

Segregation of women in tourism employment in the APEC region[☆]

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ABSTRACT

Women represent a majority of the tourism workforce globally, yet they remain under-represented in management roles and over-represented in part-time/casual work and low paid jobs. Prior research suggests women in employment, generally, and in tourism employment, specifically, experience gender discrimination, labour market and workplace segregation, work/family conflict, and other barriers to their employment and career progression. This paper presents results from an international survey of women's employment in the tourism sector, and analyses 363 responses representing the views of employers, employees, government officials, non-government organization representatives and academics across a range of tourism industries in 21 APEC member economies. The results reveal continued segregation of women across the economies, but also highlight national cultural barriers and intersectionality which affect women's employment and progression in tourism employment. Human resource management strategies, policy interventions, and implications to reduce gender segregation, increase representation in management, and provide equal employment opportunities are presented.

1. Introduction

As a sector estimated to contribute some USD\$1.4 trillion in global exports (UNWTO, 2017), tourism is very labour-intensive with a wide range of roles that are part-time, casual or require limited formal education or on-the-job training; allowing quick entry into the workforce. Tourism employment is also highly gendered (Pritchard & Morgan, 2016) and continues to have persistent and widespread gender segregation. Though women comprise 54% of tourism employees, they earn 14.7% less than men and are under-represented amongst tourism managers and tourism ministers (UNWTO, 2019). Women are over-represented in low-level and part-time, casual and seasonal employment, and, in addition to working in the least secure jobs, are likely to experience poor working conditions, inequality of opportunity, violence,

exploitation, stress and sexual harassment (Baum, 2013; Santero-Sanchez, Segovia-Perez, Casto-Nunez, Figueroa-Domecq, & Talon-Ballestro, 2015). Yet, Pritchard (2014; cited in Pritchard & Morgan, 2016) explained that tourism employment demonstrates a mixed picture for women of empowerment and exploitation. She noted that tourism employment cements women's economic and sexual exploitation through abusive employment practices especially for young, ethnic minority, and migrant workers. However, she also said it provides employment and self-employment and entrepreneurial opportunities for women, who are almost twice more likely to be employers than in other sectors, and provides an avenue for their activism and leadership in community and political life.

Though there has been increasing research on gender in relation to tourists, within tourism management research there has been limited

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discussion of gender and employment especially in regards to factors driving the aforementioned gender segregation. Morgan and Pritchard (2019) suggested that gender is not occupying a position in the mainstream of research in hospitality. They further stressed the need for more recognition of the neglecting of female talent, and for female and male leaders to drive a gender-just future in hospitality study. Figueroa-Domencq, Pritchard, Segovia-Perez, Morgan, and Villace-Molinero's (2015) also called for more understanding of women as consumers and producers in tourism especially in relation to gender discrimination. Pritchard (2018) invited more research on gender and tourism generally but specifically examinations of intersectionality in tourism research. In addressing these calls for further research, within this paper we examine perceptions of key stakeholders (business owners/managers/employees, non-government organizations, government officials, and academics) about gender segregation in tourism employment across industries in the tourism sector in the 21 Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) economies. Through our analysis of barriers to women's opportunities and progression, we also explore organizational human resource management (HRM) practices and policies and government programs to facilitate women's employment in the economies. Further, we provide policy and intervention strategies to address gender inequity. This paper examines the following research question:

RQ1. Do key stakeholders associated with the tourism sector within APEC economies perceive gender segregation in tourism employment in the APEC region?

Within the limited research on women in tourism employment, with the exception of developed countries like Australia and the USA, there are very few academic papers focused on women specifically in the Asia-Pacific region. The studies on developing countries in Asia-Pacific have mostly focused on one particular country e.g. China (Moore & Wen, 2008), India (Rinaldi & Salerno, 2019), Papua New Guinea (Andersen, 2015), Peru (Babb, 2012) and Mexico (Babb, 2012), as opposed to a region-wide study. A Global Report on Women in Tourism by the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) (2019) which included statistical data about women's employment in tourism found, for instance, the proportion of hospitality employees is lower in Asia than in Africa and the Americas. Moreover, there is wide variation between economies in respect to specific employment roles with more than half of tourism businesses being run by women in Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, and Thailand but almost none in Pakistan, Iran, and the Maldives (UNWTO, 2011).

Given research and data on gender and tourism and Asia and the Pacific is scarce (UNWTO, 2019), our research makes an important contribution in extending the limited research within the region by providing statistical research that extends descriptive studies. We highlight multi-stakeholder views about what is occurring in women's employment in APEC economies but also analyse factors that affect women's tourism employment. Though there are restrictive gender norms and roles for women in Asia (UNWTO, 2019) we accept the challenges of generalising within regions given vast socio-cultural diversity and levels of economic development that can affect women's opportunities. Nonetheless we believe that the results of this current research make an important contribution to the extant literature on women in tourism employment. The findings provide the largest academic cross-economy survey analysis to-date; reflecting the views of a wide range of stakeholders across the sector including hospitality, accommodation, food and beverage, transport, travel agencies, tour operations, entertainment and attractions, tourist offices/departments, and tourism researchers/academics. This research extends the academic studies of women in tourism employment that generally provide single country/economy and/or one industry studies in tourism i.e. hospitality, and/or report findings from one group of respondents i.e. usually employers or employees. In addressing a range of developed and developing economies in this research, we highlight the pervasiveness of gender inequity in tourism workplaces internationally and moreover,

examine the intersectionality of gender and race and/or class that presents additional limitations for women. Although we refer to some national cultural factors that may affect women's opportunities and, arguably more so when there is intersectionality of gender with race/and or class, it is not within the scope of this paper to specifically describe individual economies' national cultures or to make direct comparisons across the economies.

2. Discrimination and segregation in women's employment

Extensive international research on women's employment identifies that women's work opportunities, career progression and work conditions are affected by gender discrimination as well as labour market and workplace gender segregation, and socio-cultural factors. *Gender discrimination* in the workplace is seen in pervasive gender pay gaps related to factors such as: devaluing of women's work; segregation of women into low-paid jobs and/or industries; and norms reinforcing women's position as economic dependents (O'Reilly, Smith, Deakin, & Burchell, 2015). While there is inconsistency in studies examining whether males and females have different work, management and leadership styles, many studies suggest that there are continued stereotypes about women, which affect their employment opportunities and result in discrimination (Caleo & Heilman, 2013). Moreover, discrimination against women in workplaces extends to sexual harassment and workplace violence (McDonald, 2012; Piquero, Piquero, Craig, & Clipper, 2013) from colleagues and management, as well as customers/clients and is often reflective of broader societal beliefs and attitudes towards women.

Despite the introduction of anti-discrimination and sex discrimination legislation in many economies, and rapid social changes internationally, gender discrimination continues to manifest as *labour market and workplace gender segregation*. This has been represented as a) horizontal segregation that arises where women are not selected for jobs or only for certain jobs which creates occupational divisions and female-dominated jobs that tend to be lower paid with fewer prospects for advancement; and b) vertical segregation with women being under-represented in management (Anker, 1998). Decades of research has suggested that increasing years of education enlarges the range of employment opportunities, employment incomes and longer-term prospects for career advancement of people within organizations (Chen & Wu, 2007). However, across the world the opportunities women have for education significantly impact on initial employment and ongoing progression in organizations. Many economies have invested heavily in education and, women's education specifically, as part of national economic growth (see Hutchings, Samaratunge, Lu, & Gamage, 2016), yet education does not always translate into organizational opportunities and advancement.

Researchers, organizations and individuals often refer to the glass ceiling of invisible barriers that prevent women from rising to top managerial positions despite having skills, experience and qualifications equivalent to male counterparts. A more recent term, 'glass elevator', has been used to describe the situation where men are offered promotion quicker than qualified women in female-dominated organizations/positions. That is, men in female-dominated jobs, benefit from a glass elevator based on a set of invisible factors that facilitate their professional advancement (Casini, 2016). Glass ceilings and elevators result from indirect discrimination, inequality of opportunity in education or training, or men being advantaged by stronger networks/mentoring; resulting in 'sticky floors', a concept referring to a situation where women are less likely to advance up the career ladder when compared with men (Bjerk, 2008; cited in Deschacht, De Pauw, & Baert, 2017). However, evidence suggested that women's careers advance when they receive mentoring and this can minimise the effects of discrimination within organizations (Vinnecombe & Singh, 2003).

