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TRANSFORMED GENDER RELATIONS IN COMMUNITY-BASED TOURISM DEVELOPMENT: PERFORMING GENDER IN HOMESTAY TOURISM

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ABSTRACT

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This paper addresses how community-based tourism (CBT) in an ethnic Lahu community located in northern Thailand has transformed the village women's gender performance. This pertains to how they leverage socio-political influence with economic gain acquired from CBT activities. Place-making, and how CBT homestay development has shaped these women's struggles to negotiate traditional gender roles, in the domestic and public spheres, as well as in virtual (social media) and offline (household) realms, is addressed. With homestay tourism, place-making overlaps the public and domestic spheres. In the past, the women of this study endured mobility limitations that many men did not. Capitalism can open new social-ecological space. Tourism in this village has expanded. Resulting economic activity has transformed gender relations, particularly as women are playing primary roles in tourism management. They now have empowering connections with outsiders, and more socio-economic status. They are resultantly negotiating traditional gender roles, especially during high tourism season. CBT-derived earnings, however, now comprise a large share of their family's income. Women, therefore, still cannot realize significant and autonomous family decision-making power. Moreover, women (as mothers, wives, farmers, and CBT entrepreneurs) perform multiple gender identities. They juggle a quadruple-burden struggle. As caretakers, this hospitality service has therefore reproduced culturally traditional gender roles. Another aspect of this phenomenon is that non-income-generating work (e.g., as a housewife and mother) has predominantly been deemed non-value work. CBT, however, has transformed domestic activities into value-work that is accepted by men and by overall society. Homestay tourism, by shifting non-market labor to market labor, hence blurs the line between the domestic and public spheres in terms of the social reproduction of gender roles. Concerning gender performance, these women, in some ways, are experiencing bolstered agency in online and offline places and spaces. This is positively altering how society at-large perceive them.

Keywords: Gender performance; gender relations; homestay tourism; community-based tourism

1. INTRODUCTION

Community-based tourism (CBT) development supports bolsters local community empowerment. "It features conservation, community development, cultural exchanges between tourists and the local community, and cultivates opportunities for tourists to experience various aspects of village lifestyle" (Prachvuthy, 2006). The Thai government expects that CBT in northern Thailand's highland villages has great potential for generating income, reducing poverty, ensuring cultural conservation, and encouraging natural resource conservation (Sarobol et al., 2002). However, external factors, such as Thai State development policies embedded within global market-driven forces, have impacted the gender relations and socioeconomics of participating CBT communities (Hutheesing, 1990; Jatuworaphruk, 2005; Strassen, 2007; Cohen, 1996; Kaosa-ard, 2007; Makpun, 2008; Lattanasouvannaphonh, 2011; Juan and Paiboonrungroj, 2017).

My case study village is located in Mae Hong Son, Thailand. The study area has operated CBT for almost 20 years. In the past, men played key roles in CBT management. However, this changed in 2015, when the women began participating more in the village's CBT management. Hence, it is good to study particularly how this tourism development has impacted this community's traditional gender relations.

This village is comprised of a Lahu ethnic subgroup called Lahu Na Shehleh. This 60-household 270-person community is in northern Thailand's Pang Mapha District. Almost all villagers are kin. Their ancestors came to this area about 65 years ago, from the Tibetan Plateau and through Myanmar's borders. Villagers' religion is of animist spiritual belief. Currently, thirty-four households are participating as a CBT group. Twenty-four of these households run the homestay service because their houses qualify for the Thai homestay standard. Ten member-households who could not provide a homestay service generate income from group cooking and trekking excursions.

Ethnic tourism is constructed as an authentic place to attract tourists. As for central-state driven tourism development policy, the Thai government, particularly in the 1980s and 1990s, wanted to bolster the country's market economy growth; significant changes, particularly on the local scale, therefore initiated in hill tribe tourism. The number of tourists visiting the highlands increased enormously. Homestay tourism became an important secondary source of income for ethnic communities (Cohen, 1996). Villagers derive economic benefits from offering a diverse array of services, such as from selling handicrafts and from hosting guests. However, Cohen argues that not all villagers benefit from tourism development.

In 1998, the Thai government started promoting Thailand as a tourism country under the "Amazing Thailand" campaign. The government-supported research and development of homestays with CBT management and initiated Thai homestay certification standards for community projects and service providers. This was to ensure that homestay participants have positive experiences during their stay in Thailand. The government eventually acknowledged and directed the promotion of cultural conservation, community development, gender empowerment, and poverty reduction throughout CBT development initiatives (Sarobol et al., 2002; UNWTO and UN Women, 2011; Peeters and Ateljevic, 2009). Therefore, CBT functions as a soft power policy tool for managing natural resources and local culture, community empowerment, and economic influences. This rural development initiative is also meant to persuade ethnic people to live harmoniously with the forestry area while supporting national security and the national economy.

Notably, northern Thailand's ethnic groups represent some of Thailand's most societally marginalized people. Many, but not all, have no legal citizenship; therefore, they experience no (or have highly limited) social rights. Hence, they have for decades been subject to top-down government development policy directives (Laungaramsri, 1998). In the past, highland villagers were looked down upon by greater Thai society. They were negatively labeled as opium producers and shifting cultivators who as "destroyers of the forest" (Laungaramsri, 1998). Furthermore, highland people were also accused by some institutions claiming that villagers' pig manure polluted the watershed. As a response, highlands dwelling ethnic village communities began articulating CBT in 2001. This was supported primarily by NGOs for creating a better understanding by lowland "Thai" people about the Lahu (and indigenous or "hill-tribe") people's livelihoods, traditions, and overall culture. CBT development, at least explicitly, for villagers has been aimed toward illustrating to the greater public that Lahu people, for example, do live harmoniously with their forest environment. These sociopolitical conditions were the turning point for this article's case study community, nudging them to adopt CBT development programs.

