitative perspective (Mansfield, Daykin & Kay, 2020). In Colombia it is relevant to open spaces for unheard voices regarding well-being and leisure of women workers in coastal destinations in the tourism sector to have a first understanding of their experiences. In this research, I will study women workers' experiences regarding leisure and work time, considering reproductive labor, the division between the private and public sphere, and environmental and psycho-social well-being.

1.1 Problem statement

Even though the Pacific and Caribbean coasts in Colombia are the places tourists visit the most to enjoy nature and improve their well-being, there is no research available on the experiences of women who work in the hospitality industry in these areas of the country. One of the main obstacles to understanding the problems women face is that there is no official data available that includes the informal workers of hotels and hostels and their experiences. Therefore, it is difficult to have a perspective that considers the different voices of the women working in tourism. Moreover, in a diverse and unequal country like

Colombia, it is crucial to consider that women have different experiences depending on their race, class, nationality, and context. Women's public and private lives rely not only on their gender but also on the privileges they have had access to throughout their lives.

Post-Fordism is characterized by a regime of capital accumulation based on service relations that produces immaterial labor, job flexibility, and emotional capitalism focused on the reproduction of intangibles such as feelings, well-being, and satisfaction, among others (Irving, 2015). These characteristics have dissolved the borders between leisure and work time, also influenced by the unclear separation between work and living spaces in hospitality (Veijola, 2009). As not enough attention has been paid to how these unclear divisions configure women workers' psycho-social well-being and the impact that the blue spaces where they live impact their environmental well-being, it is not possible to bring solutions to improve women workers' quality of life in coastal destinations in Colombia. Therefore, it is important to conduct research that studies the experience of women workers in hostels and hotels on the Pacific and Caribbean coasts from a holistic perspective that considers the (social) reproductive labor that they do, the separation between the private and public sphere, and the different factors that impact their well-being.

1.2 Research Purpose

This research aims to include the diverse voices of Colombian women who work in coastal destinations in the most touristic regions of the country. The main purpose is to understand their experiences regarding their leisure and work time in public and private spheres from an academic perspective. It is essential to address the research gap on women's experiences in the tourism sector in Colombian coastal destinations as there is no official information or research that recognizes the contributions that they provide to the private and public spheres. Additionally, hearing about women workers' experiences regarding leisure, work-life balance, and environmental and psycho-social well-being opens spaces to understand the relevant topics that should be considered to improve their quality of life in coastal destinations.

1.3 Research questions

Main research question:

How do women experience leisure and work time in the private and public spheres when they are part of the workforce in hotels and hostels on Colombia's Caribbean and Pacific coasts?

Sub research questions 1

How do women who work in hotels and hostels in the coastal destinations in Colombia experience reproductive labor?

Sub research question 2

How do women who work in hotels and hostels in the coastal destinations in Colombia experience the distinction of work in the public and private sphere?

Sub research question 3

How do women who work in hotels and hostels in the coastal destinations in Colombia experience well-being considering psycho-social and environmental factors?

2. Theoretical Framework

Different studies have researched women's situations in the tourism industry related to gender and work labor tourism in non-Western countries (Yim et al., 2018; Tajeddini, 2017; Tucker & Boonabaana, 2012; Ypeij, 2012; Tran & Walter, 2014). Yim et al. focus on the emotional labor that tour guides perform by comparing the cases of women and men in China through quantitative research (2012). The study also suggests the necessity to give a supportive work environment to the workers that help to mitigate the negative effects of emotional labor (Yim et al., 2018). However, Yim et al., do not focus on workers' experiences, perspectives and needs. The results of Yim et al.'s research mainly provide implications for travel agencies on employee selection and how to benefit from providing emotional labor training to their employees (Yim et al., 2018).

In contrast, other studies such as the one from Tajeddini opened space to hear women's voices (2017). Tajeddini's research's main focus is on women entrepreneurs who have their restaurants in coastal destinations influenced by environmental factors, culture, and heritage, considering limited financial resources and capital (2017). This study touched upon professional and family responsibilities, the roles that women have at home, and how being an entrepreneur increases women's well-being (Tajeddini, 2017). The research aim was to study how women could develop a business with limited resources and provide suggestions for women entrepreneurs to participate in the tourism industry.

Additionally, Tucker & Boonabaana, research on the economic empowerment of workers in Uganda and Turkey (2012). The research studies the obstacles that women and men face to benefit from the tourism industry in rural areas (Tucker & Boonabaana, 2012). This research shows the importance to study gender relations based on a particular social context, leaving aside the notions that women are oppressed by a unitary patriarchal power (Tucker & Boonabaana, 2012). Tucker & Boonabaana state the importance of paying attention to the double burden that women workers have when they work in tourism, considering women's social reproduction roles in their context (2012).

Moreover, Tran & Walter focus their research on the participation of women and gender empowerment in community-based eco-tourism in Vietnam (2014). The research revealed inequities in social class, childcare, and violence against women and suggest addressing community-based ecotourism from a gender perspective (Tran & Walte, 2014). Tran & Walter state that when some women in Giao Xuan start having new productive roles in the public sphere as tour guides, they also gained the active support of their husbands who start having new roles in the private sphere regarding childcare and household tasks (2014). This study also shows the implications that participating in community-based tourism had for women in terms of self-confidence, leadership roles, and psychological empowerment (Tran & Walte, 2014). Finally, other studies such as the one conducted by Ypeij, focus on the cultural capital and interrelation of gender, ethnicity, and tourism work in Machu Puchi, Peru (2012). The research shows that gender relations are transformed in the tourism context and how women and men are involved in household chores, childcare, and income generation (Ypeij, 2012). Ypeij discusses the access to education that some women workers have and their economic challenges considering the intersection between ethnicity, class, and gender (Ypeij, 2012).

The previous studies touch upon relevant gender topics for women workers in the tourism sector. Some of them consider the double burden that women have when they perform reproductive labor in their private lives with their families and in their public life with tourists and guests. These studies are relevant for tourism research because they consider housework, care work, and emotional labor that women do. Additionally, some of these articles show that women's work in tourism has implications for their private lives and well-being, although they do not make an in-depth analysis of these issues. Finally, it is important

to highlight the intersectionality perspectives that some of these studies have, considering the different gender relations that happen in each social context to understand the diverse experiences that women who work in tourism have in non-Western countries.

The relevant findings of the studies mentioned above show the importance of studying the women workers' experiences from a holistic perspective that considers the (social) reproductive labor, the unpaid work that women do in the private and public sphere, and their well-being. Therefore, to further study the experiences that women workers face in the coastal destinations in Colombia I created a Theoretical Framework that focuses on women's reproductive labor and the distinction between the spheres where women work and leisure time to focus on their well-being. First, I will draw upon the concepts developed by different Feminist scholars regarding reproductive labor. I will focus especially on Silvia Federici and Kathi Weeks' feminist critiques. Although they do not focus particularly on tourism studies, her statements are key to the study of women's working experiences in capitalist societies. Additionally, this research is going to be framed by the Four Shifts explained by Soile Veijola to understand the separation between the private and public spheres that women workers have in the current post-Fordist societies. Veijola focuses on feminism theories, work and tourism studies which bring an accurate perspective to study women workers in the tourism sector in Colombia. Finally, to address issues related to the well-being of women living and working in coastal areas, I will draw upon psycho-social well-being and blue spaces theories.

2.1. Reproductive Labor

Reproductive work refers to both the reproduction of life and the reproduction of labor power. Therefore, it includes housework, paid social reproductive jobs, tasks that socially reproduce the world, and activities by which life and labor are constituted in our daily lives (Federici, 2011; Henry, 2018). Silvia Federici explains that reproductive work helps to reproduce everyday life and to reproduce people concerning their positions in and into the labor market, making them suitable workers-subjects (Henry, 2018).

Gender bias configures certain traditions and norms that frame women's tasks and creates a lack of appreciation of their work as people assume specific tasks are innate to women. Therefore, women work in many reproductive tasks such as care work, household, and emotional labor that constitute the social reproductive labor without recognition or payment because society thinks they are obliged to do them. There is a clear imbalance between unpaid work done by women and men. In the world, 75% of the unpaid work is done by women; this unequal work starts from childhood and increases as women grow up (Criado Perez, 2019). Women cannot freely choose the role they want to have in their families, waged work, and society because of this gender bias, as they are trained to be subservient and sacrifice themselves from the earliest days of their lives (Federici, 2011). The problem is not that women clean, take care of the children and other family members or perform certain activities at work; rather that they are expected to do it due to the gender roles that society imposes.

For this research, it is crucial to consider the roles related to women's reproductive work at home and in their paid jobs. Silvia Federici states that for women is difficult to see where work begins and ends and where desire begins (Federici, 2011). This happened because in capitalist societies women perform hidden work with their families at home that is not recognized as does not result in a wage (Federici & Cox, 1975). However, as it is going to be explained in the coming sections, women also perform unpaid work in the

private sphere related to (social) reproductive work and emotional labor (Hochschild, 1983). Therefore, as the work is not recognized women are constantly producing labor power which leads to exploitation in the public and private spheres. Therefore, regarding reproductive work, Carolina Criado Perez states that there are no women who do not work; there are only women who are not paid for their work (Criado Perez, 2019). Women's constant work for others reduces the time for taking care of themselves. Consequently, it also impacts their well-being, access to education, or training for other jobs that they would prefer to do.

2.1.1 Reproductive labor in the private sphere

In the 1970s, feminist scholars stated the importance of recognizing the work that women do at home in relation to reproductive labor. This labor has been hidden since the late XIX and the beginning of XX when in the United States and England labor reforms transformed the factory, the community, and the household, resulting in women occupying different positions in society (Federici, 2018; Weeks, 2020). Nowadays, it is still relevant to encourage recognition of the paid and unpaid domestic work performed by women because, as is stated by Silvia Federici, the work that women do "*in the home is what keeps the world moving*" (Federici, 2011, p. 25).

Regarding recognizing the work that women do at home, it is crucial to consider maternity labor and care work with their children. Federici explains that the reproduction of human beings that women do is the foundation of every economic and political system (Federici, 2020). Taking care of the children who are the future workers of society ensures that they perform as expected under capitalist dynamics, making housework and the family the pillars of capitalist production (Federici & Cox, 1975). Federici and Cox state that women produce labor power which is the most precious product on the capitalist market as it serves the wage earners both physically and emotionally (Federici & Cox, 1975).

We nevertheless produce the most precious product to appear on the capitalist market: labor power. Housework is much more than house cleaning. It is servicing the wage earners physically, emotionally, sexually, getting them ready for work day after day. It is taking care of our children—the future workers—assisting them from birth through their school years, ensuring that they too perform in the ways expected of them under capitalism. (Federici & Cox, 1975, p.122).

Besides the reproduction of human beings, there are other tasks that women do that need to be recognized as the work related to housework that benefits other people who live in the same household. In the 1970s, the campaign Wages for Housework was created to visualize women's unpaid work. Women were not aiming to get paid for their housework to continue to do it; instead, they demanded wages as the first step to refuse to do it and to show their opposition to the assumption that it is a characteristic of femininity (Federici, 2011). Even though this movement started more than four decades ago, it is still relevant today to expose that housework is money for capital (Federici, 2011; Weeks, 2020). Some women do housework tasks not because they like it or because it comes naturally for us, but because some do not have any other choice (Federici, 2011).

In this research, I will consider the statement of Federici that explains that the inequalities produced by housework affect all women, regardless of whether they are married or not, or if due to their social

position can avoid some of that work. When housework is naturalized and sexualized as a feminine attribute, all women are characterized by it and expected to like it (Federici, 2011). Additionally, considering it a natural attribute is an obstacle to recognizing it as work and keeps it as unwaged labor coming supposedly from the female character (Federici, 2011). Federici considers housework *"the most pervasive manipulation and the subtlest violence that capitalism has ever perpetrated against any section of the working class"* (Federici, 2011, p.72). As women are not recognized as workers in the housework, they are not able to bargain and struggle against the terms and the quantity of work because they do not have a social contract (Federici, 2011).

2.1.2 Reproductive work in the public sphere and private spheres

When women started to work again outside of the home, a need to recognize that they were working more arose. Federici states that the second job that women have in the public sphere increases the exploitation and reproduces the role of housewives in different forms such as nursing, teaching, cleaning, and service jobs (Federici, 2011). Regarding this Silvia Federici and Nicole Cox claimed:

"Getting a second job has never released us from the first. Two jobs have only meant for women even less time and energy to struggle against both. Moreover, a woman, working full-time in the home or outside of it as well, married or single, has to put hours of labor into reproducing her own labor power, and women well know the special tyranny of this task since a pretty dress and a nice hairdo are conditions for their getting the job, whether on the marriage market or on the wage labor market." (Federici & Cox, 1975, p.4)

Although the above text was written in the 1970s, it is still accurate. Nowadays, the time invested in work goes beyond the working hours, the space of production goes beyond the workspace, and the relations of production go further from the employment relationship (Weeks, 2020). Therefore, it is not correct to only distinguish work from non-work as paid and unpaid life (Weeks, 2020). Doing that leaves many dynamics out, especially those naturalized as women's activities due to imposed gender roles.

Kathi Weeks highlights that *"domestically produced goods and services and many forms of caring and household labor are transformed into feminized, racialized, and globalized forms of waged labor in the service sector"* (Weeks, 2007, p. 238). Weeks (2007) explains that the gender division of work in the binaries is inadequate. These gender divisions happen in all kinds of work, regardless of if it is paid or unpaid, in the public or private sphere. As I will address in Chapter 4, women workers who participated in this research perform household tasks because of the gender division at home and in the hotels and hostels.

The explosion of the service sector that happened since the 1970s has commercialized many invisible services, such as cooking, cleaning, taking care of children, and companionship (Federici, 2011). These activities have been carried out of the private sphere and turned into new commodities, where entire industries have been built upon women's work (Federici, 2011). Additionally, there is a growth of the body industry and new general awareness of taking care of yourself (Federici, 2011). Tourism is an activity that can fit into these industries that rely on women's work. People travel to coastal destinations to release the stress of their everyday lives, improve their well-being, and connect with nature. Tourists are able to

do this thanks to women's work in service, management, and cleaning in the places where they stay, such as hotels and hostels.

The response from the capitalist economies to the feminist rejection of domesticity at home has been the increasing number of women in the labor force. However, in the roles that women perform, they do not escape the primary responsibility for unwaged reproductivity work even though they are paid (Weeks, 2020). Therefore, feminist scholars claim for a broader critique and state that having a paid job does not liberate women as they already work enough in their private sphere (Dalla Costa & James, 1973; Weeks, 2020). As domestically produced goods and services continue to be commodified and many modes of service and care work are being transformed into waged employment, production and reproduction are becoming more similar (Weeks, 2020).

Therefore, social reproduction is the concept used to explain the complexity of activities and relations that reconstitute life and labor daily, where gender plays an essential role in the generation of capitalist dynamics (Henry, 2018; Federici, 2020). Reproductive social work can be commodified and non-commodified in non-domestic settings (Henry, 2018). It is crucial to consider women's emotional labor in both the private and public spheres. The emotional labor that women do in the tourism sector was first explained and studied by Hochschild in her book *The Managed Heart* (1983). Hochschild provides the following definition of emotional labor:

Requires one to induce or suppress feeling to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others in this case, the sense of being cared for in a convivial and safe place. This kind of labor calls for a coordination of mind and feeling, and it sometimes draws on a source of self that we honor as deep and integral to our individuality. (Hochschild, 1983, p. 7)

Hochschild connected tourism and emotional labor through the example of women flight attendants who were trained to manage their emotions to not show when they were angry or stressed because of a passenger to provide better service (Hochschild, 1983). The author recognizes that the employees are trained to elicit specific emotions in passengers, even when the flyer attendants were experiencing fear or distress themselves (Trot, 2017). The example used by Hochschild explains how some tourism providers require their employees to offer services in which the tourist is prioritized at the expense of workers having to use extra effort and energy to suppress emotions without recognition. Hochschild highlights that the labor put on a smile, mood, feeling, or relationship requires too much from the employee and leads to the colonization of life by work (Weeks, 2007).