External factors also contribute to *gender segregation* for women at work. For example, while in paid employment women contribute

considerably more time than males to household and caring responsibilities (Pocock, 2005). Thus, women are more likely to experience work/family conflict (WFC). WFC theory suggests that WFC occurs when people experience conflict between role commitments, specifically that work roles are deemed as interfering with family roles (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985) and is said to differ across stages of the lifecycle (Bennett, Beehr, & Ivanitskaya, 2017). Moreover, women may determine their own career involvement, development and progression when they choose to limit work hours and/or roles or will not relocate for work due to family commitments; a situation that is especially pronounced given advancements in careers are most likely to coincide with child rearing years (Boone et al., 2013).

Intersectionality theory (see Collins, 2015; Crenshaw, 1989) suggests that a person may have several attributes, such as gender, age, ethnicity and/or class that intersect and impact on their opportunities/experiences. For example, effects of ethnicity may be more prevalent in economies where there are distinct divisions on class/caste and ethnic lines that may be reinforced by socio-cultural values. That is, women may be disadvantaged by their female gender, but this is compounded as a double disadvantage if they are of a lower socio-economic class, and presents a triple disadvantage if they are also from an ethnic group that suffers discrimination or reduced opportunities in their society. This situation was first described as double jeopardy by King (1988) – referring to African American women – and triple jeopardy where African American women were also of a lower economic class. Pritchard (2014) noted that intersectionality theory fits within the second wave of feminism that includes standpoint theory and within this, different gendered power relations have different ‘standpoints’ such as class and race. Standpoint tourism researchers gave voice to disempowered people and marginalised discourse (Harding, 1993; cited in Pritchard, 2014). Reflecting on the recent comment by Marilyn Loden, about the term ‘glass ceiling’ that she coined almost 40 years ago, and being surprised it still occurs, Pritchard (2018) noted the continuing sexism across industries internationally including tourism, and the urgent need for researchers to consider intersection of multiple inequalities, challenges and oppressions within tourism.

3. Women's employment experiences in tourism

3.1. Gender discrimination and segregation

While there has been significant research into gender and women in the workplace generally, limited academic research has been undertaken about women in tourism employment. Segovia-Perez, Figueroa-Domecq, Fuentes-Moraleda, and Munoz-Mazon (2019) noted that, despite an increasing presence of women in the hospitality labour market, empirical evidence continues to demonstrate persistent horizontal and vertical segregation, as well as a pay gap which creates lost opportunities. Thus, in this section of the review we utilise the categories of horizontal and vertical segregation to examine issues of inequity that researchers have highlighted within the tourism sector specifically. However, we do note that even though the most recent research suggests continuing gender inequity in tourism employment (Morgan & Pritchard, 2019) there have also been a number of studies examining women's empowerment through work in the sector. There is limited published research on gender in tourism employment in Asia-Pacific and there have not been specific studies on all Asia-Pacific countries within the APEC region. Thus, the literature examined and themes presented herein explores global examples of women's employment in tourism, some of which include and relate to the APEC region. The bibliometric analysis of gender and tourism research by Figueroa-Domecq et al. (2015) noted that tourism enquiry has been surprisingly gender-blind and reluctant to engage gender aware frameworks. Figueroa-Domecq et al. (2015) found 466 papers on gender in tourism published since the 1980s of which only 59 (12.6%) examined gender and employment; which is very small compared to almost 5000 papers

published on tourism destinations.

Women First (2010; cited in Pritchard, 2014) found five key barriers to women's advancement in tourism including: challenges in combining senior roles with caring responsibilities; dominant masculine cultures; preconceptions and gender bias; exclusion from networks; and insufficient senior female role models. Existing literature highlighted discrimination at work, including sexual harassment and gender segregation leading to: differences in earnings; horizontal segregation of types of work done by men and women; and vertical segregation resulting in limited promotion of women and women in senior positions tending to be in female-dominated roles, such as human resources (Cave & Kilic, 2010). Even in the most developed economies, job quality in tourism differs between men and women, with women suffering *gender discrimination* by having poorer working conditions relative to their male colleagues (Santero-Sanchez et al., 2015). Baum (2013) noted that women tend to work in the most vulnerable jobs in tourism employment, where they are more likely to experience dirty work, which is defined as unhygienic or undignified, and inequality of treatment, as well as violence and sexual harassment from colleagues and/or customers. Sexual harassment has pervaded women's work in the tourism sector with hospitality particularly having significantly higher incidence rates. While males do report situations of harassment, it is more likely to affect females and those who are younger and in low-paid positions (Poulston, 2008). Studies conducted in hotels and hospitality in Australia and New Zealand, respectively (Kensbock, Bailey, Jennings, & Patiar, 2015; Poulston, 2008), found high levels of workplace sexual harassment.

Rinaldi and Salerno (2019) highlighted that, in developing economies, there is great variation in women's overall employment, ranging from 30% in South Asia to more than 60% in Sub-Saharan Africa, yet national factors can limit women's progression. For instance, in the Middle East and North Africa only 5% of tourism firms have a female manager and, in Iran, though women are very well educated, governmental regulation prevents hotels from hiring women for senior positions (Rinaldi & Salerno, 2019). Importantly though where women are employed prior research suggested that *horizontal gender discrimination* in tourism employment relating to the gender pay gap is attributable to 45% earnings differential and 55% discrimination, and the discrimination is more about men being paid above the non-discriminating wage than women being paid below (Santos & Varejao, 2006; cited in Thrane, 2008). It is notable though that the gender pay gap in tourism is lower than in other sectors/industries (UNWTO, 2019). In a study of pay in the tourism sector in Spain, Munoz-Bullon (2009) found the wage gap results from segregation in type of contract held, qualifications required for the job, and sub-sector of employment; areas that have been penalising for women. Conversely, Sinclair (1997) highlighted that whilst women in Mexico suffer pay differentials from men, the earnings allow them to assert their independence. Such pay differentials, based on men being paid more simply for being male, also exist in developed economies (European Commission, 2016). A study highlighted significant pay gaps between male and female CEOs in tourism in Norway, even though it is an economy noted for its overall gender equality, and suggested the sector has small businesses into which women advance, while men may be more likely to advance in manufacturing organizations that tend to be larger and have greater remuneration levels (Skalpe, 2007). There are specific cultural factors in some economies around differentiating gender roles and undervaluing the paid work that women do, which exacerbate gender pay gaps, such as the view that women's primary role is as wives/mothers/carers for other family members and that their employment is secondary (see Hutchings et al., 2016).

Santero-Sanchez et al. (2015) noted several studies that confirm wage discrimination against women in tourism, and that women are under-represented in the type of tourism businesses where remuneration is greatest. They suggest that horizontal segregation reflects work being divided into feminised or masculinised activities. Baum (2013)

said that in tourism work women are generally employed as cleaners, servers, travel agency sales personal, and tour guides. Harris et al. (cited in Baum, 2013, p. 20) found that in tourism work women are traditionally 'employed in roles that are considered representative of their domestic roles, using the same skills base'. Indeed, the harmonisation of work and family life continues to be an issue that separates women from men in the labour market (Santero-Sanchez et al., 2015). Further, Santero-Sanchez et al. (2015) noted that women in tourism are more likely than men to face periods of unemployment, poorer employment contracts and a larger proportion of part-time work. In the sector there are significant amounts of other precarious work notably agency, contract or temporary or seasonal work, and these jobs have over-representation of women.

Santero-Sanchez et al. (2015) argue that *vertical gender segregation* is evident in tourism employment with very few women in higher-ranking positions. There are increasing numbers of women enrolling in higher education tourism courses including significant numbers of women from developing economies studying in developed economy universities, and this should enhance women's managerial positions (del Alonso-Almeida, 2013). However, it has been found that overall, few women participate in high-level training (UNWTO, 2019) in the tourism sector. Davidson, Guilding, and Timo (2006) noted that in hotel employment in Australia there is gender equity amongst line managers, although women remain very under-represented in higher managerial positions; suggesting that patronage and the 'old boy' network may be a factor affecting women's opportunities (Burke, Koyuncu, & Fiksenbaum, 2008). A study of the tourism sector in the UK found that promotion of employees uses informal and unwritten criteria bases without advertising posts and making appointments based on middle managers' recommendations (Baum, 2013). Marco (2012) suggested that in hotels, particularly, women are underrepresented in management and that this is partly due to stereotyping women as less loyal, less focused on long-term careers than men and unable to fully commit to long work days, split shifts, weekend and evening work due to commitments to child rearing. Moreover, Marco (2012) noted that women are perceived as less capable of leadership, less driven by extrinsic rewards, and less focused on organizational profitability. Considering hospitality, Boone et al. (2013) suggest that either self-imposed or family-imposed barriers, such as commitments to non-work responsibilities, is most salient in affecting women's advancement.