During the CBT initialization period in the studied village, tourism income merely served as a means for families' supplemental income. Most tourists were from international tourists' groups who visited the village via tour companies. In the first period, all households in the village were members of the CBT management group. But villagers realized that tourism could generate small income; therefore, many stopped running the homestay. Only 14 of the original households are still running their homestay business. During the

initial period, Lahu men played a key role in the homestay tourism service, while the women were shy and mostly staying in the kitchen and cooked.

CBT has now become a primary income source for villagers. This is particularly after 2015 when tourism in the village began booming. The number of tourists visiting this village has increased ten-fold. This is mostly because of social media marketing. For example, bloggers visit the village and post on famous Thai webpages. Since 2015, there has been an average of two-thousand tourists visiting the CBT homestays per year; eighty percent are Thai tourists and twenty percent are foreign tourists. This now generates a direct tourism income of about 1.5 million baht/year (data collected via an interview with a woman leader: 26 Feb 2017). Women also sell souvenirs and create Lahu handicrafts for selling to tourists, which can generate extra income. Tourists normally visit the homestay during the winter season between November to January.

In households offering CBT, during the high tourism season, women nowadays play key roles in the homestay tourism, while the men play key roles in the farm. In 2018, the number of homestays in the village CBT group increased from 14 households to 24 households. Nowadays, women are welcoming guests, while also cooking, preparing accommodations, cleaning the house, facilitating, interacting with guests, washing bed blankets, and so on. Women now have more confidence to speak Thai with guests, and in workshops. For example, a woman who is the vice-chair of the village CBT group now plays an important role in the CBT group's finances.

Since 2015, there has been an unexpected number of tourists visiting this village. The Chair of the village CBT group contacted tourists who had reserved a homestay through the village CBT Facebook page or by calling his phone. Homestay guests transferred money directly to the Chair's bank account. The chair normally informed a woman of the leadership group, who arranges the homestay queues. The Chair did not record the finances related to several tourists. This said, there were many problems with tourism management in the first year of tourism booming, especially about financial management. Later, the CBT group members arranged a meeting among members and the mentors involved in the Mae Hong Son CBT network, for solving the tourism management problem in the village. In 2016, the village CBT group set up an information center in front of the village to inform tourists about the CBT tourism program in the village. A woman leader who is a vice-chairman of the village CBT group managed the finance account to solve the village CBT management group.

Financial income is a key motivator for Lahu women to contest their roles in the homestay space. This has motivated women to participate in the homestay roles and contest men's space. Related phenomena have impacted women's economic status and traditional gender roles while constructing new meanings for homestay related value-work. I expect this study will contribute to debates about how CBT initiatives are gendered. This is particularly relevant when considering the historical, socio-economic, and cultural factors that are impacting local gender relations in response to tourism development and social change.

The Lahu Na Shehleh of the studied village migrated to the study area around 1954. During 1954-1983, the Lahu in the study area lived in a subsistence economy. During the subsistence period, life had freedom, villagers had the right to grab land in the forest for doing farm. Lahu have grown opium in the shifting cultivation as an exchanged crop. They traded opium by exchanging with rupees and goods such as salt, clothes, etc. They grew upland rice mixed with local vegetables in the shifting cultivation as the subsistence crops. Corn mainly grew for feeding pigs, chickens, and home consumption too. Corn is a supplemental food when rice was not enough for consumption. Lahu lived in a hard life and poverty during that time. However, around 1978, the Lahu villager resettled the new Lahu village to escape from the Malaria pandemic outbreak. Many Lahu people in the village died from Malaria. The new village is located in the south of the old village, sitting on a mountain ridge with high elevation.

In Lahu culture, a kin relationship is very important. Kin mainly supports exchange of labor, helping, and be a network. The religioun in the study area is the spiritual belief. Lahu have many spiritual beliefs related to nature; there are numerous spirits such as one for the earth, the mountain, the water, the sky, etc. In Lahu culture, spiritual ceremonies gather people in the village, support mind, and livelihoods. Men play the main role in the religious sphere. Lahu people spiritually believe in three main things: God (G'ui sha), spirit, and soul. God (G'ui sha) is a supreme being who is prayed to for blessings of health and good crops. The soul is a spiritual counterpart of the body. Spirits are supernatural things (Lewis and Lewis, 1984). In Lahu philosophy and belief, God (G'ui sha) created the first couple, male and female who have different roles, responsibilities, and positions. The man was created first, as a leader. A woman was created later for supporting the man (Montreevat, 1998). Traditionally, men were trained to be a leader.