The author also focuses on the labor process itself and mentions that these activities are everyday practices and part of the labor of social reproduction that sustains cooperation and civility (Weeks, 2007). The two categorizations to manage emotional labor explained by Hochschild are *surface acting* and *deep acting*. The *surface acting* describes the simulation of emotions unfelt through verbal and non-verbal cues (Hochschild, 1983; Van Dijn & Kirk, 2007; Weeks, 2007). On the other hand, *deep acting* is when an individual manipulates emotions to feel and display the prescribed ones by contextual norms either by exhorting feelings or by using a trained imagination (Van Dijn & Kirk, 2007; Weeks, 2007).

As well as women flight attendants, women who work in different hotel positions, such as cleaning, reception, cooking, management, and entertainment, are also performing emotional labor, are considered social reproductive work. Therefore, both the women who perform tasks related to housework and those who have other hospitality positions contribute to the work in paid jobs or reproductive work that guests do in their everyday lives, meaning that the women workers in hotels do social reproductive work.

2.2 Four Shifts in tourism: Borderless relation between private and public sphere

Soile Veijola explains that nowadays, tourism working life aims to produce experiences and affects where gender and work interplay (Veijola, 2009). Therefore, it is relevant to address tourism from the workers' point of view to understand the complexity that restructures gender in relation to production (Veijola, 2009). This allows us to understand the social relations that characterize late capitalism in the spheres of the public and private life (Veijola, 2009).

Veijola draws upon the Four Shifts thematized by Joniken and Vähämäki, which describe the relations between labor and gender, and the workplace and home (Veijola, 2009). These shifts are not separate in a chronological sense or sequential, meaning that configurations coexist even though the emphasis shifts (Veijola, 2009). This allows understanding the complexities that women who work in tourism experience in everyday life to study their routines. There are no clear boundaries between private and public spheres or leisure and work time. In some cases, these are interconnected.

2.2.1 First Shift

The First Shift refers to the arrangements between the sexes explained by Goffman (1977). Goffman explains that men and women have different roles in society. Women have less rank and power, their use of public space is restricted, they are excluded from religious and political office, and their lives are centered more on household duties compared to males (Goffman, 1977). Additionally, each woman is linked to a man through fundamental social bonds that place her in a coalition that leads her to participate in many social situations connected to a man (Goffman, 1977).

Goffman states that males define females "*as fragile and valuable, to be protected from the harsher things of life and shown both love and respect*" (Goffman, 1977, p. 308). Therefore, women are considered less than men, but they are idealized and characterized by motherhood, innocence, and gentleness (Goffman, 1977). Regarding these conceptions, some women are convinced that there are natural characterological differences between themselves and men. This idea that women's place in society expresses their innate capacities allows the arrangement between the sex classes (Goffman, 1977). Therefore, Veijola explains that the arrangement between sexes makes a clear division between the private and public sphere and makes women occupy themselves at home, where they reproduce the force of labor through housework and emotional work (Veijola, 2009).

2.2.2 Second Shift

The Second Shift refers to the era when women start to work in the public sphere while their unpaid labor continues at home (Veijola, 2009). Veijola explains this shift by drawing upon the Second Shift concept

described by Arlie Hochschild and Anne Machung (1989). Hochschild explains that women who are mothers work one shift at the office or factory and another one at home, where they work more than their husbands. As a consequence they are more tired and get sick more often, negatively affecting their health and well-being (Hochschild & Machung, 1989). In the interviews performed by Hochschild in the 1980s, some men agreed that the management between work and family life was a topic that concerned their wives more than themselves (Hochschild & Machung, 1989).

The study from Hochschild showed that problems related to the Second Shift between husbands and wives are individual experiences caused by systematic economic and cultural issues instead of being driven by one or two persons (Hochschild & Machung, 1989). The meaning of caring and gender-equal ideas vary between social classes and marriages and the strategies to make gender roles more equal at home, not to make women work one month extra at home (Hochschild & Machung, 1989). However, if the social structures and culture would presume active fatherhood, there would not be a need to devise personal strategies; the study by Hochschild shows that sharing the Second Shift contributes to happiness and improves marriage (Hochschild & Machung, 1989).

In *Figure 1*, I integrated the theoretical framework from reproductive labor explained in image one to illustrate how the private sphere is associated with women’s families and reproductive delivery; they perform duties in terms of care work, housework, reproductive social labor, and emotional labor. I consider that women would have leisure time when they fulfill the responsibilities described above to improve their well-being. In contrast, the public sphere is exclusively associated with paid work time. Therefore, there is a clear separation between the private and public spheres for women who work in paid jobs without reproduction of intangibles and that have differentiation in time, space, and activities.

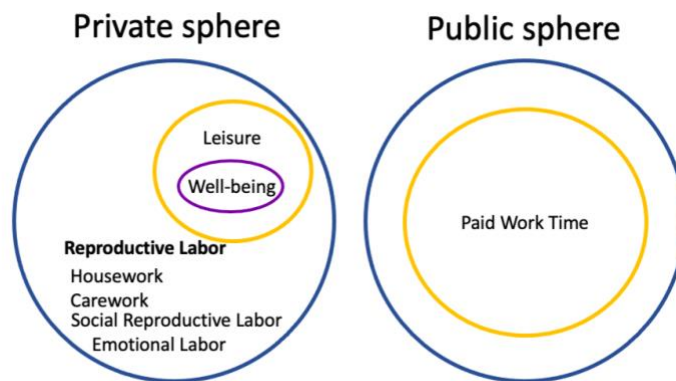


Figure 1: Public and private spheres in the Second Shift

2.2.3 Third Shift

The Third Shift proposed by Veijola explains the *“ideological and affective reversal of home and work* (Veijola, 1997, p.112) based on Hochschild studies (1997) and the unpublished work of Jokinin et al. (2007). This Third Shift proposes that workplaces had become sites of self-fulfillment, especially for women, while home had turned tedious place marked by control and hard work (Veijola, 2009). For some women, life at work can be more pleasant or less disappointing when life at home is tough; this also

happens because the work conditions have improved, and women experience some benefits while working (Hochschild, 1997).

The Third Shift "refers to the displacement of the emotional and cultural meanings of paid labor and home" (Jokinin et al. 2007, para. 4). Therefore, in this Third Shift, the factory is still partially the model of society, and family is the inevitable counterpart (Jokinin et al., 2007). In this shift, the borderline between work and family, public and private life, and production and reproduction are still the central arrangement (Jokinin et al., 2007). *Figure 2* illustrates how these separations are prevalent, nevertheless women have spaces of self-fulfillment and encouragement of their well-being in both their leisure and paid work time.

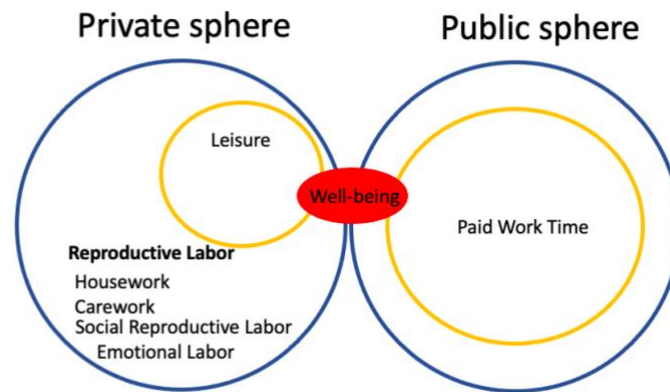


Figure 2: Public and private spheres in the Third Shift

2.2.4 Fourth Shift

The divisions between the private and public spheres are the ones that Jokinin et al. (2007) used to justify the emergence of the Fourth Shift, explaining that people live in several categories simultaneously that open spaces for paradoxes and contradictions to happen (Jokinin et al. 2007). The Fourth Shift characterizes the contemporary situation when the borders between work and home are dissolved altogether as time, space, and action categories that divide home and work disappear (Veijola, 2009). The relationship between private and public spheres has become precarious and intimate. Therefore, personalities are not only exposed in leisure and private life; instead, personality and domestic skills are also revealed in the public sphere at work (Veijola, 2009).

The Fourth Shift emerged in the post-Fordist era, characterized by a regime of capital accumulation based on service relations produced by immaterial labor, job flexibility, and precariousness in work (Betti, 2016; Irving, 2015). Additionally, post-Fordism introduced forms of emotional capitalism that focused on reproducing intangibles such as feelings, well-being, satisfaction, etc. (Irving, 2015). Therefore, with the Fourth Shift, workers who make their lives livable have increased ambivalence and intensity, making paid labor mingled with housework and labor market attachments precarious (Jokinin et al. 2007). Additionally, due to the new technologies that make people reachable anywhere, people are asked to perform several tasks simultaneously (Jokinin et al. 2007). Even though work performances seem similar, they require

specific characteristics from workers such as personality, experience, corporeality, education, and all kinds of housekeeping (Jokinin et al. 2007). However, the first three shifts are sediments in the Fourth Shift, and the borders are not easy to differentiate (Jokinin et al. 2007).

The following graphics show the changes that the Fourth Shift carries for women who work in the tourism sector, considering that the reproduction of intangibles creates the borderless relation between the private and public sphere. *Figure 3* illustrates that leisure and well-being are not exclusively related to the private sphere, and the paid work time is not related solely to the public sphere. Therefore, elements considered intrinsic to the private sphere, such as reproductive labor, housework, care work, and emotional labor, can also happen in the public sphere leading to social reproductive labor. In the same way, paid work time can also be part of the private sphere due to the technologies that bring flexibility in time and space for work.

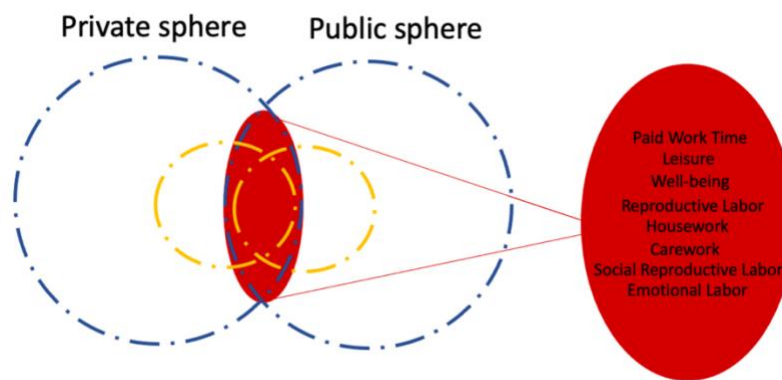


Figure 3: Public and private spheres in the Fourth Shift

Veijola explains that the Fourth Shift is characterized by using women according to economic growth needs and the accumulation of profit based on labor work appropriating their femininity (Veijola, 2009). In this new economy, employee effectiveness is measured based on the relation to customers rather than the production of units or product quality (Veijola, 2009). Therefore, there is an emphasis on human and physical capital in forms of communication and affective labor in tourism expressed in customer experiences characterized by expression of emotions such as joy, excitement, or serenity in current social situations (Veijola, 2009).

In tourism, it is visible how "people skills" become a job requirement (Veijola, 2009). Therefore, the reproductive skills that women used to have in the private sphere have gained new significance (Veijola, 2009). Work performance of femininity is required from other genders, not only from women (Veijola, 2009). However, there are primarily men who can deliberately perform mixing gender, meaning that it does not compromise his work, even though they can face reputational danger (Veijola, 2009). On the contrary, when women excel in their feminine style, it is attributed to their natural function (Veijola, 2009). Still, they do not receive unconditional acceptance when adopting a masculine leadership style (Veijola, 2009).

Therefore, the mobilization of gender counts when it is recognized as having customer effects, and not everyone can mobilize their gender at will, especially women (Veijola, 2009). In tourism, affective connectivity anticipates and coordinates the needs and wishes of customers. As knowledge, emotion, and affect cannot be reduced to a quantity, women's renewing potentiality to care, love, and produce life impacts the exploitability of their work (Veijola, 2009). This exploitability of women's work happens because there is no recognition of the affective labor women performs with guests. In Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, I will study whether women feel exploited in their work or if they enjoy the tasks related to care work and emotional labor.

2.3 Environmental and Psycho-social Well-being

In the previous sections, I addressed the situations women workers face regarding paid and unpaid reproductive labor and social reproduction. Additionally, I stated the divisions between the private and public spheres and the unclear division between leisure and work time through the Four Shifts. These dynamics intersect with the experiences that women have in terms of well-being. It is crucial to understand the psycho-social well-being that takes place in leisure and work time in the interactions that women have at home and in the hotels and hostels where they work. Additionally, considering the environmental well-being that blue spaces bring it is essential to study the experiences women workers have in the tourism industry on the Caribbean and Pacific coasts.

2.3.1 Psycho-social well-being

In this research, I will study well-being under multidimensional psycho-social well-being constructs. On the one hand, the psychological dimension focuses on the individual level influenced by subjective views (Russel, 2018). Subjective well-being refers to the perception that people have of their own experiences: *"It consists of both their cognitive and affective evaluations of their life and represents an ongoing state of psychological wellness"* (Russel, 2018, p.117). On the other hand, social well-being consists of relationships with others and is influenced by different socio-ecological factors such as work-life balance (Russel, 2018; Wong et al., 2021). In some cases, it isn't easy to differentiate between psychological and social well-being as one influences the other.

One of the key concepts related to well-being is work-life balance. Recent studies show that it is insufficient to define work-life balance only as the time workers spend at work and with their families (Haar, 2013; Wong et al., 2021). This categorization omits people who do not have children or who prefer not to spend their free time with their families (Haar, 2013; Wong et al., 2021). This research considers that work-life balance goes beyond participants having time to spend with families at home, as some women hospitality workers perform unpaid job with their families when they are home, instead of enjoying leisure time. Additionally, not all the participants live with their families and spend their leisure time with them, as explained in Chapters 3 and 4, some women live alone or with their colleagues in the hotels and hostels.

Most of the research regarding work and well-being considers only the paid job employees do (Haar, 2013; Wong et al., 2021; (Russel, 2018, p.117). This research will add to that and include women's unpaid work at home, as reproductive labor and its activities also influence well-being. Therefore, I will draw upon the employee well-being studied by Wong et al. (2021), considering that the work time includes unpaid and

paid work. Wong et al. suggest that *"building positive and healthy relationships with others may improve the balance between work and non-work roles because it contributes to workers' physical and mental well-being"* (Wong et al., 2021, p.4). Having a healthy relationship refers to having supportive interaction, open communication, trust, respect, and feeling comfortable (Wong et al., 2021). One of the work factors contributing to workers' well-being is that the person feels a sense of belonging and love in different social groups such as families, friends, and coworkers (Wong et al., 2021). This shows that factors provoked by the surroundings influence feelings and emotions (Wong et al., 2021), revealing how social and psychological well-being intersecting as subjective views are influenced by the relationship with other people in the private and public spheres.

Leisure is an important aspect for this research to understand women workers' well-being. Wong et al. define three essential aspects of leisure quantity, quality, and enjoyability (2021). Research has shown that *"The circumstances that frame people's engagement with leisure, their experiences, leisure pursuits, and preferences can all help to explain well-being, or the lack of it"* (Mansfield et al., 2020, p. 4). People can enjoy leisure through diverse activities and lived experiences that are enjoyable for them such as family time, social life, and physical activities (Wong et al., 2021; Mansfield et al., 2020). These activities can improve well-being either if they are restful or invigorating and can be taken individually or collectively (Mansfield et al., 2020).

Each person has different needs, and it is crucial to understand the complex interactions between individuals and their surroundings (Wong et al., 2021). In this research, I will analyze the psycho-social well-being of women workers in the hospitality industry on the Pacific and Caribbean coasts of Colombia. Considering that women workers in the hospitality industry can define and relate to leisure through different activities and life experiences that are enjoyable for them (Mansfield et al., 2020). Leisure can happen in both private and public spheres, women who work in the hospitality industry on the Caribbean and Pacific coast have unpaid work in the private sphere and leisure time in the public sphere in the hotel and hostels.

This research will consider some of the variables that Wong et al. study in life satisfaction concerning the relationship with family, coworkers, and supervisors in paid and unpaid work (2021). The factors that will be considered in the paid job are the appropriate workload, feeling at ease and comfortable with supervisors, having good collaboration with colleagues, and caring about each other's problems (Wong et al., 2021; Russel, 2018). In the family relationship and caring for each other context, not creating a financial burden on the women workers, having enough time to join family activities, and having a good relationship with other family members will be considered (Wong et al., 2021). Moreover, regarding unpaid work and relationships with family, the appropriate workload at home will be influenced by collaboration with other family members.