Despite mentoring being shown to improve women's careers (Vinnecombe & Singh, 2003), within tourism employment women are largely denied access to mentoring opportunities as well as promotion (Rydsik, Pritchard, Morgan, & Sedgley, 2012). Furthermore, with the exception of Scandinavia, women worldwide have had little advancement in boardrooms in the male-dominated tourism sector (Pritchard, 2014). Kossek, Su, and Wu (2017) highlighted that simply adopting mentoring or work-life policies, when not reinforced by a gender-inclusive climate, will likely result in adverse mechanisms, like stereotyping, and be unlikely to lead to career equality. Though tourism policy initiatives and development plans at a national level may assist in addressing gender inequalities, they are not universally applied and are more prominent in Africa and Europe than in Latin America and Asia and the Pacific (UNWTO, 2019).

3.2. Self-employment and the informal sector

Research on women in tourism employment also examines women in self-employment, particularly in the informal economy, defined as "where people work outside legal entities and therefore are not controlled by states/governments and are not subject to taxation or monitoring" (ILO, 2019). The informal economy is more prevalent in developing economies and tourism provides a good opportunity for women to enter the informal sector of employment through self-employment and entrepreneurship as the work tends to be a replication or extension of women's domestic work e.g., cooking, cleaning (Cave &

Kilic, 2010; del Alonso-Almeida, 2012). Such work done in homes might involve activities like making and selling products to tourists, food and traditional handicrafts e.g. the billum in Papua New Guinea (Andersen, 2015). The work may be considered culturally-acceptable in economies where women generally do not work outside the home or have few employment options (del Alonso-Almeida, 2012), although not all self-employment occurs in the informal sector.

Cole's (2018) book provides chapters examining case studies in developing and developed countries highlighting economic empowerment and transformational change that can occur for women in tourism work especially in self-employment. A study of Omani women working in tourism highlighted that the women view their work as a site of resistance for changing societal attitudes towards women (Al Mazro'ei & Shaw, 2013). An exploration of Moroccan female entrepreneurs highlighted that women's self-employment can contribute to them being agents of change in their societies, but that this needs to be supported by changing social values, government, community representatives and international agencies (del Alonso-Almeida, 2012). Women in the Dominican Republic are challenged in managing a double workload of work and family and negotiating new gender roles with men but work also gives them economic and social independence (Duffy, Kline, Mowatt, & Chancellor, 2015). Such research aligns with Ferguson's (2011) examination of tourism work as empowering and that women's interaction with international customers could expose them to other cultural norms, such as men taking primary responsibility for childcare.

Baum (2013) highlighted socio-cultural factors may contribute to the gendered division of work. Societal expectations in some developing economies include commitments not just to husbands/children but also to care of elderly parents and other family members (Hutchings et al., 2016). Yet, research on women's tourism in Asia has found varying views about women's work in relation to their families. Rinaldi and Salerno's (2019) study of organizations in India supporting rural women to enter the tourism job market, highlighted improvements in their income generation and consequently self-esteem and bargaining power within the family. Moore and Wen (2008) noted that women in China have more opportunities in tourism employment but also face great challenges in respect to work-life balance given intensification of work. In study of women's opportunities for tourism education and employment in tourism, Masadeh, Al-Ababneh, Al-Sabi, and Habiballah (2019) found beliefs about both strong opposition to female participation in this type of workforce through to full support of equal employment opportunities for women; with many of the participants saying they dissent dramatically from the cultural and social expectations of their families and society.

Women in developing economies may choose entrepreneurial activities viewed as an extension of their roles as wives as this allows them to work whilst avoiding cultural problems (del Alonso-Almeida, 2012). Intersectionality of gender and race, or gender and class, or gender, race and class can affect some women. Specifically, women who are of particular ethnic groups or live in rural or remote areas that are economically disadvantaged and do not have the same infrastructure and educational facilities as urban areas may suffer double or triple disadvantage. Other research suggests that the intersectionality of gender and ethnicity is not always negative and indeed indigenous women from parts of Mexico and Peru have had prominent roles to play in tourism through advancing culture capital (Babb, 2012). Supporting the view of intersectionality in tourism employment, Alarcón and Cole (2019) highlighted that women are not a homogenous group, and accordingly context specific intersectional approaches allow for critical unpacking of social relations, justice and power. They further suggested that the "leave no-one behind" pledge within the sustainable development goals of tourism development should focus attention on historically marginalised groups and commit to an intersectional approach (Alarcón & Cole, 2019: 904).

Women entrepreneurs tend to demonstrate higher levels of self-

efficacy skills when defining the core purpose of their business and in setting business strategies and practices, but they also have stronger place attachment (Hallak, Assaker, & Lee, 2015). Self-employment can be beneficial as it enables women with dependent children to have an option to earn an independent income, which is important should they lose their husband's/family's financial support (see Hutchings et al., 2016). Asfour (cited in Baum, 2013, p. 28), referring to Jordanian experience, said 'when you teach women a trade, they are able to teach other women and support so many members of their family'. However, though self-employment and other types of work in the informal sector may assist women to continue to undertake domestic responsibilities while meeting expectations/commitments to caring, it is often poorly paid, insecure work; and can be a place of violence and harassment (Rogerson, 2014).

4. Methods

This research explored tourism sector stakeholder perspectives of women's employment in the tourism sector in the 21 APEC member economies. An industry and expert opinion survey aimed to identify the broad tourism workforce gaps, as well as barriers to increasing tourism labour mobility, career pathways, staff retention and skills development across the APEC member economies was developed. The survey tool was a self-completion questionnaire, conducted online in Qualtrics, a web-based tool for survey administration and distribution. The questionnaire was designed by the research team to generate a mix of both quantitative and qualitative data. Key questions relating to women/gender were included by adapting items from Farndale, Vidović, and Rockey (2015). The larger survey, shown as Appendix A, included a critical sub-section of items aimed at specifically addressing women in tourism employment. Given this focus and the continuing noted inequities for women in tourism employment, we did not study men's employment specifically or seek to make direct comparisons between men's and women's employment. The questionnaire was independently reviewed by APEC member representatives, sector experts, and experts in survey design at Tourism Research Australia (TRA), which resulted in modifications to the questionnaire. This survey was pilot tested with key experts from an expert advisory group (EAG) and two informants from two of the APEC economies to assess the mechanics of the survey. In a unique methodological contribution to research in this area, and to increase participation in relevant economies, the English version of the survey was translated into nine additional languages: Korean, Japanese, Bahasa Indonesia, Bahasa Malaysia, Russian, Simplified Chinese, Spanish, Thai and Vietnamese.

Members of the APEC Tourism Working Group (TWG) were directly invited by the APEC Secretariat to participate in the survey. Participation by key industry representatives was invited via the APEC TWG, and via an industry contractor whose membership includes organizations located within APEC economies. Methods used to contact these stakeholders included direct email, website postings and the use of the social media platforms, Facebook and LinkedIn. Several stakeholder groups were targeted to participate in the survey, including:

- Mid-level officials from the 21 APEC economies;
- Small, medium, and large tourism businesses nominated from each economy;
- Women and youth advocates from each economy including but not limited to the Pacific;
- Academics and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) concerned with women; and youth issues, the visitor economy, and transnational workforces.

In addition, the EAG were asked to provide a list of suggested stakeholders as potential respondents. The chain-referral (snow-ball sampling) method of key informant sampling (Heckathorn, 1997) was employed by asking initial participants in the survey to provide

suggestions for other potential expert informants. The aim was to achieve at least five informant responses in each of the 21 economies. The iterative sampling selection aimed to capture 50% of the survey respondents as either women or youth but as respondents self-selected to participate, the responses were not exactly gender or age equal.

Direct email distribution to around 5000 contacts was undertaken using contact lists provided by research partners with established connections with tourism businesses in the Asia Pacific. While there were emails that bounced back, around 525 respondents commenced the survey. Respondents who did not provide a response to country of residence and/or type of respondent were deleted from the database. Of those remaining, only 363 responses were deemed usable for the analysis of gender related issues. This is a response rate of around 7.5%, which is relatively high for an online survey directed at busy business people and government officials in an era of "survey-fatigue" (Schoenherr, Ellram, & Tate, 2015). The highest response was from Australia, followed by Indonesia. The highest respondent type was 'business manager' followed by 'government respondent'. The respondents included 48% female and 52% male. The greatest number of respondents identified themselves as between 40 and 44 years, reflecting 19% of the responses.