Lahu women traditionally work in reproductive and productive works as doing farm like men. Traditionally, the domestic and public spheres of Lahu women and Lahu men in Lahu Na Shehleh culture have been overlapped. However, Lahu men and Lahu women have a division of labor in the domestic and public sphere. As for the gender roles, the primary women's domestic roles are taking care of children, and caretakers

of domestic works, i.e. cooking, cleaning houses, and washing dishes, laundering, doing handicrafts, and feeding chickens and pigs. Men's roles mainly are taking care of animals, i.e. buffaloes, collecting and cutting wood, building a house, and hunting. Lahu men created a meaning that they usually do the hard labor, such as building a house, carrying a rice sack, cutting firewood, clearing the land, etc. However, women never hunt, never weaving baskets, and never building houses, while men never doing women patchwork, but men can sew a bit for fixing clothes. In a family, boys, and girls are active working members of the household when they are 12-15 years old, they help parents doing farm. Small children are trained for doing light work such as washing dishes, and so on. Old people do light work at home, for example, pounding rice, feeding pigs, caring for small children while young people work on the farm, etc. Women were not allowed to be the key actor in the rituals. Men take primary roles in the religious sphere. However, traditional Lahu Na Shehleh society provides peripheral opportunities for Lahu women in a religious sphere, for example, women can be a shaman (for teaching morals but not lead the ceremonies in a community).

The Lahu community has lived in this study area for about 65 years, but life for them began to significantly change around 1983; this is when the Thai government initiated the Thai-German Highland Development Project (TG-HDP). This Project's explicit purpose was, for various socio-political reasons both domestic and international, to perpetuate the eradication of the region's opium cultivation. The Lahu subsistence ways of life have significantly changed since the highland development project period. The highland development project had an impact on Lahu livelihoods, traditional practices, gender roles, limited land use that impacted on agricultural practice. This is also mentioned in the research studies of Jatuworaphruk (1998; 2005), Hutheesing (1990), and Strassen (2007). Villagers are subject to the Thai State's national forest laws and the highland rural development initiatives. During the TG-HDP period, women had more space in the public sphere for community work. In 1997, some women leadership attended a government-sponsored training about community public health. Some women in the village began having more public space in the economic sphere and had become traders. They sell agricultural products near the villages. However, during that time, Lahu women could not speak Thai as well and they were not confident in doing so. Men, therefore, had more ability to connect with outsiders than women.

In August 2003, the Thai government declared the area of Pang Mapha as a conservative forest area, determining it as "the wild sanctuary Pai watershed" (Jatuworaphruk, 2005). Villagers' land use became government controlled. They became no longer able to grow crops via their traditional slash and burn crop rotation practices. Moreover, they could no longer cut large trees, which now must be left as forest. This forest law pressured the villagers to grow short-rotation crop cycles. Currently, Lahu villagers grow crops on a 3-year fallow-cultivation cycle, thus perpetuating decreasing soil fertility.

However, tourism is an option to generate a supplemental income for the Lahu village after the TG-HDP ceased in 1998. The studied villagers were accused by some institutions claiming that villagers' pig manure polluted the watershed including the discourse of the forest destroyer from the shifting cultivation. These conditions were the turning point for the Lahu people comprising the village to adopt the community-based tourism project later. The village began articulating community-based tourism in 2001 that was supported by NGOs and the Thailand Research Fund. The community expected that CBT could create a better understanding of lowland "Thai" people about the Lahu people's ways of life. During that time, agriculture-based income was their main income, and villagers generated very little supplemental income from CBT. During this period, an average of 200 tourists per year visited the CBT homestays; 80% were foreign tourists coming with the tour guide companies. The villagers generated the main income from doing farm; growing cash crops i.e. corn, cucumber, beans, and raising animals such as pigs, cows, and buffaloes. Pigs are mainly used for spiritual ceremonies. The pigs, cows, and buffaloes as saving the bank money. They normally bought properties such as a motorbike from selling cows and buffaloes. If they do not have enough rice for consumption, they normally sold pigs or chickens. They mainly grow upland rice for consumption. Villagers have a supplemental income from selling wild plants and doing off-farm jobs. A household that runs agri-business generated good income in comparison to an agricultural income and a tourism income. During the first period of CBT development (2001-2014), men had more space in tourism and more connections from the outside world. Men had high participation in homestay tourism management and more mobility to attend workshops outside the village. In the past, women normally cooked for guests in a homestay and had few interactions with guests. Later, the village was promoted through social media and it was boomed in 2015. During this time, tourists have increased about 10 times in comparison to the first period. Homestay households are not only having an economic benefit, but they also have the challenge to welcome Thai tourists who have a wide range of demands. Tourism income dramatically changed during the tourism booming period, this has impacted on social change in the studied village such as gender roles and women's economic status. Women have highly participated in tourism management and homestay service that I had mentioned above.

In conclusion, in the subsistence economy, Lahu women had limitations on mobility. Men had more mobility to connect outsiders and more space in the religious, social, and political sphere, while Lahu women played the key roles in domestic work; work in subsistence reproduction activities such as food cultivation, caring children, etc. However, with capitalism, Lahu women have more space in the public sphere. After the highland development project period, some of Lahu women play more roles in the economic sphere and social sphere. But Lahu women still had less confidence speaking Thai and shied to speak out in the public during that time. Yet, after the CBT booming in the village, Lahu women have more space in the public sphere including the economic, social sphere and politic sphere, for instances, women participate in the Lahu women's group committees, village committees, and a vice village headman, attending training and meetings. Women often practice speaking Thai with tourists, and they have more confidence to speak Thai. During the tourism booming period, women have more economic empowerment that has impacted gender relations such as gender roles and family decision-making.

2. METHODOLOGY

This qualitative research is derived from eighteen months of fieldwork, including in-depth interviews and participant observation techniques. As for the data collection process, the researcher communicated with interviewees using the Thai language. When necessary, such as while interviewing elderly community members who cannot speak Thai, an interpreter was utilized. The researcher chose interviewees based on research requirements, such as Lahu women who run a homestay and are committee members of the village's community-based tourism group. The researcher also interviewed homestay guests, tour operators, aging people, middle-aged people, as well as villagers who are not operating a homestay business, among others.