This research will analyze the excitement and challenges that women workers have when they are part of the hospitality sector on the Caribbean and Pacific Colombian coasts. One of the situations at work that will have special attention is career development and the possibility to pursue further studies that help improve professional development (Wong et al., 2021). In this research, I will consider how the participants have different academic backgrounds, interests and possibilities to access education. It is

relevant to consider their experiences, willingness and obstacles to study to pursue their professional aspirations.

2.3.2 Environmental well-being in blue spaces

As explained in the introduction, some studies have focused on coastal tourism's implications on travelers who visit coastal destinations (Prebensen, Skallerud, & Chen, 2010; Medina-Muñoz & Medina-Muñoz, 2012; Vainikka, 2013; Mendoza-González, et al., 2018). However, there is a research gap on the impact of coastal destinations on the workers who live in those areas. In this thesis, the theory of blue spaces will be considered to study the experience of women who live on the Colombian Caribbean and Pacific coasts.

First, it is crucial to take into consideration that well-being is a concept that has different meanings for individuals and might change over time (Bell et al., 2015). For this study, as Bell et al. (2015) propose, I will focus on participants' experiences, feelings, and interactions to explore their sense of well-being in coastal destinations. Therefore, I will consider that their interactions with blue spaces are not the same, and their experiences in these therapeutic landscapes have a different impact on their well-being.

Studies suggest that the interactions with blue spaces can impact stress reduction, well-being, and health (Wheaton et al., 2020; White et al. 2013; Vert et al. 2020; Foley & Kistemann, 2015; Dempsey et al., 2018). Research shows that visiting blue spaces is associated with feelings of restoration, physical activity such as walking, and social interactions (White et al., 2013; Vert et al. 2020; Hooyberg et al., 2020; Dempsey et al., 2018). People who live close to the sea are more likely to benefit from blue spaces (White et al., 2013), as is the case of women who work and live in the Colombian Caribbean and Pacific destinations. Research shows that proximity to blue spaces is crucial to benefit from them. However, little attention has been paid to the factor of time, as not all the people who live in coastal destinations have the time to enjoy it. This availability regarding time is a topic that I will include in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, as not all participants have time to enjoy their proximity to the sea.

Foley & Kistemann (2015) identify four sub-teams to understand why blue spaces affect health and well-being based on previous research, I will refer to them as teams in this research. Firstly, embodiment refers to the way bodies physically engage with, by, and in water (Foley & Kistemann, 2015). The sensations caused by the interaction with water play a crucial role in improving well-being due to the color of the water, the sounds, activities, and reflective moments that people can have when they are close to it. These experiences in the water bring up a wide range of moods, emotions, and memories that are related to the immersive engagement with their environment (Foley & Kistemann, 2015).

The second team is the inter-subjective relation with blue spaces. This inter-subjectivity is linked to the connection associated with the presence of other people as blue spaces bring public encounters (Foley & Kistemann, 2015). Therefore, people might combine individual capacities and social domains in coastal areas while having enjoyable and valuable shared experiences with others (Foley & Kistemann, 2015; Dempsey et al., 2018). However, it is essential to consider that the encounters that take place are not always positive or health-promoting as they are associated with the presence of other people. These interactions could carry disapproval, fear, or other emotions (Foley & Kistemann, 2015). This is relevant for current research as the participants are constantly interacting with other people when they are in blue spaces, either tourists, family, or co-workers.

The activities that people can do are the third team that Foley & Kistemann classify to understand why blue spaces affect health and well-being based on previous research on the topic (2015). This includes physical activities like water and other sports associated with blue spaces; some examples are swimming, paddling, fishing, walking, and running (Foley & Kistemann, 2015; Dempsey et al., 2018). Other activities that encourage health and well-being could be contemplative and passive. "Looking around" has replaced former physical activities *"observing ever-changing views of the water, the sea, the sky and the weather affecting the sea from a window, a conservatory or other favorite places within the home"* (Foley & Kistemann, 2015, p.161).

Lastly, the fourth team is symbolism and meaning. Blue spaces have a range of different meanings for people, groups, and populations and tap into aspects of identity (Foley & Kistemann, 2015). For example, water can symbolize change, encourage reflection and spiritual rituals, and represent continuity or constant changes (Foley & Kistemann, 2015). Additionally, blue spaces are a symbolic and therapeutic experience because they can influence moods and emotions. People might feel calmer by the sea (Bell et al., 2015). These various meanings that the sea has for people will be considered when studying the participants' experiences in this research. Many women workers, including some interviewed in this research grew up in these blue spaces, while others moved to the coastal areas for work. Therefore, it is essential to study the meanings that they gave to living close to the sea on the Caribbean and Pacific coasts.

The three previous sections describe the theories that frame this research. To study women workers' experience of leisure and work time on the Colombian Caribbean and Pacific coasts when they work in hotels and hostels in those regions, it is important to understand their situations holistically, considering (social) reproductive labor that women do in both the private and public spheres by linking it with the Four Shifts explained by Veijola. Additionally, it is crucial to study the importance that psycho-social and environmental well-being has in their experiences, regarding their perspectives, the way they relate to others, and the influence the blue spaces have on their everyday lives. Therefore, women workers' well-being is influenced by the leisure and work time that they have at home and in the hotels and hostels where they work.

3. Methodology

This thesis is considered qualitative feminist research based on DeVault and Gross's definition of feminism *"a set of practices and perspectives that affirm differences among women and promote women's interests, health, and safety, locally and abroad"* (2006, p.174). For most scholars, feminists consider the aspiration of living and acting in a way that allows the embodiment of feminist thought and the promotion of women's justice and well-being (DeVault and Gross, 2006).

Feminism is one of the movements linked to critical social justice and aims to problematize gender and bring women and their concerns to the center of attention (Devault & Gross, 2006). In this research, I consider that women's work, whether in the public or private sector, is part of their daily lives and affects their well-being, health, opportunities, and interests. Therefore, it is a particular concern to women's lives and a key topic for social change and social justice (Hesse-Biber, 2007; Devault & Gross, 2006). Feminist in-depth interviewing on women's labor experiences is used in this research to understand their perspectives and include their voices to consider women participants instead of objects of study (Devault & Gross, 2006).

3.1 Sampling

Hesse-Biber explains that qualitative research focuses on *"in-depth understanding and usually involves working with small samples. The goal is to look at a "process" or the "meanings" individuals attribute to their given social situation, not necessarily to make generalizations"* (2007, p. 119). Therefore, this research is based on the interviews conducted with 12 women who work in small hotels or hostels located on the Caribbean and Pacific coast in Colombia.

The reason to have this criterion is that these are the most touristic areas of the country due to their landscapes, nature, and warm weather. The tourism sector is essential for the economy in these regions, providing jobs for many people. Additionally, the fact that participants live close to the sea is a crucial factor for analyzing their well-being and how they connect with the environment. Most research has focused on how the ocean benefits tourists who visit coastal destinations areas (Prebensen, et al., 2010; Gammon & Jarratt 2019; Kaplan and Kaplan, 1989; Gammon & Jarratt, 2019). However, I consider it essential to study how the sea healing properties can benefit women workers who live in coastal destinations as they spend more time there than any visitor.

I decided to focus on women who work in small hotels and hostels because it is not easy to reach workers of big chain hotels. Additionally, the relations between owners, workers, and guests are often more informal and closer in small hotels and hostels. The participants were located in six different Caribbean and Pacific coast departments, namely Bolivar, La Guajira, Valle del Cauca, Magdalena, Sucre, and Antioquia. It is also important to highlight that some of the hotels and hostels are located in middle-sized coastal cities and others in rural coastal destinations. Additionally, not all participants were born in the place where they work. Some migrated to coastal areas from urban areas in the country's interior. One of the participants was born in Paraguay, and the rest were born in Colombia.

To address intersectionality is essential to consider the privileged situations of some of the participants. In *Table 1*, it is possible to see that some of the participants had access to university level of education, which is a class determinant in Colombia (Bonilla-Mejía, 2011; Galvis-Aponte, 2016). Colombia faces many

problems regarding access to education, and there is a lack of institutions in the departments where women are located. Only a few participants have an academic background in tourism. Most of them built their professional career in this field due to proximity to it or interest in changing their profession.

Additionally, *Table 1* shows women's different roles in the hotels and hostels, such as co-owners, administrators, receptionists, cashiers, guest experience managers, chefs, and room supervisors. Some of them have online jobs besides the work they do in hotels and hostels. Moreover, *Table 1* states that the participants have different situations at home. For example, some live alone whether or not they have children. Some live in common-law unions, are married or widowed, some live with their children, and others have adult children who no longer live at home.

Table 1: Research participants information

Name or Pseudonym	Department where she works	Place of birth	Job	Access to higher education (University level)	Home situation
Anastacia	Rural area, Valle del Cauca	Rural area, Valle del Cauca	Hostel owner	Currently studying	Divorced. One child. Living with a partner
Cecilia	Rural area, Valle del Cauca	Rural area, Valle del Cauca	Hostel co-owner	No	Married. Two daughters and one son. Living with her husband and son.
Doris	Rural area, La Guajira	Urban area, Caldas	Hostel Manager	Yes	Single. Living in the hostel with co-workers
Gabriela	Urban area, Magdalena	Urban Area, Tolima	Hotel Manager	Yes	Single. Living with flat mates (one co-worker)
Julieta	Rural area, La Guajira	Urban area, Cundinamarca	Hotel Receptionist	Yes	Single. Living in the hostel with co-workers.
Karla	Rural area, Bolivar	Urban area, Bolivar	Hostel Cook	No	Divorced. Two sons. in the hostel with co-workers
Lucila	Rural area, Sucre	Rural area, Sucre	Hostel Cook	No	Widowed. One son. Living with her family.
Omara	Urban area, Bolivar	Urban Area, Bolivar	Hostel Room supervisor	No	Married. Two sons. Living with

					her husband and children.
Susana	Rural area, La Guajira	Paraguay	Hotel Manager	No	Single. Living in the hostel with co-workers.
Violeta	Rural area, Antioquia	Urban area, Antioquia	Hostel Co-owner	Yes	Single. Living alone.
Yolanda	Urban area, Magdalena	Urban area, Cundinamarca	Hostel Guest experience	Yes	Single. Living alone.
Zoraida	Rural area, Bolivar	Urban area, Bolivar	Hotel Cashier	No	Married. One daughter. Living with her husband and children.

The sampling was chosen by taking into account intersectionality, as I consider it key to study how their situated experiences are different depending not only on gender but also class and education. This opens space to understand that women are diversely situated and that the intersections between different categories lead to different experiences (Devault & Gross, 2006). However, all women share the characteristic of working for small hotels and hostels on the Caribbean and the Pacific coast in Colombia.

With this research, I want to consider the differences among women’s life experiences and to make sure the diverse sample brings a space to include a diversity of voices that is rarely heard (Devault & Gross, 2006). The stories shared by the participants reflect the perspectives of the context where they have lived and the ones that they have built based on opposing various social discourses (Devault & Gross, 2006) through agency and autonomy. This influences their ideas towards feminism, gender roles, work, family life, taking care of others and themselves, their relations with nature, their culture, and the way they perceive others.

3.2 Access

As the interviews were online, I built the rapport by reaching them in the first place through informal channels, mainly WhatsApp. The people who put me in contact with participants were mostly friends I met during a volunteer program in La Guajira, friends from Bogota who have visited the coastal destinations, or people from those regions who had family or acquaintances there. Having previous contact with the participants through WhatsApp helped to ensure that both parties had a genuine interest in asking, answering, and listening during the interview (Boije, 2009).

When I first contacted the participants through WhatsApp, I gave them a short description of myself, the purpose of the research, and the way I accessed their contact information. Additionally, I mentioned the name of the person who gave me their phone number, explained to them how long the interviews were going to be, and that we were going to use Zoom platform for the interview. I stated that their information would be treated anonymously (Boije, 2009).

“Hello, how are you? My name is Alejandra Guijo and I am a student of Tourism, Society, and Environment at Wageningen University in the Netherlands. (name of the person) gave me your phone number because I am doing my thesis and I need to interview women working in hotels and hotels in coastal areas in Colombia.

She told me that you work in one and wanted to ask you if you are interested in the interview. The main focus of the interview is the experiences that women have in the work that they do at home and in their jobs. The interview lasts about an hour and is online by Zoom. All answers are anonymous if you agree. Thank you very much. I look forward to hearing from you.”

After they replied that they were willing to participate in the research, we set up a date for having the interview based on their availability (Boije, 2009).

3.3 Methods: Feminist in-depth interviews

In this research, in-depth online interviews are the principal method applied to gain information about women's experiences and perspectives towards Reproductive Labor, the Fourth Shift, and their well-being. I choose only this method because it would lead to understanding women's experiences in the tourism sector in Colombia from their own voice. Even though there is a lot of research and theorization about women's labor, there is a research gap of women's experience in Colombia in the tourism sector.

To understand the different situations that women have depending on their access to education, socialization, location, context, and home situation, I considered it key to have an approach where it was possible to hear the experience from their own voices. As the focus of this research is the experience of women, nobody else but them could talk about it. Therefore, I consider that hearing women's experiences through in-depth interviewing was the most suitable method to have a first-hand approach to the reproductive labor that they do.

This decision was taken after checking the possibilities to interview employers without having satisfactory results; I assume that talking about women workers and working conditions can put them in an uncomfortable situation, possibly leading them to give false information. For this research, it was not possible to interview experts in the field who are implementing actions to improve the working conditions of women in tourism. There are currently no formal projects in Colombia that focus on women workers in coastal areas that offer a broader perspective and consider reproductive labor and tourism. However, carrying out this research could be the beginning of future projects.

In the in-depth interviews, the researcher's role is to listen to the respondents' stories in a dialogue where most of the conversation comes from the participants (Hesse-Biber, 2007). Therefore, during the interviews, I formulate questions in which participants could develop long answers. Some of them gave more details and even answered questions that I planned to ask later. Other participants gave shorter answers, and follow-up questions were necessary to delve into more information relevant to the research. The main idea of using in-depth interviews was to access the participants' understanding of the topics related to reproductive labor, Fourth Shift and their well-being approach that they experience as women workers in coastal destinations (Hesse-Biber, 2007).

The interviews were considered encounters between women with a common interest who would share knowledge (Devault & Gross, 2006). Therefore, since the first contact with the participants, I have explained how valuable their knowledge was for my research. Participants were reminded of this during and after the interviews were completed. After finishing all the interviews, I thanked the participants for their time and for sharing their knowledge and experiences with me. For example, at the end of the interview with Violeta, I highlighted the importance of linking academic and practice in research and said, *"I feel that what has been most enriching for me in the thesis process is talking to people who are there (in the field) all the time, who can teach me so much in an interview that lasts one hour, it is very enriching."*

3.3.1 Interview guide

The interviews were semi-structured; therefore, I used an interview guide to list topics and questions (Appendix 1) that I wanted to ask at some point in the interview (Boije, 2009). Therefore, the questions were not completely open, but the interview guide did not pre-structure the whole interview. Instead, it helped guide the agenda that I wanted to explore during the conversations with the participants (Boije, 2009; Hesse-Biber, 2007). It also enabled me to remember the important questions and topics to avoid missing data for the research, reducing the amount of instant improvisation in case I lose track (Boije, 2009).

As the interviews were conducted, the interview guide changed for coming participants, I removed the shortfall questions, and questions that could be important were added based on what the participants shared (Boije, 2009). Interviews did not have precisely the same questions (Boije, 2009), and they were asked in a different order depending on how the topics of the conversation emerged. I was open to coming up with other questions that could fit into the conversation and provide relevant information leaving room for spontaneity (Hesse-Biber, 2007).

3.3.2 Interview format

At the beginning of the interview, I introduced myself and provided information about the purpose of the research, so they could understand how the questions match the research topic to which they agreed to participate (Boije, 2009). I specify that most of the questions were going to be related to their experiences in the public and private sphere, especially to their leisure time and the roles they have at their job and home.