The data was downloaded from Qualtrics in SPSS format, merged by economy, and then converted to STATA v.14 for analysis. Statistical tests undertaken on the data were either Wilcoxon-Mann-Whitney rank-sum tests, or Kruskal-Wallis equality-of-populations rank tests. These tests are used when there is an ordinal, rather than an interval, dependent variable. Selecting which to use depends on the number of categories in the categorical variable, with two requiring the former and more than two requiring the latter test. The non-English open-ended survey response data was translated into English. The comments in response to this question were grouped together into categories of themes on similar topics using open and axial coding (Corbin & Strauss, 1990).

The economies were grouped into minor group levels using the Standard Australian Classification of Economies (SACC) 2016 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2016) to ensure a sufficient sample for the analysis. Because Russia had a relatively low sample and was the only economy in Europe, it was grouped with North-East Asia, as it borders some of these economies. The economies are grouped as follows:

- Oceania: Australia, New Zealand (NZ), and Papua New Guinea
- Americas: Canada, Chile, Mexico, Peru, and United States
- South-East Asia: Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Malaysia, Republic of the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Viet Nam
- North-East Asia & Russia: People's Republic of China, Hong Kong, China, Japan, Republic of Korea, Chinese Taipei, and Russia.

Another grouping used for analysis was the US/Canada/Australia/NZ versus the remaining APEC economies. The rationale for doing so is that all these economies belong to what cultural theorists have grouped as an Anglo cluster (GLOBE, 2018), and while we recognised that there is cultural diversity within individual economies, there are some cultural traditions between these countries and similar labour conditions within this group given their shared legislative histories. Whilst there were respondents from all targeted stakeholder groups within the economy groupings, the numbers were not equal within economies. See Tables 1 and 2 for more detail of respondents by economy, economy group, and respondent type, and selected business respondent analysis.

Lastly, we undertook principal component factor (PCF) analysis on the variables relating to perceptions of women's employment to identify those countries with 'quality' jobs being more common. The PCF analysis identified three quality job types: management, full-time work and permanent work (see Table 5). These three variables were then used to create a simple 'quality jobs' variable; generated by taking the row mean of the three variables then converting this into a binary variable

Table 1
Economies and economy groups.

Economies and economy groups	Freq.	Percent
Australia	82	23%
New Zealand	10	3%
Papua New Guinea	16	4%
Oceania	108	30%
Canada	9	3%
Chile	3	1%
Mexico	31	8%
Peru	18	5%
United States	13	4%
Americas	74	20%
Brunei Darussalam	1	0%
Indonesia	46	13%
Malaysia	10	3%
Republic of the Philippines	18	5%
Singapore	4	1%
Thailand	24	6%
Viet Nam	8	2%
South-East Asia	111	31%
People's Republic of China	18	5%
Hong Kong, China	11	3%
Republic of Korea	6	2%
Japan	10	3%
Chinese Taipei	23	6%
Russia	2	1%
North-East Asia & Russia	70	19%

Table 2
Respondent profile by economy groups.

Variables	Oceania	Americas	South-East Asia	North-East Asia & Russia
Type of respondent				
Government respondent	16	16	24	10
Business owner	21	3	10	7
Business manager	34	17	25	27
Employee	18	13	18	17
Non-governmental organization	10	9	10	2
Academic	8	12	14	7
Other	6	5	14	2
Gender				
Percentage of female respondents	49%	55%	48%	40%
Key age groups				
18–29 years	7%	13%	10%	10%
30–49 years	48%	50%	70%	68%
50+ years	46%	37%	20%	23%

for quality jobs being ‘common’ if the mean was closer to 1 and ‘uncommon’ if the mean was closer to 0 (as per how the question was asked). Four new composite variables were then created using four blocks of questions relating to employee programs, workplace policies, career development strategies and government schemes. These were constructed by taking the row total of these binary variables and ensuring that those respondents not asked the questions remained as missing values in the new variable. These new composite variables were then used as independent variables in a logistic regression with bootstrap resampling standard errors on the quality jobs variable to see if any were significant predictors of job quality controlling for the major country groups. As not all respondents were asked each of the four question blocks (as some questions were posed to government respondents while some being posed to other respondents), we ran separate logistic regressions for each composite variable.

5. Results

5.1. Respondents' perceptions of the tourism labour force and women's employment

Respondents were asked to describe the features defining the majority of the tourism labour force in their economy, based on whether the feature was common or uncommon (binary coded). There were differences between the major economy group in terms of skill level ($\chi^2(3, 243) = 11.85, p < .01$), employment type ($\chi^2(3, 243) = 18.497, p < .01$), business size ($\chi^2(3, 243) = 17.5, p < .01$) and labour mobility ($\chi^2(3, 243) = 8.68, p = .03$). There were also significant differences between US/Canada/Australia/NZ and other economies in terms of skill level ($Z = -2.231, p = .026$), employment type ($Z = -3.59, p < .01$) and business size ($Z = -3.16, p < .01$).

organizations across the economy groupings ranged from having mostly male, mostly female or balanced gender workplaces, with balanced being the norm. Government and other respondents e.g., academics, were asked whether it was common or uncommon to find women working in various types of tourism jobs in their economies (see Fig. 1). There was no significant difference by type of respondent. There were, however, significant differences by major economy groups in terms of management ($\chi^2(3, 222) = 15.865, p < .01$), part-time work ($\chi^2(3, 218) = 11.242, p = .01$), contract work ($\chi^2(3, 218) = 9.823, p = .02$), seasonal employment ($\chi^2(3, 214) = 9.855, p = .02$), and self-employment ($\chi^2(3, 218) = 10.9, p = .01$). Notably, South-East Asian respondents indicated it was common to find women in management than the other major economy groups.

There were only two significant differences by US/Canada/Australia/NZ and other APEC economies and that was for seasonal employment ($Z = -2.90, p < .01$) and self-employment ($Z = 2.99,$

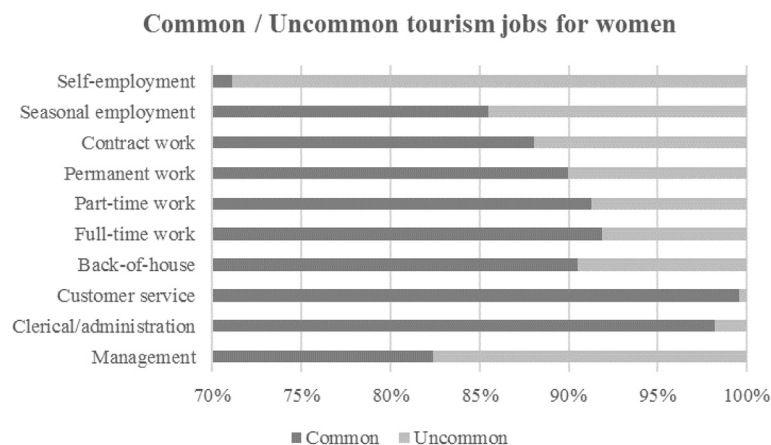


Fig. 1. Common/uncommon tourism jobs for women.

Table 3
Cultural barriers identified.

Cultural barrier theme	Regions that mentioned barrier	Exemplar quotes from each region
Gender discrimination (i.e. male domination, machismo, misogyny)	Oceania Americas Southeast Asia North Asia	“Discrimination by men” [Australian Respondent] “Machismo” [Mexican Respondent] “Gender discrimination” [Malaysian Respondent] “Male domination” [Japanese Respondent]
Perception of deficiencies in women's skills (e.g. negotiation, decision making, weakness)	Oceania Americas Southeast Asia	“Negotiation skills in career progression.” [Australian Respondent] “Cultural aspects related to the perception of women's capacity to make decisions” [Mexican Respondent] “Women are still considered weak and cannot provide a solution if there is a problem” [Indonesian Respondent]
Work/family conflict (e.g. cannot travel)	Americas Southeast Asia North Asia	“Difficult balance between personal and labor life” [Peruvian Respondent] “There are some cases that cause women to choose to take care of children and households” [Indonesian Respondent] “Women are encouraged to get married and have children at a relatively young age” [Chinese Respondent]
Lack of workplace flexibility & support (e.g. flexible work hours, shift work)	Oceania Southeast Asia	“It is difficult for mothers with young children to continue working because of shift work” [PNG Respondent] “Lack of support for nursing mothers/pregnant women in the workplace” [Republic of the Philippines Respondent]
Cultural perceptions of women's roles	Southeast Asia North Asia	“The Filipinos' conservative and traditional observance of old culture and not being liberal on embracing other culture especially in the western world” [Republic of the Philippines Respondent]
Differences in women's opportunities	Southeast Asia	“Female participation in the tourism industry is still limited due to condition of the areas e.g. not yet an advance region, in which not many tourism schools available or affordable” [Indonesian Respondent]
Women perceived as not as committed to work	Southeast Asia	“Obstacles to women's personal issues such as maternity leave, estrogen leave, etc.” [Indonesian Respondent]
Sexual harassment at work	Americas	“There are also concerns about sexual harassment of frontline female hospitality employees.” [Canadian Respondent]
Intersection of gender and race/ethnicity or gender and class	Southeast Asia North Asia Americas	“For some ethnic group women are not common working in the public sphere.” [Indonesian Respondent] “.....towards religious perceptions/considerations.” [Malaysian Respondent] “Vulnerable groups” [Chinese Respondent] “In the rural sector, women who leave to work in the tourist industry must leave their children and families in the communities, there is no support for families not to separate.” [Mexican Respondent] “In general, in large cities there are no obstacles, only in smaller towns or villages there is still discrimination against women, such as in developing a business.” [Indonesian Respondent]

$p < .01$). In the US/Canada/Australia/NZ, nearly all respondents (99%) indicated that women commonly worked in seasonal employment, while only 86% indicated this in other economies. For self-employment, only 24% of respondents in US/Canada/Australia/NZ indicated that this was a common tourism job for women, while 46% of respondents in other economies indicated that it was common.