As for ethics, the researcher asked interviewees for permission to interview. If interviewees did not want to answer any of the questions during the interview, they were free to decline, and the researcher moved on to the next question. Thus, the researcher defined interviewees as volunteers, who wanted to express their voices, share their life experiences, and felt comfortable participating in this research.

Key informants in this study are 14 women who operate homestay tourism businesses and are members of the village's CBT group. Six former homestay group members (both men and women) were also interviewed to learn their reasoning for ceasing their homestay tourism participation. Lahu men in the homestay households were interviewed to obtain deeper and richer information regarding gender relations. Informants also included10 elderly as well as middle-aged Lahu men and women who know the village's history and of the traditional gender roles.

The data were recorded by digital recording as well as by taking photos and field notes. Data from field notes and interview transcripts were analyzed using content analysis. The participation observation was applied to observe hosts-guests in different homestay households regarding gender performance and the interaction among hosts-guests. To understand the everyday life of Lahu women what they posted texts and photographs on Facebook for promoting tourism. The researcher collected visual data from 20 Lahu women and 10 men who run homestay tourism businesses and are members of the community-based tourism group online friends. In this research, the researcher used pseudonyms for the interviewees, in other words, not their real names.

For building rapport with villagers, the researcher spent at least two years building a relationship with key informants and villagers in the studied area; this was before collecting primary data in the field site. From 2016-2019, the researcher intermittently visited the field site, stayed for at least two weeks and during different months (January-December), and talked with different people to acquire accurate data. The researcher also participated with the women leaders/key informants who run the homestay tourism in doing many activities with key informants, such as planting and threshing rice, going to the farm with key informant's family and kinship, doing community services, welcoming guests, cooking, etc. and joined the household rituals and community rituals in the field site, resulting in becoming familiar with them, no longer a stranger like in the beginning. To avoid gender bias, men and women were normally interviewed separately. The information collected in the interviews was transcribed from the tape recorders. A hard copy of these responses was produced and reviewed by participant interviewees to confirm that the information is accurate. Then the data were analyzed with content analysis.

From the fieldwork data, the data were analyzed in two levels, including the domestic and public spheres: 1) The public sphere level analyzed gender roles in social media. As a social media in homestay practice is associated with a community level in the global world; this level pertains to individual Lahu women who participate in homestay tourism to explore their posts on Facebook in terms of text, and photographs to

represent themselves and the village in the tourism context. This analysis provides the place-making of Lahu women through virtual context, and 2) the domestic sphere level analyzed gender roles in domestic and economic roles that are associated with a family level in home and homestay practice. In the homestay practice, this level deals with individual Lahu women who participate in homestay tourism to explore their roles in a domestic role and economic role. This analysis provides the homestay daily practice, decision-making power through homestay tourism economic by participating in homestay tourism, and their interactions with tourism-related actors including tourists, tour operator, government and non-government officers, etc., as well as understanding of how Lahu women perform gender roles in domestic and economic roles in homestay tourism, and how Lahu women benefit and/or become challenged economically by their participation in CBT tourism.

3. THEORETICAL REVIEWS

3.1 Gender and gender performance

This paper investigated how, in CBT tourism development, gender roles are constructed and deconstructed, and how Lahu women possibly use gender performance as an agency to make choices and bargain traditional gender roles.

West and Zimmerman (1987) and Butler (1990) point out gender as a social construction. The important debate with West and Zimmerman (1987), Butler (1990), and Goffman (1959) is about subject and agency through the gender performance of the body. West and Zimmerman (1987) argue that 'doing gender' is about the socially constructed nature of masculinity and femininity that develops from interaction and socialization processes. 'Doing gender' is based on three concepts: sex, sex category, and gender. They argue that sex is a biological phenomenon that classifies male and female. A sex category is socially established to proclaim one's membership in one or the other category.

Gender is performed; it is established through interaction and is displayed accordingly, appearing as 'natural' but in fact, is created by an organized social performance. Gender conducts people in performing attitudes and activities appropriate for one's sex category (West and Zimmerman, 1987). Gender is a powerful ideology that produces, reproduces, and legitimates the choices and limits on a sex category (Moloney and Fenstermaker, 2002). Gender as a role is involved in producing gender in everyday activities (West and Zimmerman, 1987). West and Zimmerman refer to Goffman's (1959) idea that "gender is a socially scripted dramatization of a culture's idealization of feminine and masculine natures, played for an audience" (West and Zimmerman, 1987: 129). A gender role that divides labor into women and men's work elaborates on the differentiation of feminine and masculine attitudes and related societal behaviors. The structural arrangements of society are presumed to be responsive to these differences (West and Zimmerman, 1987: 128).

Butler (1990) argues that gender is "an identity tenuously constituted in time, instituted in an exterior space through a stylized repetition of the act" (Butler, 1990: 441); it is performed. Butler argues that sex is a natural category, but gender is a cultural category. "This body often appears to be a passive medium that is signified by an inscription from a cultural source figured as external to that body" (Butler, 1990: 434). Gender is a performance, "seeking to show that what we take to be an internal essence of gender is manufactured through a sustained set of acts, posited through the gender stylization of the body" (Moloney and Fenstermaker, 2002: 191). Butler argues that there is no subjectivity in our bodies. Gender is constructed to biological sex categories that are based on a binary thinking ideal.