The first questions that I formulated in the interview guide were general questions that could help break the ice and give context to the participant's life, such as name, location, age, and place of work. I divided the interview guide into sections to cover all the essential topics. First, I asked questions related to the public sphere to ask them about their paid jobs, their tasks, the dynamics of the hotels and hostels, and the relationship with co-workers, supervisors, and guests. After that, I asked the questions regarding the private sphere to understand the dynamics that they have at home, how they relate with the people with whom they live, and the responsibilities they have in terms of care work and housework.

After the first two sections, I explore the division between private and public spheres. I conducted some questions regarding the distinction between work and leisure time and the similarities and differences between their role at home and paid work. Finally, I asked about their self-fulfilment and well-being, considering their professional aspirations, activities for their well-being, and places to release stress. I

explored how the participants feel about living in a coastal tourist area, their relationship with nature and how this influences their leisure time activities. During the interview, I was not concerned about asking all the interview guide questions or asking the same questions to all the participants (Hesse-Biber, 2007).

3.3.3 Online interviewing

The interviews were conducted online. The original plan was to conduct all the interviews through Zoom to record the audio easily. However, the participants' internet connection was sometimes unstable, and we had to do the interviews through WhatsApp video calls. This did not impede recording the interview, as I could record the audio on the computer while having the video call through the phone. Conducting the interviews online allowed me to reach participants located far from each other. Doing the interviews in person would have required traveling to Colombia during the COVID-19 crisis. Additionally, moving from one department to another would be challenging. I would probably not be able to reach remote places where the participants were located and schedule appointments in months such as December and January, which are considered high season in Colombia.

During the interviews, I made sure that it was possible to have a fluent conversation rather than a simple question and answer session to allow the information to flow back and forth without underscoring my role in the process (Hesse-Biber, 2007). Therefore, I focused on listening carefully, providing insightful comments to the participants' answers, and asking questions related to the interview's agenda and the purpose of the research when I felt a space open up in the conversation (Hesse-Biber, 2007). This was possible because all the participants allowed me to record the interview. Therefore, I focused on the participants' information without worrying about taking notes. Recording interviews also helped avoid distortion of the data resulting from its selection process and facilitate providing literal quotes in the final document (Boije, 2009).

Throughout the interviews, I was fully engaged in active listening, not to risk producing data or reproduce dominant perspectives towards the participants (Devault & Gross, 2006). Therefore, I did not take notes or memos during the interviews because I wanted to be fully engaged in the conversation. I needed to keep an eye on the question guide to ensure that none of the critical research topics were missing. After the interviews, I wrote some memos remembering spontaneous ideas, general impressions, and thoughts (Boije, 2009). Most of the memos were theoretical and formed an intermediate step between the analysis and the data for the coming coding phase and analysis (Boije, 2009).

Conducting interviews through the internet makes it more challenging to maintain the impact of verbal cues (Hesse-Biber, 2007). Nevertheless, during the interview, I tried to ask questions that probed for more information and showed facial gestures that provided signs of engagement (Hesse-Biber, 2007). For example, I used markers by asking the participants to elaborate on some of the ideas mentioned in their answers. When the internet was cut, I asked them to repeat their answers. I was flexible with stopping the videocalls if necessary, as some of them needed to fix the internet connection or were at their jobs and were interrupted because they needed to do something for a guest or a coworker.

3.4 Transcription

First, the raw data that I collected during the interviews needed to be ready for analysis through data management to build transparency (Boije, 2009). Organizing the storage of the different data files,

including audio recordings of the interviews and memos, was key to transcribing the interviews and working with text in the further analysis. The transcriptions of the interviews were made using Microsoft Word and then reviewed to ensure that the transcription was as accurate as possible. I used a straightforward way of transcribing whenever it was needed for the transcriptions. Therefore, I included hesitant language in some parts, considering the moments when speech seems to falter (Hesse-Biber, 2007; Devault & Gross, 2006). I consider that necessary because I could notice during the interviews that they were not sure about specific answers, especially those that questioned the role they and the people around them played in their jobs and families. As a researcher, I understand that it is not easy for the participants to answer questions that confront them with situations that make them feel uncomfortable because they are unfair or difficult.

After transcribing the thesis, I took out all the information that violates the promise of confidentiality, including places and unique identifiers, considering that there was an agreement to present all the information anonymously. Except for Anastacia, a participant who wanted people to know her experience by name and location. All the other participants' names were changed to pseudonyms that do not relate to their names (Boije, 2009). The pseudonyms used are names of women who made a significant contribution in Latin America in science, sports, arts, literature, education, medicine, music, and poetry. The names used are Cecilia, Doris, Gabriela, Julieta, Karla, Lucila, Omara, Susana, Violeta, Yolanda, and Zoraida.

The hotels and hostels mentioned by the participants were replaced by letters and numbers, depending on who said it and how many establishments the participant referred to. For example, if Anastacia mentioned three hotels or hostels, I differentiated them as A.1, A.2, and A.3, always taking the first letter from the participant's pseudonym and a sequential number. The names of people participants mentioned were replaced by the first letter of the pseudonym of the participant and consecutive letters such as A.A, A.B, and A.C. Additionally, the name of the town or city is not mentioned in the research, as it would be easier to identify them if this information is mentioned.

3.5 Coding

After finishing the transcriptions, I segmented the data into relevant categories and coded them. Therefore, the data was reassembled to make sense of it from a theoretical perspective regarding the research questions (Boije, 2009). As a consequence of using semi-structured interviews, multiple parts of the same theme are found on different parts of the interviews because the participants provided information in a different order (Boije, 2009).

I decided some of the codes a priori based on the theoretical framework, which is considered deductive codes. These codes are *reproductive labor, housework, care work, social reproductive labor, emotional labor, leisure time, education, paid work, First Shift, Second Shift, Third Shift, Fourth Shift, well-being, family, co-workers, work environment, relationships, new technologies, and sea*. However, some other codes inductively emerged as relevant fragments were noticed and were sorted into meaningful groups making other codes emerge like *traveling, side job and landscapes*.

3.6 Data analysis

Having in-depth interviewing as the method for the research allowed to engage the process of data collection and analysis simultaneously (Hesse-Biber, 2007). To do this, I started writing short memos after each interview to let the data clarify what idea should be reevaluated during future interviews and to describe the main themes that I approached during the conversation with the participants (Hesse-Biber, 2007).

For the analysis, a constant comparison was a fundamental principle as it allowed me to understand how the phenomena manifests differently in each case as circumstances differ (Boije, 2009). As I made these comparisons during the data collection and gained no new insights, I realized saturation was reached (Boije, 2009). This happened after I interviewed 12 participants who were located in different coastal regions of Colombia, had diverse backgrounds, interests, jobs positions at the hotels and hostels, etc.

I implemented the method of constant comparison as a strategy for qualitative research. Boije describes that the constant comparison method has four phases of exploration, specification, reduction, and integration (2009). In the exploration phase, I depicted some codes, comparing parts of the interviews to make sure the similar ones are given the same name code (Boije, 2009). First, I began exploring the deductive codes such as Second Shift, Third Shift, Fourth Shift, care work, housework, social reproductive labor, emotional labor, and well-being. I realized that other codes arose under more prominent codes, such as the Fourth Shift, providing evidence of the borderless relationship between the private and public sphere. Therefore, codes connected to the Fourth Shift include new technologies that allow participants to work indistinguishable from their paid workspaces and home, flexibility, leisure, home/hostel differentiation, home environment, and reproduction of intangibles among others.

During the specification phase, I selected several key codes to search for differences and similarities to review the quotes assigned to that code. I noticed how I could subsume some codes under the most essential codes (Boije, 2009). This happened socially with fragments of the interviews that were part of the codes care work, housework, social reproductive labor, and emotional labor that I noticed could go under the Second Shift or the Fourth Shift codes. Therefore, I noticed that, as it was explained in the theoretical framework, the shifts are not separate in a chronological sense and that configurations coexist (Veijola, 2009).

During the reduction phase, I compared the data collected to understand the relationships between the core topics and the other concepts (Boije, 2009). Therefore, I compared the answers between participants about the same issues considering each woman's situation to understand what has influenced their experience. For example, some participants mentioned care work as a reproductive work they perform; others did not mention it because they are single and are not responsible for other people. Regarding housework, I consider how some women must clean or tidy up in the hotel or hostel regardless of their positions and how this mainly depends on the situation each hotel or hostel has in terms of staff.

Moreover, in the reduction phase it was crucial to pay attention to all the details provided by women who felt better at their paid job than at home. I compared their interactions with guests, supervisors, and family members. Additionally, I pay attention to how women perform similar activities at home and in paid jobs, considering that those spheres are in the same space for some of them. It was also essential to

remember that not all women felt the same about performing certain activities at home or paid jobs. It relied on their privileges in certain situations such as education, the role occupied at their paid jobs, and home. Finally, in the integration phase, I compare the findings with the theoretical framework to test the claims regarding reproductive labor, housework, care work, social reproductive labor, the Four Shifts, and the multilevel framework of inequalities (Boije, 2009).

3.7 Ethical considerations

In terms of confidentiality, feminist researchers have stated that it is important to put participants first even if sometimes it leads to having a conflict with the disciplinary standards (Devault & Gross, 2006). Therefore, I asked the participants if they preferred that I changed their names to pseudonyms to prevent them from having future problems at work or in the family environment when talking about situations that occur in their daily lives. These problems can range from arguments that affect their well-being to losing their job, which in most cases is the main source of participants' income. However, as was mentioned before, Anastacia mentioned that she wanted her name included, therefore, she was the only participant whose name was not changed to respect her decision (Devault & Gross, 2006). However, the places she mentioned were changed to respect their privacy.

Additionally, I explained to the participants that they could ask questions and stop the interview or decide not to answer any question when they did not feel comfortable (Boije, 2009; Hesse-Biber, 2007). Every time I felt that the participant could feel uncomfortable answering a question, I asked her if she wanted to share that information with me. None of the participants decided to stop the interview or avoid any questions. However, one woman shared that her husband died months ago, and I gave her space to decide if she wanted to talk about the topic and continue with the interview.

During the research, I was aware that the participants are subjects in their own right and of the power relations that organize their actions and mine as a researcher (Devault & Gross, 2006). Therefore, I acknowledged them as makers of the context around them instead of victims of the patriarchy, considering especially the agency they have and treated their actions as decisions they take because they have the power to do so (Devault & Gross, 2006). Considering this in the research is key, especially because it is conducted with participants from Colombia, an overexploited country in which people organize stereotypes and assumptions and where it is easy to create discourses that uniform the realities, leaving aside important differentiations (Devault & Gross, 2006).

Therefore, I was aware that women from similar regions in Colombia might have different experiences and privileges, paying attention to the stories that showed how participants are agents in transforming their surroundings and shaping their experiences (Devault & Gross, 2006). Throughout the interviews, many women shared how they have challenged oppressive conditions regardless of their role in their jobs, their household situation, academic background, class, or privileged position.

In this research, I aimed to allocate participants' stories in the complex set of relationships that intersect them related to gender, ethnicity, and class (Devault & Gross, 2006). Therefore, interviewing them contributed to understanding their complex and varied experiences and views. It also helped to realize that being part of a certain economic class or having access to certain privileges is not an obstacle to finding common ways to resist, considering their differences (Devault & Gross, 2006).

3.8 Research Positionality

In feminist research, it is important to operate reflexively and relationally (Devault & Gross, 2006). The production of knowledge is influenced by the social conditions, location, and social biography of the people who are involved in the research, namely the participants and me as the research (Hesse-Biber, 2007). Since the beginning of the research, I have reflected on my own biography and context to keep myself mindful of mine and the participants' positionality, as this influences the way I interpret and present the research findings (Hesse-Biber, 2007).

There is a concern among feminists to pay attention to the co-construction of meaning and sharing the researcher's biography with the participant to increase reciprocity and rapport in the interview process (Hesse-Biber, 2007). It was important to share my positionality with the participants, therefore, at the beginning of the interview, I shared some information about myself to establish trust between us.

Additionally, I wanted to break down notions of power and authority in case they were as concerned of my positionality as I was, and I did not want our differences to make it difficult to gain access to the information they were sharing and understand their situations (Hesse-Biber, 2007). While I was talking about myself, I was aware that I am a woman who has had the experience of working in Colombia and know how the working structure can affect the personal life, but at the same time, I know that the experiences for all women in Colombia are not the same and that it is important to understand all situations considering an intersectionality perspective.

In this research, I consider myself an insider and an outsider as I am a Colombian woman like the participants who have a great interest in tourism. This allowed me to have an open dialogue in terms of gender and the topic of research. As the sample of the research is diverse, I found characteristics in common with participants who also grew up in a big city in Colombia, are single, and do not have kids and accessed higher education which unfortunately in Colombia is often a privilege of class.

With other participants I felt more an outsider during the interview because I have never lived for a long period in a coastal destination of Colombia, I am neither married nor have kids, and I am not a person of color, which is an important situation in a country where people are racialized as Colombia. These differences might have affected the interview (Hesse-Biber, 2007) and how comfortable I felt to ask questions regarding their economic situation and racism. However, I was aware that being an outsider could give me some advantage to be more unbiased to the experience shared by the respondents and to ask more questions that I could have taken for granted (Hesse-Biber, 2007). Therefore, being a Colombian woman who has never lived or worked in the tourist sector for a long period in the coast side of Colombia might bring unique perspectives that the participants have on specific issues (Hesse-Biber, 2007).

Although I have never worked in a hotel or hostel in a coastal destination in Colombia, I have had different jobs in a country where I had direct contact with customers and where I perceived gender inequalities between the employees and hierarchical positions that mostly affected women. Those experiences are one of the reasons I am interested in topics related to work conditions and gender. I also had the opportunity to be a volunteer English teacher for tourist workers in the department of La Guajira in Colombia where I could see the social reproductive and unpaid work that women did and where they told me the unequal household responsibilities that they had compared to their husbands.

When I decided to conduct this research, I read texts that made me realize where my interest in gender issues comes from. Reading the texts from Arlie Hochschild and what she describes as emotional labor performed by women flight attendants in the United States reminded me of the work my mother and aunt did for more than 15 years in Colombia. They worked as flight attendants and onboard Duty-Free sales managers, and after reading more about emotional labor I could have conversations with them about their experiences in the aviation industry and what they saw from other female colleagues. This also made me think about the influence of growing up and seeing members of my family working in the tourism sector and the influence this may have had in deciding to study the Masters in Tourism, Society, and Environment and focusing on gender topics.

During the interviews, I maintain a reflexive awareness of the cultural constructions of similarity and difference, especially the ones related to gender roles and social inequalities (Devault & Gross, 2012). I was aware of not reproducing power relations during and after the interview because I know that as a researcher I am not exempted from relations of power and privilege (Devault & Gross, 2012). Therefore, practicing active listening was helpful to not ignore information that participants want to share that might have a break with misconceptions and assumptions from other contexts (Devault & Gross, 2012).

4. Findings

In the following chapter, I present the findings of the 12 interviews conducted with women workers of hotels and hostels located in the Pacific and Caribbean Coasts. This chapter is organized into eight sections. First, I will address the Four Shifts described by Veijola (2009) and integrate them with the theoretical framework related to reproductive labor and the multi-level framework of gender inequality in tourism. The reason to do this is that, as shown in *Image 1*, *Image 2*, and *Image 3*, the division between private and public spheres leads to an integration of topics. Therefore, the situations related to care work, housework, emotional labor, and social reproductive labor are integrated with the Four Shifts women perform. As all the participants have a paid job in the public sphere, I did not write a section about the First Shift.

Well-being and leisure time are topics linked to the Four Shifts. Therefore, I decided to integrate them in the following sections to state participants' different psycho-social factors connected to their well-being such as free time, career aspirations, interests, relations to co-workers and family. Additionally, I will address how women who participated in this research experience environmental well-being, their connection with nature, and whether they have time to be in nature, as most of their routines is focused on working for others either at home or enhancing and facilitating tourists' experiences in coastal destinations.

4.1 Second Shift

The second job that women have in hotels or hostels often puts pressure on them, as they still need to do the tasks related to care work and housework at home, and having a paid job has extra responsibilities. The interviews show that the participants who perform the Second Shift are only the ones who are married and have children. Three participants shared their experience regarding how heavy it is for them to have responsibilities at home and in their paid jobs, which leads to them constantly working regardless of whether they are in the public or private sphere.