An open-ended survey question asked respondents to comment on any perceived barriers to women's employment in the tourism sector in their economy. While several respondents felt there were no barriers for women or that women were better off in tourism employment than other sectors, the majority said that there were cultural issues affecting women. The primary cultural barrier themes including some representative quotes are displayed in Table 3. Notably, gender discrimination was mentioned across the region, while perceptions of deficiencies in women's skills and work/family conflict were quite common. Differences in opportunities and religion/cultural perceptions were less common and regionally-focused. Some of the respondents did not answer the open-ended questions to provide qualitative comments about cultural barriers to women's opportunities in tourism employment. However, those that did provide comments generally only wrote a few words or phrases. While there is limited ability to generalise from these comments, the comments did provide descriptive summaries of cultural barriers such as machismo and expectations of women's primary commitment to family being in conflict with work; issues that resonate with themes identified in the gender literature.

5.2. Equal employment opportunities

Kruskal-Wallis equality of populations rank test found no significant difference by economy group in terms of business respondents' responses to the statements ‘Employees are paid above the award wage rate’, ‘Eligible employees are personally notified of management vacancies’, ‘Pay is based on experience, qualifications and performance’, and ‘All employees have equal access to ‘perks’ of the job’. There were slight differences between economy group for the statements ‘All employees can apply for promotion’ ($\chi^2(3, 128) = 8.72, p = .033$) and ‘The number of males and females in management positions is recorded’ ($\chi^2(3, 114) = 8.67, p = .034$). In both cases the Americas economy group was more likely to agree with the statements than the other economies. Grouping the US, Canada, Australia and NZ and comparing against the other economies found no significant differences between the variables.

Two-sample Wilcoxon rank-sum (Mann-Whitney) tests comparisons were also made between owners/managers and employees for these variables. Generally, there were no significant differences between the two groups except for the statement that ‘Pay is based on experience, qualifications and performance’ ($\chi^2(1, 132) = 4.78, p = .029$). However, an additional median test failed to reject that there is no difference between owners/managers and employees (Pearson $\chi^2(1, 132) = 2.03, p = .154$). Thus, there is probably no significant difference between perceptions of owners/managers and employees for these variables.

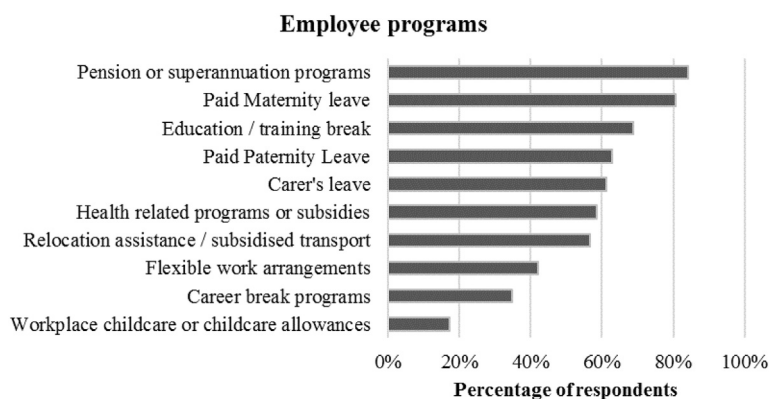


Fig. 2. Employee programs.

5.3. Employee programs

The respondents were asked to indicate whether certain types of employee programs are or are not available to employees (see Fig. 2). Chi-square goodness-of-fit tests found no significant differences between the major economies in terms of pension or superannuation programs (Pearson $\chi^2(3, 126) = 2.155, p = .541$), education/training break (Pearson $\chi^2(3, 125) = 2.345, p = .508$), career break programs (Pearson $\chi^2(3, 109) = 7.234, p = .065$), flexible working arrangements (Pearson $\chi^2(3, 121) = 3.922, p = .270$) or relocation assistance/subsidised transport (Pearson $\chi^2(3, 113) = 3.211, p = .360$). There were also no significant differences between workplace childcare or childcare allowances (Pearson $\chi^2(3, 103) = 1.631, p = .652$), with respondents generally indicating that this was not available.

However, there were significant differences between Oceania and the other economies for paid maternity leave (Pearson $\chi^2(3, 129) = 31.61, p < .001$). Tabulation from respondents to this question by economy for those who indicated that they did not have access to paid maternity leave showed that 14 (56%) were from Australia and 7 (28%) from Papua New Guinea. This may reflect the framing of the question in that respondents interpreted this question as access to these programs being supplied by the business, as in Australia, the government does provide a paid parental leave scheme for eligible workers (Department of Human Services, 2017). A similar result was found for paid paternity leave (Pearson $\chi^2(3, 121) = 17.71, p < .001$), although it was not quite as prevalent as paid maternity leave.

A significant difference was found between the Americas and other economies for carer's leave (Pearson $\chi^2(3, 114) = 13.37, p = .004$), with the Americas being less likely to have this type of leave. Cross-tabulation by economy for those who indicated that they did not have access to carer's leave showed that the largest majority were from Mexico (25%). In addition, there were significant differences between health-related programs or subsidies by economy group (Pearson $\chi^2(3, 121) = 13.35, p = .004$), with those in Oceania (especially Australia at 42%) being more likely to indicate that these programs were not available.

5.4. Workplace policies

The respondents were asked to indicate whether certain types of workplace policies are or are not available in their business (see Fig. 3). Most indicated that they had an occupational health and safety policy. There were no significant differences by workplace policies and economy group and also no significant difference by business owner/managers and employees. However, there was a significant difference between the US/Canada/Australia/NZ and the other economies in terms of an external EEO expert being available to be consulted about workplace issues (Pearson $\chi^2(1, 97) = 9.87, p = .002$), with the former economies being more likely to have access to EEO expert than

the latter.

5.5. Career development strategies for women

The business and employee respondents were asked to what extent their business uses career development strategies for women (see Fig. 4 and Table 4). The most commonly used technique is on-the-job training, followed by coaching or mentoring, project team work and special tasks or projects. The least used techniques were international work assignments and formal networking programs. Using the Wilcoxon rank-sum test, there were no significant differences between the US/Canada/Australia/NZ and other economies. Kruskal-Wallis equality-of-populations rank test found that Asian economies were significantly more likely to use international work assignments ($\chi^2(3, 85) = 9.75, p = .021$), formal networking programs ($\chi^2(3, 89) = 8.97, p = .03$) and job rotation or secondment ($\chi^2(3, 96) = 20.02, p < .01$) as strategies for developing women's careers. Using the Wilcoxon rank-sum test, employees (Mdn = 3.9) were found to be significantly less likely than business owners and managers (Mdn = 4.3) to believe that their business was using coaching or mentoring to develop women's careers ($Z = 2.704, p = .007$). Similarly, employees (Mdn = 3.6) were significantly less likely than business owners and managers (Mdn = 4.2) to believe that their business was providing special tasks or projects to develop women's careers ($Z = 2.60, p = .009$). Importantly, across the economies, 39% reported a lack of career pathways, 32% reported a lack of on-the-job training and 36% suggested there were limited and outdated human resource management (HRM) policies.