We perform our gender through our bodies in a way that appears to be a passive medium. Acts, gestures, and desires produce the effect of an internal core and produce this on the surface of the body through suggestions, but never reveal; the mind is the prison of the body. We follow the scripts that society gives to us as a man or woman and in the various ways in which a body shows or produces its cultural signification (Butler, 1990). For example, a girl's parents constructed her to wear pink clothing and do certain gestures. When she grows up, she still performs these scripts that follow the feminine social construct expressed through her body (e.g., dress and actions). This is what Butler means by "performativity;" there is no subjectivity or agency in our body.

On the other hand, West and Zimmerman (1987) argue that if gender is constructed, then it can be deconstructed. A woman and a man can be an agency (or subject) to make him/her have free choice and bargain with the dominant power (Connell, 2009). West and Zimmerman believe that people do gender-based things because of "accountability" when they interact with others. This is because people know they will be judged by society and need to perform as gender appropriation or in-appropriation (West and Zimmerman, 1987). However, women can receive accountability in their roles even it has the mark of gender roles. For example, a woman engineer can receive accountability in society or her workplace if she has good skills and works well in

her role. At the same time, men who work in a nursing role might have a conflict with this cultural gender role, particularly in a society that expects women to be doing this role. However, men also can get accountability and be accepted for this role if they work well. Goffman (1959) (cited in West and Zimmerman, 1987) refers to 'role conflict,' whereby people can have optional gender expressions (West and Zimmerman, 1987).

Goffman (1959) explains that people can be an actor and manipulate their audience. Humans are active and knowledgeable beings. We can use our minds to drive our behavior. Goffman points out that social performance is based on the values, beliefs, and habits that we learn from social institutions and our interactions with others in situations. Human beings act differently in social settings and around others. Goffman compares life and the roles we play as a theatrical performance. People have specific roles that they have been socialized to play. A person has specific types of performances known as the front-stage self and back-stage self respectively. The concept of front stage and back-stage can be easily understood when considering our daily life. At the front stage, we are a carefully crafted representation of who we are, and what we want others to think about who we are. The backstage is a place to practice all these techniques and become the self that we reveal in the frontstage. We are expected by social norms to put on a certain front, and there is little room for tactics while we are on this stage. While on this frontstage, we use impression management as a tool to make ourselves look more appealing to other people.

Therefore, as follow as Goffman's (1959)'s theoretical gender performance, Lahu women who are participating in the homestays CBT development in this case study can be an agency. They can use impression management (Goffman, 1959) in homestay service as a tool for making themselves look more appealing to guests when interacting and therefore guiding and controlling how guests (and therefore greater society) perceive them.

3.2 CBT development and place-making

Home and the homestay have attached Lahu women with a sense of place and attributed meanings of place. Gender underlines political relationships and power allocations at the family, community, and society levels (Swain, 1995: 251). Then, the Lahu community makes a place consisting of perceptions of well-being that are formulated by various aspects of a place. This is also attached to the community's sense of place at the family and community levels. Likewise, CBT development and Thai highlands development overall now have new meanings of place-making for the Lahu community in this case study village.

Place-making, when considering 'sense of place,' consists of perceptions of well-being that are formulated by various aspects of place and debated on how societies attribute meanings to place (Friedmann, 2010). Since the late 1980s, space and place have been viewed as bounded and fixed. Structuralist thinkers such as Claude Lévi-Strauss, Sartre, Ricoeur, and Braudel refer to space as 'the dead, the fixed, the non-dialectical, and the immobile space that is a physical space without social relations (Massey, 1994: 13; Foucault, 1980). However, postmodern thinkers think about this differently. Lefebvre (1991) and Massey (1994) argue that space as a social space is comprised of social relations. Space is a complex social construction. It is based on values and the social production of meanings. Social space is imbued with power relations and is political. It can produce and reproduce politics, depending on who constructs the meaning, and this is dynamic and changes over time. Massey (1994) argues the "sense of place" is an existential sense of rootedness that makes 'place' different from 'space.' The uniqueness of a place is defined by interactions. Yet, space is inseparable from a place. Massey (1994) debated Giddens (1990) on his argument that one consequence of modernity has been the separation of space from a place. She debates that space and place should be thought of in different terms. Massey argues that space is not separate from a place, but technology (the internet, for example) makes people misunderstand that they are separate. In Gidden's argument, this can happen when the information technology used in modern society compresses space and place; this causes people to lose out on face-to-face interactions. But Massey (1994) looks at this differently. She argues that we should look at the interrelations taking place in these spaces and places.

Cresswell (2004: 2) argues that space is a more abstract concept than a place. He emphasizes that place is everywhere; space can turn into a place when people attach space with meaningful perceptions of place. A sense of place is attributed to the subjective and emotional attachment people have to a place. Cresswell (2004) states that place is not just a thing in the world but a way of understanding the world. When we look at the world of place, we see different things. We see attachments and connections between people and places. We see worlds of meaning and experience, we see the place more than space. Place-making is a collaborative process by which we shape our public spaces (Cresswell, 2004).

People worldwide are engaged in place-making activities. Place-making in tourism development processes are regularly driven by political and economic ideologies. Tourism development as a social phenomenon is a major force in (re)producing places and cultures. Destination economies emerge as a result of network formations and stakeholder negotiation processes initiated by economic restructuring and policy implementation (Hultman and Hall, 2012: 548). The study of place-making in homestay tourism is related to

power relations, meaning, negotiation, sense of place, and fluid relations. Gender is a social ideology construction and imbued with power relations as a gendered space (Massey, 1994). Space is turned into place by a sense of place via the feelings that people attach to a place (Cresswell, 2004). Yet in homestay tourism, the home as a domestic sphere interrelates with the public sphere. The home and the homestay have likewise attached women with a sense of place and attributed meanings of place. Thus, how women have made a place and used their attachment to this place to run CBT, through their contestation and negotiation with men, community, and state, needed to be explored in the study.