The first participant who shared her experience with the Second Shift is Zoraida. She lives on a tourist island in Bolivar. She has a job as a cashier in a hotel and works at home doing housework for her husband and two daughters. She stated that she has a heavy schedule that is exhausting for her as Zoraida wakes up early to go to work and in the evening, when she arrives home, she has to continue working at home until she goes to bed. Even though she has asked her husband to help her, he only contributes with cooking sometimes. Zoraida explained that the root of this problem is that families raise their male children not to do housework tasks in the place where she is located.

What happens is that here on the island, which is called (removed for privacy reasons), it is a chauvinist community, where the women are the ones who do the housework and the head of the family, have always ruled the woman. They have imposed that their male children cannot do the housework. So what happens? They (men) just get up, arrive, have breakfast, lunch, dinner and do nothing. When they get a partner, it's the same thing. The woman is the one who does everything, and he simply looks for the money and contributes. The rest of the woman's part is just the housework. So, that's why here we (women) are usually the ones who do everything, there are few men who collaborate in the domestic part of the house, but it's rare (Interview with Zoraida).

Zoraida described that this affects the time she would like to spend with her daughters after work during the high season when she works more in the hotel.

So I don't spend much time with them, as I said, I also have to do other things at home. So I don't have too much free time with them, to listen to them attentively. I would like things to improve in that area, but even so, thank God they are very extroverted girls, very happy girls, they are very expressive, they tell me how much they love me (Interview with Zoraida).

It is important to note that she would like to do less housework to take care of her children and it is her will to do these activities during her leisure time to improve her well-being. Zoraida explains that she has no leisure time as all her time is spent on the work she does at the hostel, where she works more in high season and on the housework at home.

Cecilia, another participant who also performs the Second Shift, has a different perspective towards the division of responsibilities with her husband. She is the co-owner of a hostel in a rural area in Valle. She lives with her husband and son. Her daughters recently moved to a city close by. Cecilia highlighted during the interview that it feels good for her to be able to take care not only of her children but also her husband. She mentioned that she likes that he arrives home and feels pleasant after a long workday.

He's waiting for his food to be ready. I like it when he arrives and finds a smile on his wife's face in the house... that he arrives and feels pleasant. And what happens is that my husband's job is very peculiar, isn't it? He drives a scooter, so he comes to the house many times per day all day long, you know, all day long. So if I'm not working, I'm there. I'm there taking care of him, looking after him. (Interview with Cecilia)

Cecilia added that sometimes her husband "helps" her cooking when she is not home. Showing that she considers that the responsibilities of the house are hers and that her husband "helps" her instead of thinking that he cooks for himself because he needs to eat. This way of referring to the tasks that other family members do as "help" was not only expressed by Cecilia during the interviews. Omara, a married woman, who has three children and works in a hostel in a city in the department of Bolivar, also referred to the tasks that her husband and children do as "help". Omara performs the Second Shift in a similar way to Cecilia. She said about the role that she has in the family *"More than anything else, I lead my children to achieve their things, their successes, the responsibility of taking care of them more than anything else. Also, my house and my husband as a housewife"*.

The experiences of Zoraida, Cecilia, and Omara show that women have a different perspective regarding the work that they do at home with their families. Not all women feel that housework and care work are shared responsibilities with their partners. Additionally, when a woman is unsatisfied with her situation, it is not always easy for her to change it. For example, Zoraida is aware that she works more because of the domestic work at home. Although she would like to share the responsibilities with her husband, she knows that it is not easy to change the situation because of how he was raised.

4.2 Third Shift

The Third Shift describes the situation that some women face when they prefer their paid jobs instead of home due to the hard work and control that they face there. Karla said that she prefers to work in the public sphere due to problems that she faces in the private sphere.

Karla works and lives in a hostel and so does not perform the Third Shift exclusively; as I explained in the theoretical framework, the shifts are not exclusive and can overlap (Veijola, 2009). Sharing the same space for leisure and work makes her also perform the Fourth Shift. Karla lives in a hostel located on an island in Bolívar. She moved to the island one year ago because she found a good opportunity as a cook in the hostel. Karla's sons and father live in a city located in Bolivar, and she is responsible for them financially. She also has a daughter who is the mom of four of her grandchildren.

Karla feels that she can express herself freely about what she does not like in her paid job at the hostel without hiding her personality in the work environment. Additionally, she noticed that her co-workers and supervisor support her in the tasks that she does not like to do. One of the examples that Karla explained was the inventory. As the kitchen has very high temperatures, putting her hands in the fridge to organize the food is uncomfortable. Therefore, her supervisor, the hostel manager, assists her so she does not have to do it herself.

The manager does it. The manager supports me in that part (referring to the inventory). If I see that I am too warm, he supports me in doing it, so I write them down and he passes them (the products), so that I don't put my hands in the fridge. (Interview with Karla)

On the contrary, Karla feels a lack of recognition of the things that she does in her family. She mentioned that she is tired of working her entire life for her children without recognition. As she became a mom when she was 15 years old and now even her oldest son, who is 27 years old, still asks her for the money to buy the things he wants. Karla also stated that her daughter constantly asks her for financial support for her granddaughters. In the interview, Karla expressed that she has financial responsibilities that she should not have.

I have four grandchildren from my second daughter. She just gave birth to twins. So now "mom, I don't have enough for milk, mum I don't have enough for this". That is something that distresses me, that makes me desperate. It's like everyone has to be the owner and autonomous of their obligations. So sometimes they think that I earn money easily, that I make a lot of money. I earn a salary, it's just that I knows how to manage it... So you feel bad, tired, that's why I say that I prefer to be here." (Interview with Karla)

This fragment shows how Karla feels about being at home with her family compared to being in the hostel. The good work conditions in the hostel in terms of recognition, support, and being a safe environment to express how she feels are set against the worry, financial burden, and lack of recognition that she experiences in her family life make her perform the Third Shift.

4.3 Fourth Shift

In this section, I address how all participants perform the Fourth Shift. As explained before, not all of them achieve this shift exclusively as shifts can overlap with other experiences from the Second Shift and the

Third Shift (Veijola, 2009). First, I will explain how new technologies make an unclear separation between leisure and paid jobs. After that, I will address the borderless relation between private and public spheres that happens when women work and live in the same space and how they cope with the dynamics in these spaces. Additionally, I will study the housework and reproduction of intangibles that characterize the Fourth Shift. Therefore, I will explain how women perform care work and emotional labor when no clear distinction exists between the public and private spheres. Lastly, I will address women workers' wellbeing in coastal destinations, to do that I will first study the interactions that women have with blue spaces. Additionally, I will mention other activities and interactions that impact women's well-being from a psycho-social perspective.

4.3.1 New technologies, reachability in paid jobs and education

The new technologies that allow communication to be faster have led the workers to be more reachable and available to labor outside of their working hours regardless of where they are located. Most of the participants mentioned that they face this situation at their work in hospitality. Here I will write about the experience of six of them.

Gabriela, who works as a manager in a hostel in a city located in Magdalena, described how she can work from home due to the job flexibility in the hostel. As she can check the hostel cameras online, she can keep an eye on what happens there meanwhile she is at home in her leisure time or working on administrative things that she can do from the computer or answering urgent calls. Gabriela said that she works more than usual during the high season, and that she does part of her shift in the morning from home. In the afternoon and evening, she is at the hostel as the activities often occur at that time.

Even though Gabriela works more than the hours stipulated in her contract, one of the things that she considers a benefit from her job is the schedule flexibility. She mentioned in the interview that she considers her work at the hostel a 24/7 job because she has a manager position and must be in charge of many things. As she is the one who has the last word in certain decisions, her co-workers sometimes need to reach her at any time.

On a Sunday, which is my day off, it's like I'm on the computer and everything, but I don't consider it as much work. This is a 24/7 job and a 24/7 position whether you want it or not, because you are connected (referring to be available online). If something happens, they (co-workers) have the autonomy to solve it and to offer certain benefits to the people (guests) who are affected, but there are things that they cannot decide. (Interview with Gabriela)

Doing job-related tasks outside working hours mostly happened to women who are in charge of other people at the hostels or who had a top management position. Omara, who also performs the Second Shift, mentioned that she sometimes calls suppliers or arranges for someone to go and fix damages at the hostel when she is at home. However, she explains that when she goes to church on Sundays, she does not reply to any messages or calls because it is her free day.

On Sundays, I try not to. When I go to church, for example, when I'm in church, I don't like to answer the phone and say, "I'm not in my day, I'm not going to answer it, let them sort it out over there or something." (Interview with Omara)

Lucila is the other participant who mentioned that she works from home thanks to the new communication technologies. Lucila works in her parents' hostel in Sucre, performing different tasks, works as a cook in a hotel in the same town, and has her own boat business. Lucila has two children and became widowed last year. When I asked Lucila if she is available to work at home, for example by receiving a call or doing something needed, she said that she does it and that it was something that her husband complained about when he was alive. He complained about her checking things from the hostel when she was at home. *"Yes, of course. That was something my husband didn't like... he judged me a lot because I never had time for the house."*

Susana is the manager of a hotel in La Guajira and she lives in the hotel where she works. Susana understands that people from the hotel need to reach her at unexpected times, even during the holidays. That is why she always tries to be available online. However, during those days Susana still tries to be available online in case something happens at the hotel. She justifies this by explaining that she and the other manager are responsible for anything that happens in the hotel. She mentioned that things had gotten better since there are people on the staff who have been working with them for a long time and have learned how to manage certain things.

I also like to go out a lot, to travel, let's say, or go somewhere else for a day or whatever. So it's good, but also as us, both the other administrator and I are very responsible for what happens here, well... I don't mind always being online in some way... Now we have reached a time when there are people and areas that have been with us for a long time, so they know very well how it works, what situations might happen, and how to handle them. (Interview with Susana)

It is essential to consider that not all women are fine with the situation of being reachable during their leisure time for their paid work. Julieta is a woman who used to work and live in a hostel in La Guajira, but after the struggles that she had in that hostel, she decided to quit. After that, she found another job in a hotel in the same region. During the interview, Julieta stated how difficult it was for her at her previous job. She had to work in a place where she was in charge of many tasks and supervised through cameras and WhatsApp all the time by the owners of the hostel. In the following fragment, she mentioned the conversation she had with the hostel owner when he gave her work at 00:00 during her leisure time to solve a situation for a guest.

I said to him, look honestly, I'm really pissed off because it's 00:00. I haven't been able to eat, I should be sitting there with my friend having a drink and not here behind the counter answering WhatsApp and working. I'm sorry, but I didn't come to (area of La Guajira, deleted for privacy reasons) for this. If you want someone to oversee the hostel then pay an administrator or come here, every business needs someone in front of it, instead of exploiting a bunch of people. (Interview with Julieta)

Additionally, Julieta complained that this feasibility to be reachable at any time used to be an obstacle for her to enjoy her free time when she used to work at the hostel. The owners called her and sent her messages to solve problems outside of her shift, especially during high season. *"But then when the high season started, oh no, it became exasperating. Our work schedules, they never, they never really end because they are always bombarding you on WhatsApp"*.

Doris, another participant who also lives and works in a hostel in La Guajira, had a similar situation with the owners of the hostel where she works. She set limits with them from the beginning and feels that it was a good way to deal with receiving messages during her leisure time. The following fragment shows what she described about the situation.

At the beginning, when the owners called me outside the shift to ask me anything about work, I told them "We will talk tomorrow at 8:00am when I start working", so from the beginning I kind of set that limit. And they were like "oh, yes, yes, sorry, Doris", as they didn't realize it either. They said "no, yes, yes, we will talk to you tomorrow". (Interview with Doris)

Doris has the autonomy to negotiate the terms of her job with her bosses without the fear of being unemployed because her primary income does not come from her job in the hostel. Doris has remote work, which is another benefit from the new technologies and communications, and she decided to move to the coast to live close to the sea. When she was looking for a place to stay, the hostel owners offered her the position in the hostel.

Well look, I think that this experience that I am having I do not see it from a professional point of view, that is to say, for me it is like I am living an experience of living somewhere else, living by the sea. And no, I am not taking it as something professional. (Interview with Doris)

Additionally, Doris explained that as the job in the hostel is heavy, she can continue working in her remote job, but she needs to have more than one day off one the hostel. Therefore, she also asked the hostel owners to work five days per week instead of six. At first, they did not see it feasible, but they agreed when she told them that was the only way for her to continue in the hostel.

I told them that I needed another day off, that I'm seeing that one day doesn't work for me. Well, also because I was already very unaccustomed to having a fixed schedule, so I've seen that it doesn't work for me. And I told them that they were going to need to give me another day. At first, they didn't agree, but then I told them more or less that if it wasn't like that I wasn't going to be able to continue. So they said yes, that they were going to see how they could organize another person or a volunteer or whatever. (Interview with Doris)

Julieta also has a remote job that gives her financial stability. Not being completely financially dependent on her previous job was what allowed her to quit her job in the hostel and find another job in hospitality, as explained before. During the interview, Julieta talked about her privilege and how it allows her to make certain decisions in the coastal place in La Guajira, where she is currently living.

And I feel that there is something that I have analyzed a lot here and that is the issue of privilege. That I still have the privilege of being able to make a living from something else... That I can change a situation, maybe because of what I have already experienced, maybe because of the situation I have grown up in, maybe because of what I have heard, maybe because of what I have been interested in, because of all the situations I have grown up with that make me see that this is not normal and that this cannot continue to happen (referring to the unfair work situation). But I feel that many people just aren't, I mean there are many friends here that I tell "it's just not normal, I mean, it's not normal that this is happening"

Julieta arrived in La Guajira because she wanted to experience something different. She grew up in Bogota and had access to higher education there. That is why she considers that her background and access to specific opportunities put her in a privileged position compared to the people from the area where she is currently living.

Violeta is another participant who also benefits from the new technologies. She lives and works in the hostel that she owns with her mother and sister. As Violeta is the co-owner of the hostel, she can decide upon her activities during her shift. She mentioned that she uses the time to study when she is not busy with guests or other essential activities. Violeta is an architect and is currently doing a specialization in tourism. After the interview, she mentioned that she is interested in gender topics, and she would like to write her thesis about it.

Another participant who benefits from new technologies is Anastacia. She is the owner of a hostel in Valle del Cauca, where she hosts guests in her own house. Anastacia lives with her partner and has a grown-up son from a previous marriage who lives separately on his own. She is currently studying an undergraduate program on tourism online and she mentioned that she enjoys learning. However, she struggles with the payments of her studies. During the interview, Anastacia mentioned that she needs to host tourists to pay for university. It is important to state that even though it is favorable for Anastacia to access higher education online as she lives in a place where there are no opportunities to do it, and so she struggles with not having the resources and tools to make the most out of it. One of the difficulties that she faces is that the internet connection is weaker when the guests are in the hostel. However, after the guests check out, she is able to re-watch the courses.

For example, I have classes, I think on the 10th (referring to the 10th of January), I won't be able to be in that class, because I'm waiting for those guests to arrive. I'm waiting and when a tourist arrives, the signal, even if I have two internet connections, doesn't give me enough for one, the signal is lost. 100 tourists arrive and we are left with no signal for internet, data or calls... But I have the option of watching the recorded classes beforehand. It stresses me out a lot, but the main thing I have to do is to answer the exams well, if I get 8 to 10 in the exams, I'm doing well. (Interview with Anastacia)

Other participants mentioned that they would like to study more topics related to tourism or languages for their professional career, but that they face obstacles that prevent this, such as not having institutions where they can study in their towns. With new technologies it is possible to overcome this, for example, by studying online, however they do not always have the financial stability to pay for it. Omara said that not being able to pay for her education was an obstacle at the beginning of her career. She was afraid of not being able to have the money for it as she did not have a stable income.

Well, at the beginning, one of the obstacles was that I wanted to study and well, I couldn't do it. I wanted to continue, I couldn't do it because when I started working in 2020 I didn't have a contract. So I didn't have something fixed and no, I couldn't do it because I said "if I start studying and they fire me, I won't be able to pay for the semesters". So that was one of the obstacles for not continuing to learn more about my career. (Interview with Omara)

Zoraida also mentioned her interest in learning English, but explained that it is not easy for her because of financial reasons and access, as in the island where she lives she has not found classes. She said that it is crucial to know English for her professional development, and she feels frustrated when she cannot communicate with international guests.