5.6. Government programs for tourism employees

In respect to whether the respondent was aware of any government provided programs for tourism employees in their economy (see Fig. 5), there were no significant differences by type of respondent. There were significant differences between US/Canada/Australia/NZ and other economies in terms of apprenticeship schemes ($Z = 3.24, p < .01$), with apprenticeships being more likely in the former. The data was checked for unique identifiers, but this was negative, therefore the Kruskal-Wallis equality of populations rank test chi-squared with ties results were used. The results reveal significant differences by major economy group for all government schemes except for a website/brochure about tourism training/employment. South Asia was more likely to have scholarships for women ($\chi^2(3, 163) = 10.10, p = .018$) and government grants for women entrepreneurs/small businesses ($\chi^2(3, 163) = 8.87, p = .031$). Oceania and South Asia were more likely to have apprenticeship schemes than other major economy groups ($\chi^2(3, 163) = 10.30, p = .016$).

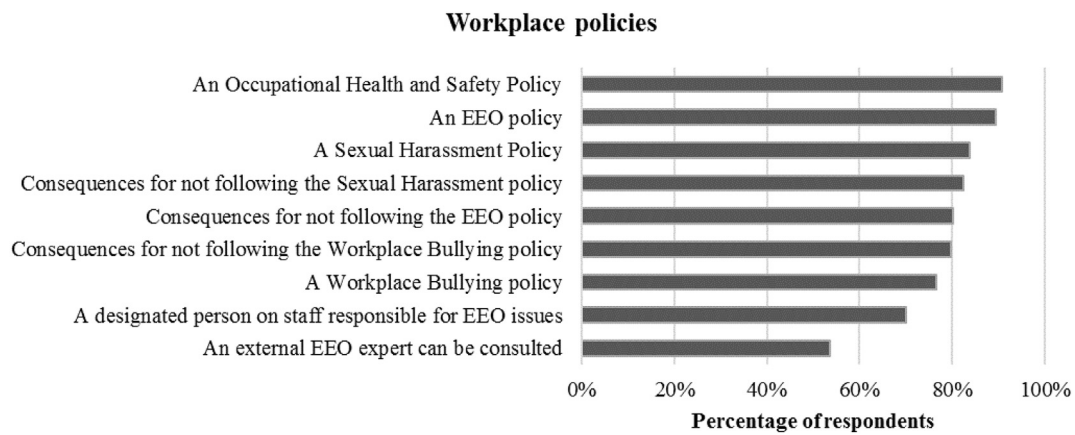


Fig. 3. Workplace policies.

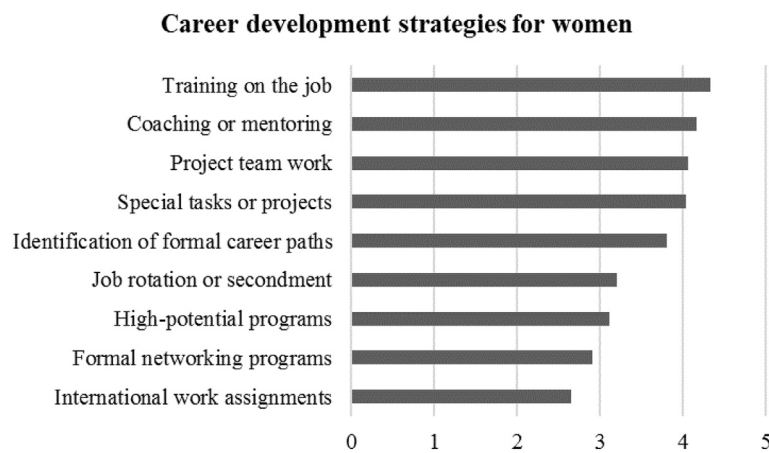


Fig. 4. Career development strategies for women.

Table 4
Career development strategies for women – statistical analysis.

Variable	Mean	Median	Standard Deviation	Skewness	Kurtosis
Training on the job	4.3	4.5	0.811	-1.44	5.5
Project team work	4.1	4	0.94	-0.69	2.8
Coaching or mentoring	4.2	4	0.91	-1.13	4.0
Special tasks or projects	4.0	4	1.1	-1.2	3.9
Identification of formal career paths	3.8	4	1.2	-0.89	3.0
High-potential programs (e.g. women leadership)	3.1	3	1.4	-1.89	1.8
International work assignments	2.7	2	1.4	0.21	1.7
Formal networking programs	2.9	3	1.4	0.04	1.6
Job rotation or secondment	3.2	4	1.32	-0.34	1.9

5.7. Programs, policies and strategies that lead to higher quality jobs for women

Logistic regression with bootstrap resampling, controlling for the major economy groups, allowed us to explore whether employee programs, workplace policies, career development strategies or government schemes had any relationship with the quality of jobs for women. Our results show that when controlling for major country group, employee programs, workplace policies, and career development strategies have no significant difference on the quality of jobs for women. However, the presence of government schemes are a significant predictor of quality jobs, even when controlling for major country group (see Table 6). The government scheme composite variable reflects the presence of a website or brochure about tourism training/employment, apprenticeship schemes for women tourism employees, grants for women entrepreneurs/in small businesses in tourism, or scholarships

for women. These results suggest that these targeted government programs are able to improve the quality of jobs in tourism for women; that is, women are more likely to achieve full-time or permanent positions or gain employment in a management role.

6. Discussion

In the following section we summarise our key results in relation to a) extant research on women in tourism employment, and b) intersectionality theory and work-family conflict theory.

6.1. Contributions to extant research on women in tourism employment

In moving beyond descriptive analysis to statistical analysis and comparison with earlier scholarly research, this study examined the extent to which gender segregation is evident in tourism employment

Table 5
Rotated factor loadings and unique variances from Principal-Component Factor Analysis.

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Uniqueness Score
Q43_1 – Management	0.721			0.3748
Q43_2 – Clerical/administration				0.8127
Q43_3 – Customer Service			0.744	0.4162
Q43_4 – Back-of-house				0.6571
Q43_5 – Full-time work	0.767			0.4034
Q43_6 – Part-time work			0.694	0.3994
Q43_7 – Permanent Work	0.808			0.2477
Q43_8 – Contract work		0.801		0.3578
Q43_9 – Seasonal employment		0.604		0.3747
Q43_10 – self-employment		0.606		0.5738

Number of obs. = 211; Retained factors = 3; Number of params = 27; LR test: independent vs. saturated: $\chi^2(45) = 346.52$ Prob > $\chi^2 = 0.0000$; Rotation: orthogonal varimax (Kaiser off).

across the APEC region. While the most recent multi-country study, the UNWTO Global Report on Women in Tourism (2019) which draws on survey data and information from a range of organizations, examined Africa, Asia and the Pacific, Europe and Latin America and Caribbean, our multi-industry, multi-stakeholder survey, conducted in ten languages, focused on 21 APEC economies on the Pacific Rim located in Oceania, Southeast Asia, North Asia, Russia, Latin America, and North America. Like the UNWTO (2019) report, our study examined aspects of women's participation in tourism employment, but our survey also analysed barriers and opportunities for women's career progression in specific relation to organizational HRM practices and policies and government programs. Similar to the UNWTO (2019) report that provided recommendations to enhance women's employment in tourism, we provide strategies specifically in relation to HRM policy and practice and importantly also make suggestions for government policy interventions in economies. The UNWTO (2019) report found women: are a large proportion of the formal tourism workforce, are poorly represented at professional levels, earn less than their male counterparts, are twice as many employers as in other sectors, are a higher proportion of own account/self-employed workers than in other sectors, and, do a large amount of unpaid work in family tourism businesses. We also found women are underrepresented in management but our study found more balanced gender workplaces though wages were generally viewed as low, and though women are increasing in self-employment

these numbers were low in the developed economies. In our study gender discrimination was mentioned across the region with women facing WFC, exclusion from networks, insufficient role models, and dominant masculine cultures with some evidence of marginalisation by age, ethnicity, and rural location also. We also found limited evidence of use of HRM policies and practices. Importantly our study extends earlier studies in providing perceptions of a range of tourism employment stakeholders including government and academia.

The results of our study confirm earlier research on gender in employment across sectors and industries that has found both horizontal segregation resulting in occupational divisions with women doing more part-time, casual and seasonal work (Cave & Kilic, 2010; Santero-Sanchez et al., 2015; Segovia-Perez et al., 2019), and vertical segregation with women being under-represented in management (Segovia-Perez et al., 2019; UNWTO, 2019). What could not be ascertained from the current research is whether women who are in senior tourism positions tend to be in typically female-dominated roles, such as human resources and executive assistants (as previously noted by Cave & Kilic, 2010). While there were no discernible differences across economy groupings in relation to pay, there was a strong view across the groups that wages are low or at best balanced, with only a very few respondents suggesting high wages in the sector; which contrasts with recent findings that tourism gender pay gaps are not as prevalent as in other sectors (UNWTO, 2019).