CBT development has become an important element of the case study village's socio-economic fabric. In the domestic sphere, Lahu women play an important role in welcoming and caring for homestay guests; meanwhile, Lahu women provide caring labor for the family. In homestay tourism, Lahu women interact with guests and perform gender roles in the forms of hospitality service impression management. Likewise, in gender performance, Lahu women can be an agency to manipulate the audiences (Goffman, 1959). These factors are related to gender power relations and a new meaning of gender roles for Lahu women.

In the public sphere, Lahu women now have more roles at the community level. For example, they attend CBT related workshops and training. Yet, due to the modern era (e.g., communication technologies) and globalization, Lahu women now have more connections to the globalized world through social media in a public sphere. For example, new generations of women normally post on Facebook and promote their homestay tourism business. The contents that Lahu women post on Facebook are photographs, video, and Thai text information used for presenting an online identity, which to them represents something meaningful. However, Lahu women with CBT businesses also now experience burden in both the domestic and public spheres (Jatuworaphruek, 1998; Dunn, 2007; Morais et al., 2005; Boonabaana, 2012). Likewise, the stereotype of a domestic ideology that ties women with domestic work still exists in Lahu culture in some ways; this needed investigation.

4. PERFORMING GENDER IN CBT HOMESTAY TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

Nowadays, when considering the promotion of tourism development in the studied village, social media has a high influence on villagers' connections with the globalized world and resultantly with the increasing number of tourists coming to the case study village. Both Lahu men and women have more connections to this globalized world through social media platforms. However, intersectionality such as age, income, education, geography (i.e. rural and city), language literacy (i.e. Thai and English), and technology literacy might for some people result in unequal access to social media. Therefore, the ability to communicate in primarily visual forms is important for people who struggle with literacy, such as working-class and aging people. However, people sometimes post only photos, but this method can cultivate more communication and interrelations (Miller et al., 2016). Yet, Miller et al. (2016) state that rather than looking at what people post; we should examine the contents of their social media posts. This said men and women in the studied village use social media to post photos and Thai text when they promote tourism. This makes a new dynamic; it is not just actual (off-line) space but is also a virtual (online) space.

In a globalizing world, in terms of tourism power, place and space are not fixed (Massey, 1994); it compresses the world while increasing global connections that information technology provides more connection throughout the world (Giddens, 1990). Social media is a platform through which people communicate. Social media is a place within which people socialize, not just a means of communication (Miller et al., 2016). Social media platforms (Facebook, Twitter, etc.) are a place that people have interrelations with others such as friends, colleagues, family, neighbors, customers, and strangers. Yet, space and place have long histories and bear a multiplicity of meanings. Since the late 1980s, space and place have been viewed as bounded, dead, singular, and fixed (Massey, 1994). However, Lefebvre (1991) and Massey (1994) think that space is alive. Space and place are unbounded and dynamic, and interconnected locally and globally (Massey, 1994). Space is a social space, a social product, and a complex social construction based on values; likewise, the social production of meanings affects spatial practices and perceptions (Lefebvre, 1991). Massey argues that space is inseparable from a place but there is interrelation among space and place. Yet, Massey argues that the "global sense of place" is an existential sense of rootedness that makes place difference from space. Raffles (1999) mentions that place is about location, but locality is a set of relations and is sociopolitical. These relationships must be seen in how behavioral meaning is produced. Massey (1994) states there are multiplicities of relation space and location. In our daily practices, the construction of the local subject makes people think of themselves as belonging in and to a place. There is a multiplicity of relationships in a locality that is not only about social relations but also about the structure of feelings demonstrated in practice. For example, Miller et al. (2016) mentions that social media is a place that people share their thoughts and feelings

of everyday life such as sadness, happiness to represent textual message about broken heart, love photos, tourism photos, etc., and other issues. Nowadays, many people through media have interrelations with others in local and global settings. Social media has influenced people's thoughts and social imagination. Nowadays, people have more mediums for connecting others, such as through social media platforms including Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, etc. Then, the virtual space in the online space cannot be separated from offline spaces, like a different world (Miller et al., 2016). Thus, social media is a place that has meaning. Social media provides a new meaning of place.

As for CBT homestay tourism development, the case study village's tourism offerings are significantly well-known on and due to social media, which was a turning point in terms of tourism booming in the village (since 2015). On December 9, 2014, a blogger from a well-known Thai webpage called "Pantip," posted photos of a small noodle shop in the studied village, was surrounded with a nice foggy view, as shown in Figure 1 (Sittiporn, 2014). After photographs were posted, Thai tourists became interested in visiting the village and started searching for more information about it. This village was later promoted in magazines, on TV, and social media platforms and became widely well-known. For instance, YOUTUBE.COM/FEELTHAI, Thong Tiew Sadudta, Maehongson Creative, Facebook, Twitter, TVThaiPBS, and websites (www.paiduaykan.com, https://pantip.com, https://thetrippacker.com, www.chillpainai.com, https://travel.kapook.com) promoted this village. Social media is likewise an important mediator for pulling tourists into the village, especially Thai tourists. As Miller et al. (2016) reveal, social media can offer major support to a small-scale enterprise. This could also apply to a local noodle shop, local guesthouses, and homestays in the case study community. Likewise, small businesses do not have an investment cost for promoting their business through Facebook and leverage people's connections to online audiences or customers.