Well, I have the initiative, I have the will. I lack the economic part and since I already have my home, my family, my daughters, then what I am waiting for is for them to be a little older, for me to be able to detach more and then be able to return to my career because I want to continue studying. Especially English, which is what I need to be able to understand a little more about tourism. It's very important because I feel a bit helpless when someone from abroad arrives and I can't tell them freely or explain freely what they are telling me. Sometimes I don't understand them, sometimes I cannot... Sometimes I understand them, but I can't explain them well and give them the answer they want. (Interview with Zoraida)

Karla is currently learning English online in order to be able to interact with the guests more. It is less complicated for her to do it that way because she lives in the hostel, and has a computer in her room. Her future professional aspirations are to join a cruise and work there as a chef.

As I tell you in my free space, I take English classes to develop a little more and enrich my profession a little more. Because I've dreamt of going on a sailing boat as a chef, that's my dream. So what I need to do is to have English, be fluent in English. I am working on that. (Interview with Karla)

The previous examples show how the new technologies allow participants to be more reachable in their paid jobs blurring the lines between the paid job and leisure time. Even though not all of them like to be available for their supervisors in their free time, it is clear that for the women workers who do not rely financially on their job at the hostel it is possible to set up limits or quit their jobs and find another one. This is mainly possible because some participants have the possibility to have remote side jobs. Additionally, the new technologies benefit women workers to access education online. However, not all the participants have the time and money to access online education, this limits them in achieving their professional aspirations.

4.3.2 Shared space for private and public spheres

As mentioned in the last section, some participants live and work in the hotels and hostels where they have a paid job. This happens because the owners live in the same space where they own businesses, or the hotels and hostels offer a space that is available to their employees due to it being difficult to find a place to live in some areas. This section will describe how women experience living in the same place where they work and how this creates a borderless relationship between the private and public spheres.

Anastacia described during the interview that she does not have guests constantly in her house because in low season it is challenging to find them. This brings financial struggles to her as she depends on that income and needs to pay for her education. As it was mentioned in the previous section, Anastacia is currently studying an undergraduate program online. In her daily routine, she focuses on household tasks, studies, and waits for people to contact her to book a room in her hostel.

Anastacia's routine changes completely when she has guests at home. She mentioned that when tourists are there, she focuses most of her attention on them, cooking and making sure that everything is clean. As her house does not have doors between the rooms, her partner leaves when there are guests at the hostel. He has the possibility to stay in another house that he has close by. Even though she enjoys receiving people in her house and talks about it with excitement, she admits that she starts feeling uncomfortable when they stay longer than eight or ten days.

But after 8 to 10 days, I said "well, when is he/she going to leave". I start to feel uncomfortable, like I can't sleep, I can't. I can't be well in my environment. For example, if the tourist were here; I couldn't be like this (showing her clothes). I had to be more dressed up... Because, well, that's what we've been taught, right? In terms of ethics and customer service. (Interview with Anastacia)

Other women workers who live in a hotel or hostel that is not their property mentioned how difficult it is for them to set boundaries with the guests who do not know when they are in their leisure time. Doris, who lives in the hostel where she works in La Guajira, mentioned that as she is the person the guests are used to seeing at the reception and other areas of the hostel, they think that every time she is there she is available. This is a problem for her because she has a private room in the hostel where she sleeps alone, but the other spaces, such as the living room and kitchen, are shared. However, Doris justifies their behavior by explaining that they do not know what her working schedules are. She manages it by telling them to ask another person and tries not to be at the hostel on her free days.

But that is also something that is difficult to manage because since I spend most of my time, let's say, in front of the reception or doing whatever, the guests who are there are used to seeing me... They don't know the schedules that we manage, then they see me and ask me for favors because they think I'm working all day long. I don't know, but I kind of know how to handle it and I say "No, ask that person who is on duty right now". But yes, it happens, it happens. I've also felt that sometimes on my day off it's better that I'm not there, because if I'm there something comes up, there's a question or a volunteer gets tangled up with some excel or something. I think it's an occupational hazard. (Interview with Doris)

Susana, who also works and lives in a hostel in La Guajira, mentioned that she has similar situations with the guests. It happens more when she is the person who is often in the reception, but they just approach her to ask informal things about the touristic attractions of the town. Therefore, she replies to what they need. "Generally, it's more questions like recommendations, what recommendations we give them for certain activities or whatever, not something like a lot of written work, but something more like informal."

Even though Doris and Susana understand and try to deal with the situation, other participants, such as Julieta, consider that not staying at home on her free day is one of the downsides of living and working in the same space. Julieta explains that the hostel owners where she used to work were making her work more under the excuse of paying for the extra hours she performed. However, she disagreed with that because she considered it essential to have leisure time and enjoy the place where she was living.

Because it (the shift) was 8 hours, but 8 hours goes relatively fast. There is a lot to do, a lot. I went out, but I'm a very homely person. I've become very homely lately and I couldn't stay in my own

home because it was my place of work. If it wasn't the guests, it was the bosses, they were like "keep working, keep working, keep working". And I told them "How much overtime are we going to do without getting paid or without wanting to do them?" I mean, what I was telling you about the involuntary hours (referring to the hours that were paid but that she did not want to do), it's like "I don't want to, I don't want to". (Interview with Julieta)

Julieta mentioned that the hostel owners take advantage of the fact that workers have no place to live, mainly in the high season. Therefore, many workers have no choice but to stay and work under unfair conditions.

The bosses take advantage of the fact that many people need a place to live to do whatever they want. So it's up to you to find a place to live. If you still want to live in the village. I feel that this also kind of puts us not in a balance, but in a situation of power over others, like "Ah, if you stay, it's under these conditions, it's up to you, if not then go and find a place" (Interview with Julieta)

However, the need to setting boundaries between job related tasks and home does not happen to the women workers who live in hotels and hostels. For example, Gabriela, the manager in a hostel in Magdalena, commented that one of her co-workers is also her flat mate. Even though they do not live in the hostel, she felt that he used to bring the problems from work to home. Therefore, she had set boundaries with him and asked him to only talk about those topics in the hostel to enjoy his leisure time at home.

He works with me and lives with me, so he has to know how to manage that. When we had a discussion, because we have had many discussions, he used to come home and not talk to me because he was angry, because of whatever happened at work. And I told him "No mijo, if you don't know how to separate, that's very bad. Take your bags and leave". And I had to talk to him and tell him "What happens at work I can talk to you there about it if I am angry, but at home I talk to you or talk to someone else". So yes, he has learned how to do it... A while ago we had a discussion and at home he was like "I'm going to buy pizza, do you want some? And that was it. (Interview with Gabriela)

Finally, all the participants who live in the places where they have their paid jobs mentioned that they feel the hotel or hostel as their home, regardless of whether they often visit their family and children in a place close by. For example, Karla's father and sons live in a city in Bolivar but she mentioned that her home is the hostel where she lives and works. Karla said that she feels a family environment in the hostel as everyone is helping each other.

"Yes, well, for example, when I don't have a lot of work, I help them (her co-workers) with sweeping the area that they are in charge of. Or when the waitress is in a hurry with the toilets, I also help her with the bathroom or with anything else she needs. So we help each other as a family." (Interview with Karla)

Doris mentioned something similar regarding the hostel where she lives and works. She has a supportive relationship with the other co-workers of the hostel. One is D.B the woman in charge of cleaning and cooking, who does not live in the hostel. The other person is D.A, the maintenance man who also lives in

the hostel. Doris stated that her home is the hostel and is constituted by the three of them and the pets that also live there. *"But I feel that, yes, the home members are D.A., D.B., and the animals"*.

4.3.3 Housework and reproduction of intangibles

The interviews with the participants show how specific tasks that were often thought of as exclusively from the private sphere related to housework and reproduction of intangibles such as emotional labor and care work are performed indistinctively in public and private spheres. The housework, care work, and emotional labor that women do are part of social reproductive labor. As defined in Chapter 2, social reproductive labor refers to the activities that allow other people to be part of capitalist dynamics. Therefore, women workers contributing to the tourist experience of resting to then coming back to their jobs to be part of the capitalist dynamics are doing social reproductive labor.

First, participants mentioned how they do activities related to housework regardless of their position in the hotels and hostels. Cecilia and Anastacia are both owners of hostels in Valle, and they stated that they do the cleaning of the spaces for the tourist. The reason for that could be that their hostels are small, and they are the primary workers there. Cecilia mentioned how she does similar activities in the hostel for the guests and at home with her family *"The cooking, the cleaning, all those things, everything is done in the hostel. Everything I do at home is the same in a hostel."*

Doris, the manager of one of the hostels in La Guajira, mentioned that she also performs tasks related to housework and is tied up for tourists even though it is not part of her job, and no one imposes it on her. Doris said that she does it because it is a characteristic of her personality, but she also feels that no one else would do it if she would not, especially after 3:00pm when D.B, the woman in charge of cleaning, leaves. *"D.B. leaves around 3:00 pm, but after that, then, I clean tables, make sure that guests don't leave things lying around or that people who do not belong here enter. It's more a question of general tidiness and cleanliness."*

Most of the married women who have children mentioned the housework tasks they do with their partners, as mentioned in the section 4.1 Second Shift. The women who do not live with their families said that they do not have any responsibility besides their own household duties, such as Julieta, Karla, Susana, Violeta, and Yolanda. The only exception of a non-married women who does housework for others at home is Gabriela who is the hostel manager in a city in Magdalena. She has her own house and rents two rooms. She mentioned that when she rented the place, she agreed with her tenants that she was going to be the person in charge of cleaning some shared areas.

Even though Gabriela's flat mates help her with some of the household tasks, she knows that it is a service that she includes for the people who rent the place *"I am the owner of the house, and I am responsible for most of the cleaning, and I can't refuse that because that is a service that is included in the rent."* Gabriela mentioned that when she does not have the time to clean the share spaces due to the workload that she has in the hostel, she hires someone to do it.

Regarding the reproduction of intangibles, Cecilia was one of the participants that mentioned that she feels responsible for the tourists and takes care of them as they are not often familiar with the environment in Valle. Therefore, she performs housework with them so they do not feel uncomfortable

or unsafe during their stay regarding the access to water, the food they can find, and lack of access to technology.

Because it is not easy to get to a place that is uncomfortable, where the technology is not good, the water is not drinkable, you have to buy water in the shop. It's uncomfortable, all those things are uncomfortable for you. It's like me arriving in another culture and not being able to eat the food there because I'm not used to it, I'm used to my seafood. (Interview with Cecilia)

Cecilia compares taking care of tourists to taking care of her family. She stated that it is an honor for her to take care of her family members and guests.

Oh that's an honor, that's a special honor. Niña Alejandra, I'm going to tell you something I want you to never forget, never forget in your life: If you don't take care of your family as they deserve, how are you going to take care of the guest? Tell me. I take care of my guests as if they were my family, I take care of them with great honor. (Interview with Cecilia)

The situation of Cecilia shows that she works in both private and public spheres doing similar tasks and that she enjoys caring for other people. However, this is not the situation for all women and assuming that all women must perform care work is problematic. Julieta mentioned in the interview that the owners of the hostel where she previously worked did expect women to perform care work. Therefore, they were focused on receiving women volunteers instead of men, and she used to discuss with them explaining that women are not supposed to have a maternity role: *"I said, "consider them" (referring to male volunteers to hire), and they said "no, no because we're looking for a girl," and I said, "but we're not anyone's mom."*

Gabriela described a similar situation in the hostel where she works as a manager. She mentioned that the hostel hires women in higher positions mainly because the supervisors think women have better-caring skills.

It used to be only men. The biggest boss (removed for privacy reasons) recently told me how he would like to have more women in the team because they balance it out and in one way or another women know how to take more control of expenses, take care of things, they are aware of many more things than men, "oh, we'll fix it tomorrow, let's leave it like this, I don't know". Women are a bit more detailed in that. (Interview with Gabriela)

These caring expectations towards women reinforce gender roles and impose women workers to perform tasks related to care work, which they are not recognized for as it is assumed to be an innate skill. For example, some hotel owners ask their employees to make the guests feel in a family environment. Doris said that the owners of the hostel where she works told her that it is essential to make the guest feel at home as the hostel does not offer anything in terms of infrastructure. This shows how the relationship between home and work becomes borderless as workers are supposed to make the guests feel more comfortable. Doris considers this home environment essential and focuses on providing the guests a place to feel safe and cared for, just as she does with her friends and family.

So, the important thing there is that they feel safe, that they are in a place where we are going to be concerned about them, that if they have a whim, for example, with food, then we are going to do what we can... We do everything we can to make sure that everything is clean, that everything smells nice. For example, on a really sunny afternoon, we can play games and keep them entertained and happy. And I think that above all, to make them feel that warmth of home. Personally, I've always liked to be a very good hostess. In fact, at home, with my friends and family, I'm also like that and that's what I do well... that personal characteristic suits me for the hostel, because I like the people who are in my environment, in my place, to feel like they are content, like they feel at home. (Interview with Doris)

This situation of creating a family environment not only happens when the owners require their workers to do it, because they are not in the hostel and all the effort relies on the employees, like happens in the hostel where Doris works. Violeta is the owner of a hostel in Antioquia and works there daily, she mentioned that the home feeling is also part of the customer service that characterizes her hostel. However, she is aware that her hostel is a family project between her mom and sister. Therefore, it is easier that they do this emotional labor and show the family environment as some guests are curious about how the hostel started and how they oversee it. Violeta thinks that this is what differentiates her hostel from others who also said they have a family environment. She says that being there for the guests as a family, with her mom and sister, makes a difference and makes the guests feel at home.

So, that's why we always try to make sure that one of us is there, because they (guests) always feel better attended to by one of us. And as it is a family project, people want to know where we came from... What is established is to always do it very well, very cordial, very familiar as well. That's what makes the hostel different. Although many family hotels say that I feel that this one really is because we are there all the time, people really say that they feel at home. So, yes, it's almost like if they were family members coming in" (Interview with Violeta)

It is essential to consider that sharing this family environment was the idea that motivated Violeta's project to have a hostel. The house where the hostel is located used to be Violeta's grandfather's house, where she used to spend her holidays when she was a child. She grew up living in a big city in Antioquia and became an architect. As Violeta was not fulfilled with her life in the city, she decided with her family to move to the coast to her grandfather's house and start the project to make other people enjoy what she had in her childhood. This enthusiasm towards the hostel is reflected in the emotional labor that she does. Violeta mentioned during the interviews that she likes sharing time with the guest and talking about personal topics that they might be struggling with. She enjoys offering emotional refuge for people who need it during their holidays in the hostel.

And it also happens to us that many people arrive with a broken heart, many people arrive to overcome their heartbreak. And, as I said, it's very familiar and people talk to us and ask questions. They start talking to us we've noticed that. We really like the fact that (the hostel) it's like a refuge for people who are finding themselves again. I think it's very nice. (Interview with Violeta)

Although Violeta enjoys this emotional labor, she recognizes that there are days when it is harder to do it. She mentioned that customer service is not something she feels like doing all the time, especially when

she is having a difficult day. Violeta's strategies are to leave her problems aside and try to smile and feel better. Violeta clarifies that those days when she smiles and moves on she is not being cynical, rather it is more about learning how to leave things aside. However, on the most challenging days for her in the hostel she asks someone else to do her shift.

But I think that there are days in customer service when you don't want to see people... You get up in the morning and there are days when you do not like doing it because of something that happened to you, you breathe and you say "I'm going to work, to smile, and I'm going to be fine" because it is not other's people fault either. It has nothing to do with what you do. So sometimes you are with people all the time, 24 hours a day you are with other people, sometimes it's a bit difficult for me, but I have learnt a lot too. Yes, I have learned a lot... I am not telling you that I'm cynical or sly, but that you start to understand how to work that. If there are days when we can't, we say to other colleagues "today, take care of it, today I'm not capable" because we are humans. (Interview with Violeta)

Additionally, some participants mentioned that they worry about how they treat guests and offer good customer service even when the guests are being disrespectful. Omara said that when guests complain about the breakfast or their rooms, she asks for forgiveness and talks to them as softly as possible.

Well, I apologize, like "Excuse me... There are people in front of you. No, it's not that we don't want to serve you, it's just that there are people in front of you and we have to serve them first. No, don't worry, your breakfast is coming out right now" As gently as possible, or also when they had to receive a room, I apologize "look, excuse me, this room is not available right now, but come I'll change you to another one while yours is being made", they are given something as a courtesy so that they can be calm and have a rest. (Interview with Omara)

Karla also said that sometimes she has to deal with disrespectful guests, and she manages the situation similarly. The way she deals with it is to be calm and maintain that the guests are correct.