The respondents indicated that women are underrepresented in management (reflective of the glass ceiling/elevator; see Casini, 2016). Though the UNWTO (2019) found increasing attention to women's employment rights and improvements in legal protections, our study found limited use of HRM policies and practices that might assist women's progression. Notably, 32% of respondents signalled that there was limited on-the-job training for employees, 39% reported a lack of career pathways, and 36% suggested there were limited or outdated HRM policies. On-the-job training and career pathways are valuable for male and female employees but research has suggested that women particularly benefit from HRM policies to assist them with managing WFC. Though many respondents reported organizations having sexual harassment and EEO policies, these policies were not supported by external EEO consultation. Employee programs were also limited across the economy groupings. Although many respondents reported provision of maternity and paternity leave, and slightly fewer reported carer's leave, there was almost no provision of workplace childcare or allowances, indicating challenges for women in balancing WFC (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985) particularly when progressing into management roles. Though our results reinforce WFC theory, we do move beyond

Table 6
Logistic regressions with bootstrap resampling standard errors of policies and programs against perceived quality of jobs.

Variables	Dependent variable: perceived quality of jobs			
	Observed Coef.	Bootstrap Std. Err.	z	p > z
M1: Employee Programs (employeeprograms)	0.0236	0.1057	0.22	.824
Major Country Group Control (Q2a)	0.3446	0.4526	0.76	.446
Constant Term	1.2847	0.6054	2.12	.034
M2: Workplace Policies (workplacepolicies)	0.1719	0.1076	1.6	.11
Major Country Group Control (Q2a)	0.3659	0.3647	1	.316
Constant Term	0.4145	0.8198	0.51	.613
M3: Career Development Strategies (careerstrategies)	-0.3314	0.2110	-1.57	.116
Major Country Group Control (Q2a)	0.2487	0.3666	0.68	.498
Constant Term	1.9822	0.8433	2.35	.019
M4: Government Schemes (govschemes)	1.4429	0.5766	2.5	.012
Major Country Group Control (Q2a)	1.0156	0.4143	2.45	.014
Constant Term	-1.2851	0.9040	-1.42	.155

***p < .01, **p < .05, *p < .10, Bootstrap replications (50),

M1: Number of obs = 118, Wald $\chi^2(2) = 1.19$, Prob > $\chi^2 = 0.5525$, Log likelihood = -37.841457, Pseudo R2 = 0.0246.

M2: Number of obs = 118, Wald $\chi^2(2) = 4.86$, Prob > $\chi^2 = 0.0881$, Log likelihood = -36.230784, Pseudo R2 = 0.0662.

M3: Number of obs = 106, Wald $\chi^2(2) = 3.25$, Prob > $\chi^2 = 0.1966$, Log likelihood = -32.503849, Pseudo R2 = 0.0800.

M4: Number of obs = 103, Wald $\chi^2(2) = 12.11$, Prob > $\chi^2 = 0.0023$, Log likelihood = -28.009715, Pseudo R2 = 0.1996.

Government schemes for women tourism employees

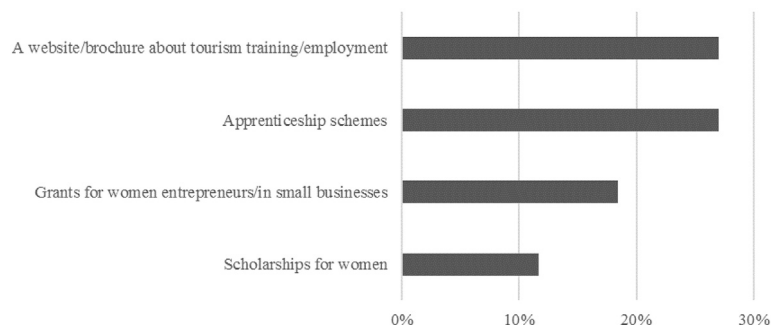


Fig. 5. Government schemes for women tourism employees.

suggesting the continuation of a problem by highlighting the value of government-provided programs, such as apprenticeships, for women's progression into quality jobs like management roles.

The results show much more emphasis on recruitment, rather than training/development, of women. This is a concern given that it has been suggested that women lack high level and soft skills training needed to ensure career progression (UNWTO, 2019). Our study contributes to the limited knowledge about training/education of women (UNWTO, 2019) which has suggested training is limited in tourism employment (Rydsik et al., 2012) and, in identifying the need for more training, our study has particular implications for women from poor and rural families. A large proportion of respondents suggested on-the-job training and coaching/mentoring were emphasised in organizations in their economies, but there was considerably less attention on formal networking and high-potential mentoring including working with role models. This is disquieting given it has been shown to be beneficial for improving women's longer-term career advancement prospects (Vinnecombe & Singh, 2003). Kossek et al. (2017) highlight that simply adopting mentoring or work–life policies, when not reinforced by a gender-inclusive climate, will likely result in adverse mechanisms, like stereotyping; limiting career equality. It can be argued that female role models and promotion opportunities in tourism employment may have the potential to redress women's segregation. However, this will only occur within a supportive organizational climate and organizational culture that both recognises women's competing commitments between work/life responsibilities, and, works against dominant masculine (national) cultures and gender bias.

A very small percentage of respondents indicated that there are government grants for women entrepreneurs and scholarships in their economy but, where they were provided, there were more women in quality jobs including management and more secure forms of work like full-time positions. The lack of scholarships may reflect a perception that skills need to be customised on-the-job with there being limits to what can be achieved in training through university scholarships. However, given that women working in self-employment and other roles in the informal sector (del Alonso-Almeida, 2012), it may be they are using this type of work as a tool to manage family responsibilities – and support their wider community – by working at home. Moreover, such work can be a source of empowerment and social change (Cole, 2018; Duffy et al., 2015; Ferguson, 2011); indicating the need for greater government support for women in small business.

6.2. Contributions to intersectionality theory and work-family conflict theory

Earlier research suggests that women in the tourism sector may work in the most vulnerable jobs and are likely to experience poor working conditions and also violence, exploitation, and sexual harassment (Baum, 2013; Poulston, 2008; Santero-Sanchez et al., 2015). In contrast to the findings of the UNWTO (2019) this study reveals low

pay across the APEC economies and evidence of difficult or uncomfortable working conditions; indicating poor working conditions for a proportion of female employees. Moreover, there was evidence that cultural barriers and perceptions influence women's ability to work, as well as perceptions of their commitment to, and capabilities at, work. In particular, gender discrimination and negative perceptions of women were widespread across the Asia-Pacific. Thus, the results support research on women's employment across sectors that suggests women face barriers of WFC, gender bias, exclusion from networks, insufficient role models, and dominant masculine cultures.

On the latter point, a number of respondents highlighted that women's reduced opportunities in the tourism sector were affected by cultural barriers like perceptions of women's abilities and men's dominance/patriarchy in society. It was interesting that in the Americas grouping there was slightly more agreement to there being equal employment opportunities even though this same grouping includes several economies that also noted, in their qualitative comments, the predominance of machismo in the workplace as affecting women's opportunities. Also, in North Asia increasing age of workers was deemed to affect women's opportunities, which is likely related to expected commitments to family being prevalent in certain age brackets and earlier retirement ages than in the developed economies. In North Asia reference was also made to vulnerable groups, which may refer to ethnicity or other marginalisation, and in Southeast Asia respondents referred to dual challenges for employees who are female and from rural/remote areas which often also have lower socio-economic standing, or of particular ethnicities. Although these points were not expanded upon, it accords with intersectionality theory's multiple levels of discrimination (see Collins, 2015; Crenshaw, 1989) and in particular in relation to tourism employment (Alarcón & Cole, 2019). Moreover, cultural factors can contribute to gender discrimination and labour market segregation where cultural values imbued in women from childhood can impact on their career development (see Insch, McIntyre, & Napier, 2008). Though the number of respondents in individual economies meant that it was not possible to examine relationships between gender and ethnicity and class or rural/urban divides, our research suggest the likelihood of intersectionality, and contributes to scholarly discussion about such in tourism employment.

Stereotyping of women's abilities and expected roles in society may be compounded by WFC which occurs when people experience conflict between role commitments, specifically that work roles are deemed as interfering with family roles (Bennett et al., 2017; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Moreover, women may impose barriers on their own career involvement, development and progression when they choose to limit work hours and/or roles or will not relocate for work due to commitments to family – significant given that advancements in careers tend to coincide with child rearing years (see Boone et al., 2013). Some respondents noted, in their qualitative comments, the challenges for women relocating from rural areas to improve their job/career prospects given family commitments. In Anglo economies like Australia,

Canada, New Zealand, and the USA it may be difficult to access places in paid childcare, but for some women the costs of doing so are partly offset by government funding. In many emerging economies in Asia and Latin America there is considerable availability of home help and early retirement ages may allow women in paid employment to access childcare from older family members. Thus, our results suggest that cultural, and, in some cases, organizational, stereotypes about women's inability to commit to the demands of managerial roles due to WFC need to be critiqued with reference to specific economies and cultures.