Figure 1: The 2014 Photos of a Small Noodle Shop in the Studied Village, Surrounded by a Nice Foggy View
Source: Sittiporn (2014)

After tourism in the studied village began booming in 2015, many community members began accessing more social media through innovative smartphone applications. In the past, Lahu people, especially those who had money, began using cell phones more. Nowadays, cell phone price isn't much of issues, as villagers can buy smartphones due to reduced prices. For example, in one case of a poorer Lahu woman in the village who is the village CBT group member, her husband and her son have smartphones but she did not. Then, she saved her independent income from selling souvenirs and bought a smartphone. She asked her friend to teach her how to use social media. Nowadays, she uses social media as a place to promote her handicrafts and her homestay tourism. Trending is an increase in poorer villagers acquiring this technology and accessing social media to impact their lives.

Lahu women in homestay tourism normally post and access social media, especially Facebook; they do this more so than men. Lahu women and men mainly use Facebook as a public social media platform to link with people in both the local and global realms. However, Lahu people in the village still lack language literacy (e.g., English) which limits them from communicating with people in foreign languages. Middle-age Lahu women have low Thai literacy compared with younger Lahu women who generally have more education. However, Facebook is a powerful tool for them to post photographs as visual in social media. They normally post photos with short Thai texts or only photos without texts. Lahu women who are participating in homestay tourism of the CBT group development learned how to use social media such as Facebook and Line from outsiders, such as community-based tourism network mentors, tourists, and from their friends in the village.

In the case samples, women often post on social media about their feelings in daily life, for example, sadness, happiness, tiring from poverty and marriage life, and about their businesses such as homestay

tourism. These are some examples of Thai text that women posted on FB: “Being a tour guide, waitress, cleaning cucumbers, doing all for my family’s well-being and wealth in the future, do it: do it; don’t complain.”; “Every day, I find the money for raising a male I call my son.”; “Today, I grow corn; only two people are doing this.”; “Today, I am a tour guide.”; “When I stay at home, I make Lahu patchwork and Lahu bags.”; “I am not a perfect woman, no high education to show others, but we are working women, finding income.”; “When can I touch a big amount of money like others?”; “If you are interested in a Lahu costume, let me know.”; “I just sold all cucumbers, and then continue joining the meeting.”; “Today, I cannot earn much income from selling souvenirs.”; “Happy New Year; tomorrow we are going to work across the New Year. We are not a hard-working person, but we want to escape from poverty.”; “Things that your wife doesn’t like, don’t do it; it is simple; then we don’t have the arguments.”; “This thing is important for you, it is white and yummy, I am bored and it is annoying me.” (she posted text with a photo of a bottle of a local whiskey); “Whole day!” (she posted a short Thai text and the photo with many unclean dishes from her guests that she has to wash them later).

In social media, women perform multiple identities and gender roles in social media such as wives, mothers, entrepreneurs, farmers, and volunteers. This is while Lahu men in the case samples normally post photos about playing a sport, cockfighting, building houses, hanging out, and drinking with a guy. Moreover, the Facebook platform is a place that Lahu women post their dreams for the future. For example, a poor Lahu woman posted the photo about a house that she wants to build in the future and wrote the Thai text “My dream house”. Later, she built a house that also ran a homestay business, then she posted the photos and Thai text on Facebook, “My home”, “My homestay”. Her friends share feelings by writing comments and pressing the Like icon to cheers her up. Yet, following Appadurai’s argument (Miller et al., 2016), imagining different kinds of lives in social media, or the ‘capacity to aspire,’ is a key element in the empowerment of the poor. Also, social media is used for creating a social network that connects online friends and for sharing about small enterprises, such as homestay businesses. Likewise, Lahu women learn how to use Facebook to promote their businesses, especially homestay tourism. It was revealed also in my fieldwork that new digital technologies and social media capacitate Lahu women to attain a new set of capacities (Miller et al., 2016).

Miller et al. (2016) reveal that digital media is a powerful tool for men and women to perform their identities freely in social media to negotiate traditional gender power relations that are normally oppressing women in offline (face-to-face) settings. Haraway is a famous feminist scholar who argued on the power of technology to transform gender relations and identity; hence, gender could potentially become erased online (Miller et al., 2016). Yet, social media also enhances the visibility of the gender differences between masculinity and femininity, gender roles, and how stereotypes are visualized and portrayed. On the other hand, Lahu women can learn from social media through their social networks. Women learn how to perform on social media and sell their products like homestay tourism and handicrafts. Social media enhances Lahu men and Lahu women to perform their identities more freely. For example, Lahu women posted photos on Facebook when they attended the training or workshops in tourism issue or working as a tourism-related volunteer. Village women posted on their Facebook photos of the meetings, including short Thai text. For example, “Today I joined the community service activity in Pai...Whatever I can do as a community representative...Join a meeting, and be a representative of the village's CBT group today.” These expressions seem like women are proud to be the representatives of community service. These texts and photos represent Lahu women's roles in the public sphere in ways that go against the traditional ways of Lahu women’s identities. In the past, Lahu women in the studied village were fearful of public interaction and normally stayed at home. Nowadays, they learn from the social value of what customers or tourists need. They usually post the photographs of the area’s beautiful scenery to influence the online audiences; this is a tourism marketing strategy. Lahu women get new knowledge from tourists and tourism media on how to make social media posts that is attractive to online audiences to promote their homestay tourism service. For example, the new generation of a Lahu woman posted beautiful photos of the fog sea view and Thai text saying, “Where do you plan to travel this winter season; my village welcomes you. I will take you to Phu Phamork to see the sunrise and the fog-sea” (interviewed on October 8, 2019). Furthermore, two younger Lahu women posted the fog view on their FB page said, “Tourists like the fog sea; they come here because of this fog sea. We have seen the fog view since we were kids. We were born in this village, but we never have a feeling to admire the fog view in daily life. In the past, the fog sea view is a normal thing for us. However, after the tourism booming, we have learned that a fog sea view is beautiful and attracts tourists to come to my village.” A tourist posted on his blog, “This morning, I woke up around 6 am. I was stunned by the spectacular fog sea. My favorite time is 10 minutes before the sun rises; the sky is a little orange; the light is not very bright. It is my favorite time. I envy the local people here (https://pantip.com/topic/37204836).” This said the fog seas create a new meaning of tourism place-making in and for this community.