There are some who are very rude. There are some who are too rude. They fight against the hostel. "And where is the swimming pool and where is this and where is that" (referring to guests' complaints). And they come to the kitchen, and they want a fish bigger than me and they want to kill me, and I am like "Oh my God, help me". But I've learned to be quiet because the customer is right. There are some who have left, they say "no, I don't like this place" and they leave. (Interview with Karla)

Karla mentioned that she had noticed the difference between working as a cook in a hostel and at the naval club where there was a regime, and she only had to greet and give food to the people. However, she says that she enjoys working in the hostel and being in contact with the guests more.

And I was working at the naval club, I worked at the base and there it was like a regime of "Good morning" breakfast that and that, no smile or anything else. So, I spent many years working at the naval base, and I felt just like another military man, when I came here, I could open up, and I said, "I have to" and changed my attitude. I had to change everything in my chip as I did not have it in the navy. (Interview with Karla)

This shows the different experiences that women have with the reproduction of intangibles. Some have dealt with disrespectful attitudes from the guests to offer an acceptable customer service. Others have to create a family environment to provide a better experience for the guests. Others enjoy sharing their family warmth and emotions with the people who visit the hostels. Therefore, it is crucial to consider that not all women perform emotional labor and care work because they have to. Some do it because they enjoy it, and what matters is that it is not an imposition that assumes that women have the innate characteristic to take better care and treat others better.

4.3.4 Women workers' well-being in coastal destinations

The borderless relationship between the public and private spheres for women who work in coastal destinations also offers a positive impact through the blurring of boundaries of allowing them to enjoy nature and hence improve wellbeing, regardless of if they are in leisure or work time. All the hotels and hostels where they work are located on the seaside or have a view from where it is possible to look at the ocean, making the sea an essential factor for the participants as it is part of their everyday lives. 11 out of 12 participants mentioned that the place where they like to improve their well-being is the sea. Omara was the only one who said that she likes it but not that much. When I asked her if she enjoys going to the beach, she replied, *"Yes, not a lot, but I do like to go"*.

On the contrary, Lucila said that she feels emotional when she sees a lovely sunset and that for her, it is unbelievable that she lives in the coastal area as she can enjoy that every day.

Yes, of course. I am proud to live in (the coastal area of the department of Sucre). And even more so when I see sunsets, my eyes water. I can't believe it is so beautiful here and I live here. I have the joy of enjoying this every day, which other people do not. I mean, for me, I do feel really, really proud. (Interview with Lucila)

Doris mentioned that one of the activities that she does for her well-being is going to the beach and spending some hours there. *"For me (preferred activity for well-being) is rest like sleeping or going to the beach for nothing, that is it, going with the dog to look at the sky and watch the waves for two hours,"* Susana said that she often goes to the beach in her free days to disconnect. *"Well, I like to exercise. I like to go for a walk, go to the beach, and disconnect a bit. I try to do it often."*

Violeta mentioned that the place where she feels most joyful is her room and the restaurant from the hostel because of the sea view from both places. This shows that leisure time and well-being improvement can happen anywhere, regardless of whether it is in the workspace or home space. *"I feel very comfortable in my room. It's like it's in front of the sea, it's spectacular, and in the restaurant, which is also in front of the sea, because it's an open, green space"*.

Karla mentioned how much she enjoys nature in the hostel, as it is located at the beach. She compares the nature of the place where the hostel is located against the city and says that everything on the island is excellent *"Here you are away from everything, and there is only nature. I mean, you connect with the sea, you connect with the sun, you look at those landscapes, the sunrise, the sunset, the sound of the birds, all those things, it's beautiful"*. When Karla feels stressed, she enters the sea to drain all the energy. She started doing it because a guest recommended it to her, and according to her it is effective.

This was recommended to me by a guest who came here. When I'm stressed, I go into the sea. There are a lot of trees here. There is a Bonga in the middle. She said "when you feel stressed, hug the tree, transmit all those things to the tree, or go into the sea and vent all that frustration into the sea" and it has worked. (Interview with Karla)

As it was explained in section 4.3.1 Julieta, Violeta, and Doris decided to move away from cities to live closer to the sea in small towns to enjoy the calmness and the natural environment. For example, when Doris was looking for a place to stay and work remotely, the hostel owners offered her a position in the hostel. Therefore, she does not see her job in the hostel as a professional path, rather as an experience that allows her to live close to the sea.

Well look, I think that this experience that I am having I do not see it from a professional point of view, that is to say, for me it is like I am living an experience of living somewhere else, living by the sea. And no, I am not taking it as something professional. (Interview with Doris)

However, participants mentioned that they enjoy the sea also in coastal cities. Yolanda is the person in charge of the guest experiences in a hostel in a city in Magdalena. She moved there some years ago because she was not happy with her life in a city in the interior of the country where she grew up. One of the things she appreciates the most is seeing the sunset in front of the sea. She appreciates these sunsets even in her work time as she can go to the rooftop of the hostel and stare at the sea from there. *"When I can't (go to the beach), because most of the time at 5:00pm I'm busy, I get to the roof of the house to watch the sunset, I do it from there. I do it very often."*

For Yolanda moving to the coast was a brave decision as she left her previous job and lifestyle to start working in tourism in the coastal city. However, she feels that she chose her happiness to pursue her professional dream of owning a hostel there in the future. Additionally, she thinks that she arrived in the right place as she has a flexible schedule to enjoy living on the coast side. Yolanda also mentioned that the hostel has a good work environment and that she has a good relationship with her supervisor:

*I feel when I made the decision to come here, doors opened for me in everything... I am working in a hostel. My dream is to have a hostel and I am working in a divine hostel in (Magdalena City) where I have a beautiful boss. I mean, you know, at the age of 29, after going through a thousand jobs, a thousand of horrible bosses, places where I didn't want to be, sh***y jobs, sorry... I feel that by risking what I had in life, life gave me what I wanted and I'm doing well here. (Interview with Yolanda)*

Yolanda mentioned that the healthy environment and relationships with her supervisor, co-workers, and guests make her want to be in the hostel to enjoy her leisure time. She feels that her work has become her home where she can work, dance, meet people, and have a good time.

Work became my family, also the team. The work, the team, the place. And sometimes, when I've been at home for a long time, I get up and go to Y.1 (hostel where she works)... Y.1 is definitely a place where I feel more at home. There's a lot going on here (Y.1), I meet people, there are parties, there are people to talk to, there is work. (Interview with Yolanda)

Moreover, some participants like Omara, Anastacia, Violeta and Susana mentioned that they enjoy travelling in their free time. For example, Susana mentioned that when the high season is over, she has more time to leave the town where she lives and visit other places. She does it because it is the best way to disconnect from work as she works and lives in the hostel and has been living in La Guajira for more than seven years. The best way for her to enjoy her leisure time is to go somewhere away from there.

On the contrary, other participants mentioned that they do activities for their well-being in the hotels or hostels. For example, Lucila said that the activity that makes her feel good when she is sad is giving cooking classes at the hotel *"I can be very sad or very, very lonely, but once I start doing my classes, I forget everything, and it goes away"*. Gabriela and Yolanda said that sometimes they like to spend their leisure time in the hostel instead of going home because of its pleasant environment. Gabriela said that when she finishes her work, she feels that she does not want to go home alone and prefers to stay in the hostel longer. Having a pleasant environment at work allows workers to perform the tasks they need to do with joy and enjoy staying in the hotel or hostel to spend their leisure time also there.

I like both. Sometimes I prefer to be here (work) more than to leave. I've finished everything, I've done all the activities, and I can technically go home, but there's no one there, what would I do there alone, so I stay here where there are people and enjoy myself a little bit. (Interview with Gabriela)

The participants for whom the Second Shift and the Four Shift overlap also mentioned their experiences regarding well-being. Zoraida said that she does not have time for herself, as most of the time she is working in the hotel or doing housework related tasks at home. However, she mentioned that she would like to have more free time to do other activities like start exercising more.

I used to come by bicycle (to the hotel). As I told you, I get out of here, get home, do housework, and go to bed very late. When I used to cycle, I had to get up early, so I was more exhausted at work. Therefore, I decided to cancel that part because I am exercising, but I'm more tired at the same time. (Interview with Zoraida)

For other participants their leisure time is not negotiable. Cecilia said that when she feels overloaded with work, she knows it is time to stop and take time off where she can do other activities. She considers her free time sacred.

Yes, that's one of the things I don't negotiate. I don't negotiate my free time, and when I feel like I'm filling up with work, I feel like I'm being burdened, and my time is getting shorter and shorter. I feel like I'm drowning, I feel like I'm in prison, I shake myself ·No, let's leave that for later, right?" So my free time is sacred. Yes, it is sacred.(Interview with Cecilia)

The situation of Cecilia is linked to autonomy to decide what to do in her leisure time. Cecilia enjoys doing different individual and collective activities for her well-being such as knitting, teaching kids in her community, and spending time on the beach with the co-owner of her hostel. Cecilia is the only participant who stated that she enjoys doing care work and housework with her family.

So that is my role at home to keep my family well. When I come here to (City in Valle) where my daughters are, I also start cleaning like crazy and I make them food and spoil them. Well, I play the role of a mother and a wife, you know. (Interview with Cecilia)

This shows that women face different situations regarding their well-being depending on their preferences, the spaces where they do it, and the amount of leisure time they have at home and in the hostels and hotels where they work. Most of the participants of this research enjoy living and working close to the sea, which helps them to improve their well-being by doing different activities related to blue spaces. Additionally, some other activities and situations enhance women workers' well-being that relies on the relationships and situations they face with their families and co-workers in the private and public spheres.

5. Discussions and limitations

In this section, I will present a comprehensive analysis of the experiences that women workers have when they are part of the hospitality industry in the coastal destinations in Colombia regarding leisure and work time. To do that I will use the proposed framework on reproductive labor, the Four Shifts, and environmental and psycho-social well-being. At the end of this section, I will discuss the possible limitations of the methodology adopted in this research.

5.1 Women worker's experience regarding (social) reproductive labor

In order to discuss the experiences that women workers have in coastal destinations in Colombia, it is essential to distinguish work from non-work considering paid and unpaid life (Weeks, 2020). Doing that allows us to recognize many un-paid tasks, especially those naturalized as women's activities due to imposed gender roles. Regarding the work that married women workers do at home on the Caribbean and Pacific coast, it is possible to see an imbalance between the work they do and the one that their partners do. Married participants explained that they work in hotels and hostels and when they go back home, they perform housework, care work, and emotional work with their families. Zoraida, one of the married participants who has two daughters and lives on an island in Bolivar, explained that men are raised with the idea of not contributing to housework in that region. Therefore, their wives are put in charge of these tasks when they get married, showing that unequal work starts from childhood and increases as people grow up, keeping housework as unwaged labor for women (Criado Perez, 2019; Federici, 2011).

Karla, Cecilia, Zoraida, Anastacia, and Omara mentioned the care labor that they did or still do with their children. As Federici explains, this reproduction of human beings is the foundation of the economic systems as children are future workers who will be part of capitalistic dynamics (Federici, 2020; Federici & Cox, 1975). Therefore, women contribute to a capitalist system through the work they do in the hostels and the unpaid work they do at home. However, during the interviews it was possible to see that the work performed in the private sphere can also be joyful for women workers in the coastal destinations in Colombia. Most of the participants show that when reproductive labor, care work, and emotional labor are not imposed, they enjoy doing it regardless if it is performed in the public or private sphere. For example, women like Cecilia and Zoraida feel good doing emotional labor with their families and guests, and co-workers at the hotels. While in this research I acknowledge women workers as makers of the context around them, it is necessary to consider that even though some social reproductive activities might not be imposed, they could be influenced by a gender bias that makes women think throughout their lives that they should enjoy performing care work, emotional labor, and housework (Hochschild, 1983; Federici, 2011).

The experiences that women workers have in this coastal destination expose that their relationships with guests exceed the traditional employment relationship. This confirms the statements of Weeks regarding how the relations of production and employment have transformed (2020). The activities and relations that were part of the private sphere have created saleable experiences for guests (Federici, 2011). All participants from this study perform social reproductive labor that allows the tourist to benefit from the care work, housework, or emotional labor that has been transformed into wage employment in the public sphere (Federici, 2011). The work performed by women supports the reproduction of capital as guests

might enjoy their experiences in coastal destinations, improve their well-being, and rest to go back to their daily routines that are part of the labor market or produce capital (Federici, 2011).

The emotional labor performed by women workers in hotels and hostels in coastal destinations in Colombia sometimes requires them to suppress their own personal feelings to be in a proper state of mind for catering to guests (Hochschild, 1983). For example, Omara and Karla make guests feel good, even when guests are disrespectful, as they prioritize customer service. It is important to highlight what Violeta mentioned when she smiles, leaves problems aside to interact with customers. Violeta mentioned that she does not simulate emotion by being cynical, which shows that her emotions can be considered deep acting (Van Dijn & Kirk, 2007; Weeks, 2007; Hochschild, 1983). It is not easy to define if other women workers do surface acting or deep action regarding customer service. The interviews did not state if they were answering with unfelt emotions after being mistreated. In either case, it is clear that the guest is prioritized in these cases in the tourism sector, which requires women to offer services demanding energy and suppression of emotion without recognition (Weeks, 2007; Hochschild, 1983).

5.2 Women worker's experience in the public and private sphere

As I explained in the previous section, the participants' experiences show that the activities they do contribute to social reproduction and constitute tasks by which tourists' labor and life are reproduced (Federici, 2011; Henry, 2018). The social reproductive labor creates an unclear division between the activities and relations that women do in their private and public spheres for all the participants. All the women workers who are married and live with their families and perform the Second Shift also perform the Fourth Shift, showing that the shifts are not separate, and configurations coexist (Veijola, 2009).

Regarding the Third Shift, Karla is the only participant who performs it. She expressed that her paid job at the hostel has become a place of self-fulfillment, while the home is a tedious place characterized by the financial burden and lack of recognition from her family control and hard work (Veijola, 2009). This also happens because of the factors that contribute to improving Karla's well-being in the hostel where she works, such as feeling supported, having a healthy relationship with her co-workers, and the leisure time to connect with nature. Karla's experience is a clear example of a paid job being a counterpart to family (Jokinin et al., 2007).

The situation of Karla also implies an overlapping with the Fourth Shift. Living in the same space where she works brings a borderless relationship between private and public spheres, where several categories happen simultaneously (Jokinin et al. 2007). The unclear division of public and private spheres is more evident for women who live in hostels and hotels. Therefore, not only Karla but also Doris, Julieta, Anastacia, Violeta, and Susana face the same situation. The borders between work and home are dissolved, and there is no clear division of time, space, and actions regarding leisure and work in the hostels and hotels (Veijola, 2009).

It is essential to highlight that this borderless relationship between private and public spheres makes some women workers perform care work and emotional as a requirement. In contrast, others do it because they are willing to. During the interviews, it was common to hear that the hostels in coastal destinations aim to offer a family environment for their guests. This family environment relies on employees' work and brings a wide variety of perceptions about their work. Some women do it joyfully because they are the

owners of the hostels, as is the case with Violeta and Cecilia. In contrast, Doris does it because it is a requirement from the hostel owners and because she likes to take care of guests, and feels it fits her personality. Unlike Julieta, who did not feel comfortable doing care work for the guest, leading her to complain about this situation and ultimately quit her job. This diverse preference towards doing emotional labor and care work relies on women workers' personalities, which are revealed in the private and the public sphere (Veijola, 2009).

Service relations in the Four Shifts show how the tourism industry in coastal destinations in Colombia has post-Fordist characteristics. Women produce immaterial labor and reproduce intangibles such as feelings and satisfaction for the tourists (Betti, 2016; Irving, 2015). During the interviews, it was possible to see that women's performance at work is measured based on their relationship with guests (Veijola, 2019). The diverse preferences and perspectives regarding household tasks, care work, and emotional labor shows the importance of not having reproductive labor as a requirement for women workers in hostels and hotels in coastal destinations in Colombia. As well as recognizing reproductive labor as paid work when women decide to perform it. The exploitability of women's work happens because there is no recognition of women's work regarding the production of affects in the private and public spheres (Veijola, 2009).