As a preliminary study examining the views of a range of stakeholders across APEC economies, our study contributes by commencing a theoretical discussion around women in tourism employment by providing understanding of HRM, organizational and government strategies that can be implemented to address ongoing issues of horizontal and vertical segregation.

6.3. organizational and policy directions

The results reveal that women in the APEC economies, even those in more developed economies, still have limited opportunity for career progression; resulting in fewer women in middle-upper level management roles. Respondents viewed skills development, on-the-job training, and formal education as critical for developing women's capacity to gain high-level roles in the tourism sector. Moreover, there was a link between government-provided training in the form of apprenticeships and progression into quality work such as secure full-time work and management roles.

The challenges for women in tourism employment can be partially addressed through organizational cultural change emanating from three key stakeholders, namely, industry operators, training and community-based organizations, and government. Active collaboration between these three stakeholder groups holds the key to changing the way women are perceived and their capacity to contribute to the predicted growth of the tourism industry in the APEC region (WTTC, 2017b).

The tourism sector has the capacity to lead change by creating cultures supporting the inclusion and advancement of women through innovative workplace policies and programs. Such policies can address wage differentials, paid parental leave, and provision of childcare support and/or carer's leave. Other policy options include adopting more 'family-friendly' approaches at work, including working from home or teleworking. Such flexibility may be challenging for tourism given the dominance of service provision in the sector but flexible options could be adjusted to role, context, and location. Broadly a relationship between high performance HRM practices and job performance has been found in the hotel industry (Sobaih, Ibrahim, & Gabry, 2019). We suggest that having HRM best practice in relation to work-life balance, including flexible work hours, job-share arrangements, and career breaks is important but must be tailored to cultural requirements in specific economies in order to lead to people performing better in their work.

Given that formal education was identified as one pathway to greater levels of EEO and pay equity organizations should form stronger alliances with education providers to develop programs, curriculum and methods of delivery that recognise the broader roles of women in society. Delivery methods could make greater use of online learning; thus providing better opportunities to enable women with child-rearing or home duties to participate. There are women being appointed to significant management or executive level roles internationally, such as current President and CEO of the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) Mrs. Gloria Guevara Manzo (WTTC, 2017a). This progress provides women in tourism with strong role models and the possibility to benefit from formalised women-centric mentoring programs, where experience and performance is mapped for up-and-coming managers.

Initiatives in economies have assisted in improving women's employment in tourism such as APEC running both a *Tourism Working Group and Policy Partnership on Women and the Economy Working Group*

(see UNWTO, 2019) that seeks to empower the female workforce. However, a particular policy gap highlighted by this research though is the need to develop support for women entrepreneurs in the provision of EEO. Adapting Peru's 'National Tourism Quality Plan' (APEC 2017), which aims to support small business through training and operator recognition, to incorporate a focus on women, is one such option. As there is some initial evidence from this research that women may suffer double or triple disadvantage of intersectionality (see Collins, 2015; Crenshaw, 1989; Pritchard, 2014 cited in Pritchard, 2018) where they are from rural/remote, and often lower socio-economic, areas and/or of marginalised ethnic groups it is important to consider initiatives to assist women who are disadvantaged.

A cross-institutional whole-of-government approach by government agencies can support the improvement of women's experience of employment in the sector. For instance, women's departments in government could engage with, amongst others, tourism departments to ensure women's issues are front-of-mind, addressed and opportunities improved. Such cross-institutional approaches are critical for the effective design of scholarship and apprenticeship programs for women. While these programs are often seen as the responsibility of education departments, collaboration with government departments responsible for women's affairs, tourism, and community development or small business, can be of significant benefit to ensure tailored approaches. Scholarship programs that incorporate training and industry experience initiatives can support the development and career advancement of women while also supporting small businesses in tourism.

7. Conclusions, limitations and issues for future research

The advancement of women's equality is estimated to contribute an additional USD\$12trillion to global growth (McKinsey Global Institute, 2015). For the global tourism sector, women already provide substantial contributions as noted in this research. Yet, as evidenced from the literature reviewed and results reported in this paper, women continue to face substantial employment challenges in tourism. Our results support earlier research suggesting horizontal and vertical gender segregation is prevalent in tourism employment (Segovia-Perez et al., 2019) in that these geographically distant and culturally and economically diverse economies in Asia-Pacific all show degrees of significant disadvantage for women's tourism employment. In addressing Morgan and Pritchard's (2019) concern about limited research on gender in tourism employment, our research makes an important contribution to extant literature on women in tourism employment by providing the largest cross-economy analysis to-date, highlighting the views of tourism officials, non-government organizations, business owners/employers in all organizational types/industries across the tourism sector, and academics, in respect to a range of aspects of women's current employment in tourism. By doing so, this research supports and extends the limited existing academic research on women in tourism employment, largely based on analyses of single countries/economies and tending to report results from one group of respondents; usually employers or employees.

Our multi-economy study extends earlier research by analysing relationships between organizational HRM and government policies and women's career outcomes. Further, noting cultural barriers and perceptions for women's participation and progression in the workplace we highlighted possible limitations in opportunities for women across ethnic groups and rural/urban areas. These results suggest that, while recognising and respecting cultural values and local context, a range of organizational HRM practices and policies, and government policies are increasingly evident across the economies. These practices are important for supporting women's career development and with more investment in such over time they can make tourism a sector of career progression for women.

Although this research presents the 'largest cross-economy analysis to-date', the primary limitation of this research is the relatively small

sample size, recognising the number of respondents relative to economies with large populations. Efforts were made to increase the targeted sample size by sending multiple reminders, placing details of the survey on global-located websites and requesting that contacts in the tourism sector advertise the survey through their networks. Moreover, descriptive statistical tests were undertaken as appropriate for smaller sample sizes. Though this sample size may not provide for much generalisability of results, this is the first survey, translated into local languages, of those associated with the tourism workforce across a large number of economies. Thus, it provides a baseline for future research that may implement additional strategies to increase the sample size, such as: the use of a panel provider; dividing the survey into several smaller surveys requiring less time to answer; and administering the survey during relevant meetings, such as international tourism conventions, to reduce the 'burden' of completion during usual work or leisure times.

Within the regional groupings there are cultural and economic variation and some groupings include developed and developing economies, such as within the Americas group. There was not sufficient room within the paper or enough respondents from individual economies to examine each of the 21 economies separately so we grouped economies for our analysis. Providing such groupings rather than examining each of the APEC economies individually was a limitation of our study.

Future in-depth interview-based research and industry discussion could further ascertain business practices, social values and government strategies hindering or assisting women's employment and advancement in the tourism sector. We found that there is gender segregation across developed and developing economies and cultural barriers play a critical role in women's participation and progression in tourism employment. The intersectionality between gender and ethnicity and/or gender and class was noted in the results from some developing economies. It would be interesting for future research to examine the prevalence of such intersectionality in gender tourism employment in developed economies especially in respect to Indigenous women, migrant women and women in living in rural and remote areas. Thus, future in-depth qualitative research could examine more differences across economies, ascertain how women's employment in tourism directly compares to other sectors, and longitudinally study the value of government policies and interventions.

Contribution of authors

All authors contributed to (1) the conception and design of the study, or acquisition of data, or analysis and interpretation of data, (2) drafting the article or revising it critically for important intellectual content, (3) final approval of the version to be submitted.

Specifically the author order on the paper reflects the level of contribution to developing the paper. Hutchings led the writing (and re-writing/revisions) of the paper and developed the introduction, literature review, theory and discussion sections and led the development of the conclusions/implications section, and contributed to the survey design. Moyle led the survey design, and was primarily responsible for the data analysis, and developed the methods and results sections of the papers, and contributed significantly to the intellectual content of the paper. Chai was the manager of the overall project from the university side of the research partnership, contributed to the survey design, undertook data analysis, and contributed critical review of the content of the article. Garofano had input into the research design, managed survey respondent engagement, and contributed to the practical implications of the paper and contributed critical review of the paper. Moore had input into the research design, managed high level engagement with organizations and APEC member contributions during the project, and contributed to critical review of the paper.

Declaration of competing interest

None.

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Appendix A. Supplementary data

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