Finally, the findings of this research are evidence that emergence of new technologies has led to the possibility of expecting women workers to be available anywhere at any time, making them perform several tasks simultaneously (Jokinin et al. 2007). Perceptions of job flexibility and availability that these new technologies bring varied amongst participants. For example, Gabriela does not complain about extending her shift from home by checking the cameras and answering emails and calls. However, Julieta did not enjoy that in her previous job; her bosses did not respect her leisure time. Women are not only asked to perform several tasks using the new technologies for their paid jobs. It also facilitates women to do activities like studying online or having financial stability that relies on another job that they can do remotely. That is the case for women who both live and work in hotels and hostels, such as Karla, Anastacia, and Violeta, whom can access education online, and Julieta and Doris, whom consider the work at the hostels a side job as they have another paid position for which they work remotely.

5.3 Women worker's psycho-social and environmental well-being

This research focuses on psycho-social and environmental well-being to understand how women experience well-being when working in coastal destinations in Colombia. First, Wong et al. state that having a positive and healthy relationship at work contributes to employee well-being (2021). Karla, Violeta, Gabriela, and Yolanda mentioned that they feel comfortable at their paid work and enjoy the time they spend there. One of the reasons is that they have healthy relationships with their co-workers and supervisors built on open communication, trust, and respect which improves their psycho-social well-being (Wong et al., 2021). In contrast, the lack of trust and respect for Julieta's leisure time in her previous job is an example of how job satisfaction with the relationship with supervisors and workload influences employee's well-being.

As mentioned in Section 2.3, this research considers working as the paid and unpaid job that women do. Therefore, regarding satisfaction in the private sphere, the relationship with family, co-workers, and

supervisors needs to be considered. During the interviews, participants stated that they do not like all the activities they do in their private sphere. However, the outcomes are not the same for all when they complain to change the situations they are not satisfied with. For example, Gabriela could manage the case with her co-worker, who is also her flat mate, to not talk about work-related topics at home. In contrast, Zoraida has told her husband to have co-responsibility towards household tasks, and the situation has not improved, affecting her well-being as collaboration is one of the key elements for work satisfaction (Wong et al., 2021; Russel, 2018). Additionally, women workers' satisfaction regarding family relations is linked to not creating a financial burden on the participants and having a good relationship with family members (Wong et al., 2021). For example, the issues related to the financial burdens and lack of recognition and support from Karla's family members show that she is not satisfied with her family relationship, affecting her well-being, and making her prefer the hostel environment situating her in the Third Shift.

Regarding education, during the interviews, it was possible to see that women's well-being improves when they have challenges and possibilities to learn to pursue their career aspirations (Wong et al., 2021), as mentioned in the Chapter 3, not all the participants of this research have had access to higher education. Some of them said they would like to continue studying to develop their professional careers in tourism. Zoraida, Anastacia, and Omara mentioned their frustration caused by not being able to pay for their education. It is important to mention that some women do not have the possibility to access education because they do not have time to do it, as they are either working at home or in their paid jobs. In contrast, Karla and Violeta show their motivation and enthusiasm to study English and specialize in tourism, respectively, as it helps them pursue what they want to do in the future in the tourism sector.

Participants stated that individual and collective leisure activities improve their well-being (Mansfield et al., 2020). It is essential to mention that married women not only enjoy spending time with their families. For example, Cecilia, Karla, and Omara said they enjoy other activities like going to church or spending time with their co-workers. This confirms that it is insufficient to consider work-life balance only as when workers spend time with their families (Haar, 2013; Wong et al., 2021). Additionally, the categorization that only includes family and work also leaves aside women who do not live with their families, as is the case of the women workers who live in the hotels and hostels, alone, or with flat mates.

This research makes it possible to get to know the diverse range of activities that women workers can do in their leisure time, depending on their circumstances (Mansfield et al., 2020). One of the main findings is that women workers can enjoy their leisure time at the hotels and hostels even when they do not live there, showing that their well-being can be improved with a paid job in the public sphere. Violeta and Susana mentioned that they enjoy the environment of the hostels where they work and that sometimes they prefer to be there during their leisure time instead of being at home. In contrast, some women who live in the hostels where they work, like Doris and Julieta, prefer not to be there on their free days as the borderless relationship between private and public spheres makes guests disturb their leisure time.

Moreover, participants' overwork during high peak seasons affects their psycho-social well-being. Most of the participants mentioned that they work full-time every day of the week during high season, accumulating the free days and enjoying them after the peak is over. However, this is problematic for women like Zoraida, who works unpaid at home with housework and has a full-time job in a hotel. Zoraida

mentioned that she has no leisure time and cannot do any activity for her well-being. One of the activities that she would like to do is go to the sea. Therefore, even though research shows that people who live close to the sea are more likely to benefit from blue spaces (White et al., 2013), it is essential to consider time as a factor that might affect the interaction with these natural restorative landscapes.

During the interviews, it was possible to confirm that the interactions with the blue spaces are diverse (Bell et al., 2015; White et al., 2013; Vert et al., 2020; Hooyberg et al., 2020; Dempsey et al., 2018). Participants mentioned a wide range of activities they enjoy doing during their leisure time at the sea such as staring at the sea from their home or workspaces, talking a walk, swimming, immersing to water to release stress, and sharing time with other people. I draw upon Foley and Kistemann's study (2015) and add that the teams they categorize to understand why blue spaces benefit well-being can overlap and co-exist. The examples provided by participants show that some interactions that they have with blue spaces fit into one or more teams as is explained in the following paragraphs.

The interaction that Lucila, Yolanda, Doris, and Violeta have when they stare at the sea shows how more than one team can co-exist. Staring at the sea fits into the teams of embodiment, activities, symbolism, and meanings. The sensations caused by these interactions impact women's well-being because of the images, colors, and sensations that the sea provokes in their mood and emotions such as stress relief, joy, and leaving aside job responsibilities in their free time (Foley & Kistemann, 2015). Karla's interaction with blue spaces when she needs to vent all the frustration and immerse herself in the water fits embodiment and activities teams, showing other examples of how the teams co-exist. Immersing in the water helps Karla with stress reduction and improvement of well-being and health as she is physically engaging herself with the sea (Wheaton et al., 2020; White et al., 2013; Vert et al., 2020; Foley & Kistemann, 2015; Dempsey et al., 2018).

For Julieta, Doris, Violeta, and Yolanda living close to the sea means achieving the life-changing experience that wanted. Living close to the sea is related to symbolism team as it has an important meaning for these participants who came from large inland cities in Colombia and aimed to live close to the sea to have the possibility to improve their life quality due to the activities that they can do there that help them to relief stress and connect more with nature.

Finally, one of the examples of inter-subjective relation with blue spaces to improve well-being is sharing time with friends on the beach, as Julieta described during the interviews. Julieta said that when she was working in the hostel, she did not always could enjoy leisure time because of the extra hours she worked. One of the main reasons those situations upset her was because she wanted to spend time close to the sea with her friends instead of being in the hostel working extra hours that she did not want to do.

5.4 Limitations

In this section, I will discuss and explain the methodological limitations of this research. Firstly, I did not have access to official data that would allow me to understand the numbers of women working in the tourism sector in Colombia, taking into account both informal and non-formal work. This is key for investigating the hospitality sector in Colombia, as many women work without contracts informally depending on the seasons.

Additionally, the COVID-19 pandemic restrictions were obstacles to performing field research and conducting in-person interviews with women workers on Colombia's Caribbean and Pacific coasts. All the participants were reached online, and most of the interviews were conducted through Zoom. Some of the participants did not have access to that platform. Therefore, I called them through WhatsApp and recorded the discussion from the computer. These audio recordings, in some cases, did not have good quality, which was a struggle for transcribing.

It was challenging to interview women from all the departments located on the Caribbean and Pacific coasts. It was impossible to contact women from Nariño, Cauca, Choco, and Cordoba who were available during high season and had access to an internet connection to conduct the interviews. The internet connection of the women workers who participated in research was not always stable. Therefore, the conversations did not flow as well as they could have in person. However, due to the use of online interviews, it was possible to contact women from 12 different destinations. If the interviews were conducted in person going to these places would have required a budget to pay for the traveling expenses and a longer time to conduct the research as the access to the places where participants are located is not easy.

6. Conclusions

This research shows the importance of recognizing the paid and unpaid work of women working in hotels and hostels on Colombia's Caribbean and Pacific coasts to fully understand their experiences regarding leisure and work time. In the coastal destinations in Colombia, there is an imbalance between the work that women do in their families when they are married compared to their partners when they are part of the hospitality workforce. This situation highlights the relevance that the movements started in the 1970s by feminist activists and academics such as Silvia Federici still have. There is a need to question the reproductive labor that society assumes innate to women based on gender bias. To do this it is essential to hear the women's experiences in the academic field and bring solutions that are feasible in practice.

The fact that, to some extent, all the women from this research perform the Four Shift confirms that tourists benefit from the care work, housework, and emotional labor that has been transformed into wage employment within the tourist sector. Therefore, women experience the borderless relationship between the private and public spheres regarding activities, time, and relationships. It is essential to recognize that some women workers in coastal destinations in Colombia enjoy unpaid (social) reproductive labor in the private and public spheres when it is not imposed. However, it is crucial to consider that these activities might be influenced by gender bias as women are brought up to like to do them.

Women who work in hotels and hostels in the coastal destinations on Colombian's Pacific and Caribbean coasts experience a borderless relationship between the private spheres. This unclear distinction between both spheres makes some women workers enjoy spending their leisure time in the paid workspace because they find different psycho-social factors, such as a healthy environment and good relationships with their co-workers. However, women who live and work in hotels and hostels do not always prefer to spend their leisure time at home because guests cannot easily differentiate if employees are in their work hours or not. I argue that not being able to enjoy leisure time at home is problematic, and it is a situation that needs to be improved for women who work and live in the hotels and hostels where they work.

This research confirms that the tourism industry in the coastal destinations in Colombia is characterized by the service relations that happen in post-Fordist societies. Therefore, women's work produces immaterial labor and reproduces feelings and satisfaction for the guests that stay in the hotels and hostels where they work. Some hostels aim to recreate a family environment that requires women to perform emotionally through care work. When women's (social) reproductive labor is imposed to recreate this family environment, the exploitability of women's work is reinforced because it is unpaid and not joyful for them.

New technologies that characterized the Fourth Shift open channels for women workers in coastal destinations in Colombia to be available anywhere. The women interviewed in this research perceive these new technologies differently. Some enjoy having job flexibility even though they cannot separate leisure from work time as they are available online all the time. Others do not like to be disturbed in their leisure time to do tasks from the hotels and hostels because they consider this separation necessary. It is essential to consider that these new technologies bring positive outcomes that influence the unclear separation between leisure and work time. Women workers mention that having access to the internet

when they work in hotels and hostels allows them to study online or have a remote job to have the financial stability that does not rely on women's work in the hospitality industry.

It is crucial that the psycho-social factors that impact well-being in paid work are also encouraged in the private sphere's unpaid work, such as open communication, trust, and respect. Women workers should feel supported and communicate the situations that they are not satisfied with at home. In this research, it is possible to see that this situation should improve, especially for married women who live with their families and those who live in hotels and hostels where it is not easy to differentiate between leisure and work time. Here is essential to note that the only women who do not have complaints about the reproductive labor that they do at home are the ones who live alone or have manager positions in the hotels and hostels where they live.

Finally, women experience the improvement of well-being in the sea through different activities depending on their preferences and situations. However, for women workers in the hospitality industry in coastal destinations, the interactions with the sea do not rely only on the proximity to it but also on the possibility to have the leisure time to enjoy it. When women have the time to enjoy their interaction with blue spaces, either in leisure or work time, they like to enter the sea to release stress, walk on the beach, stare at the ocean to connect with the sounds and colors, and have communal encounters.

6.1 Suggestions for further research

This research opened space for unheard voices of women who work in the hospitality industry on Colombian's Pacific and Caribbean coasts. It provided a qualitative analysis that studies the (social) reproductive labor, the borderless relationship between the public and private sphere, and their well-being. To extend the understanding of these topics, I suggest that further research focuses on the gender bias rooted in societies in the departments located on the Caribbean and Pacific coasts that affect people from different gender regarding their relationships with families, co-workers, and guests. Having a better understanding of the gender bias reproduced in society could help provide feasible educative projects that aim to tackle the gender inequality that people who work in the tourist sector face in the private and public sphere. It would be key to consider gender from a non-binary perspective, that encourages inclusion and diversity in the tourism sector.

Finally, I suggest developing a study focusing on the work conditions that workers have in the hospitality industry in Colombia, considering the psycho-social and environmental factors that improve workers' well-being. It would be crucial to conduct in-depth interviews with employers to study the awareness they have of the Fourth Shift and how they approach the well-being of the people who work in their hotels and hostels. That research should consider the work-life balance in high and low seasons, considering the leisure time of women workers who perform reproductive labor at home and in their paid jobs.

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Appendix 1: Interview Guide

Context questions

- How old are you?
- Where do you live in Colombia?
- Do you work in the same city where you live?
- Did you grow up in that region of the country?
- How many years have you been working in the tourism industry?
- What did you do before working in the tourism industry related to studies or other work experiences?

Work-life and public sphere related questions

- What is your role in the hotel?
- How many people work with you in the hotel?
- Could you please briefly describe the job positions that the hotel has?
- How many hours do you work per day/ week?
- What are your responsibilities at work?
 - o Is there someone else who does these tasks?
- What job-related activities must you do at work?
- Do you get paid for all the activities you do at work?
- What are the requirements to perform your job?
- Are there any restrictions at your work?
- Are there any tasks that you would prefer to not do?
 - o Why do you do them?
 - o Have you expressed your discomfort at doing them?
- Do you feel that you can express your emotions freely at work?
- Do you feel that your supervisor and colleagues recognize the tasks that you do at work?
- How do you think you contribute to the tourist experience?
- Do you think that tourists can rest and recharge because of the work that you do?
- Has someone suggested to you how you should communicate with guests in the hotel?
- Have you ever experienced a difficult situation while dealing with a guest?
- How does it feel for you to deal with the needs and wishes of the guests?
- In case there are men in your work: Can you perform the same tasks that as men do in your work?
- In case there are men in your work: Do you feel you have the same freedom as they have?
- In case there are men in your work: Do you think that you have the same opportunities to develop your career as the men who work with you?
- Do you feel that you are treated differently because of your gender at work?
- Have you ever dealt with work situations outside of your work hours?
- Can you differentiate between your work hours and leisure?
 - o How do you do it?
- Can you easily talk with your boss when you have a problem at home, and you need permission?

- In case the person has children: Have you ever experienced any difficult situation because of the time overlapping between working and taking care of your children?

Private sphere related questions

- How is your family/ home composed?
- What is your daily routine at home?
- What responsibilities do you have at home?
- How many hours do you spend on those activities per day/ week?
- When did you start to have these responsibilities?
- Is there someone else who does these tasks?
- What activities must you do at home?
- Who is responsible for the housework tasks at home?
 - o Why is that person responsible? / Why are they responsible?
- Do you take care of someone at home?
- In case there are men in your family: Do you perform the same tasks?
- In case there are men in your family: Do you feel you have the same freedom as they?
- Do you feel that you are treated differently because of your gender at home?
- In case the person has children: When did you decide to be a mom?
- In case the person has children: How is your daily routine with your children?
- In case the person has children: Does someone help you to take care of your children meanwhile you work in the hotel?
- How does it feel for you to deal with the needs and wishes of your family?
- Do you feel that you can express your emotions freely at home?
- Do you feel that the other members of the family recognize the tasks that you do?
- Are there any tasks that you would prefer to not do?
 - o Why do you do them?
- Have you ever dealt with family situations in your work hours?
- Have you ever had an obstacle to going to work because of the responsibilities you have at home?

Public and Private spheres questions

- When do you think your work begins?
- Where do you think your work ends?
- Are there similar activities that you do at home and at work?

Well-being questions

- Is there any obstacle to achieving what do you want to do professionally?
- How do you balance your work and private life?
- Which activities do you do to take care of your well-being?
- How often do you do them?
- Where is the place where you feel more pleasant?
- Where do you relieve stress from work responsibilities?
- Where do you relieve stress from home responsibilities?