Besides the fog view post, a woman who is the vice-chair of the village CBT committee posted about local Lahu food, cultural tour program activities, and tourists wearing Lahu outfits, to promote the CBT

homestay tourism in the village. She wants to show that her village does not have only a fog view, but also have Lahu culture. For example, she posted her photos on Facebook wearing Lahu outfits and welcoming guests. She posted the photos on Facebook about Thai and foreign tourists wearing Lahu outfits and doing Lahu culture activities at her homestay. She also posted her photos wearing Lahu outfits with guests who are popular star movies, singers, etc. visiting her homestay to promote homestay tourism. As another example, a Lahu woman in the homestay tourism posted a photo of Miss Thailand Universe wearing Lahu outfits in France. A Lahu woman represents these photos to show that Lahu culture in terms of the costume has become a more global level. This represents a new meaning of Lahu costume on a global level. Lahu women post their Lahu patchworks on Facebook to promote online marketing for selling Lahu outfits and Lahu handicrafts for the business.

A Lahu woman said, "The indigenous people have a hard life. When I was a kid, I went to Mae Hong Son city with my parents. I did not have a new dress or new shoes for wearing. I had only one old pair of shoes; I always fixed them. I saw city people; they wore nice dresses. I envied them. Nowadays, we have everything like the city, for instance, a good road and electricity. We can now make more income from tourism. Many city people visit us, including famous people from our country and from abroad, for example, Thai superstars, Thai supermodels, Miss Thailand Universe, Thai singers, and Miss Universe, etc. I saw them on the television. They come to my village and my homestay. Many tourists said they envy local people here because we live in beautiful nature and have a nice fog view. Now, I am not thinking like when I was a kid. I am proud to live in my village. We have a beautiful view and beautiful nature (interviewed on October 12, 2017)".

Thus, after tourism started booming, many Thai tourists visited the studied village; this makes villages experience value and pride of their Lahu identity. The women in the studied village have therefore created new meanings of Lahu ethnic identity. This means, these people were, and in ways still are, looked down upon by Thai lowlands people. And the powerful value of homestay tourism place-making is that it works against public discourse that is portraying Thailand's highlands-dwelling indigenous people as uncivilized forest destroyers.

Goffman (1959) reveals that humans are active and knowledgeable beings. Thus, Lahu women who are participating in the homestay tourism in this case study village can be an actor or agency in social media. Social media, as a new set of digital technology capacity, becomes for women a powerful tool for affecting online audiences by using frontstage impression management (Goffman, 1959). At the front stage, we are carefully crafted representations of who we are, and what we want others to think about who we are (Goffman, 1959). Moreover, social media fosters small businesses as well as homestay tourism to increase marketing channels and interconnect with people at local and global levels. Social media allows the interrelations among host-guests in both offline (homestay) and online (virtual) places. For example, some homestay hosts-guests have become online friends in social media. After the Lahu women in the CBT member group posted the photographs of the fog-sea view, online friends who are former homestay guests pressed Like and commented. In social media, Lahu women replied with comments and performed hospitality to build customer relationships, in the hope they will revisit their homestay; this is a marketing strategy. Therefore, Lahu women can be an agency in the social media place by performing hospitality through social media.

Social media is an important mediator for attracting tourists to the studied village. Social media marketing continues playing an important role in this case study village's CBT success. Considering how and that social media expanded this village's global space, it seems like this community village is now also virtual. The virtual village is reproduced by tourism because it created new meanings. The fog view constructs a new meaning of the village's tourism because now tourists think it is exciting to see the authenticity of fog and surrounding nature, and now local Thais and even villagers admire this. The researcher talked with a young Thai tourist who visited the homestay. He produced videos of his traveling and posts on YouTube. He said, "The fog view at this village seems like a digital detox. I normally use a cell phone in my daily life to connect with social media, but I immediately left my cell phone to see the beautiful fog view and nature in front of me. It is authentic." (interviewed on August 12, 2019).

Social media opens space for Lahu women to create a new set of Lahu women's capacities about new technology and social media. Lahu women have more cultural capital, like new knowledge, through social media. They learn how to use social media as a tool for promoting their homestay tourism and handicrafts business and building online customer relationships. Social media is a tool for creating a social network that can be used for connecting new online friends and sharing the word of mouth for small enterprises and generates economic for homestay tourism. It is realized that a small homestay tourism business in the village changed villagers' economic status after tourism started booming in the village. Moreover, economic capital can change women's social status. Economic empowerment fosters Lahu women in negotiating gender power relations in offline life (face-to-face encounters) such as with gender roles and household decision-making.

5. PERFORMING GENDER IN CBT HOMESTAY TOURISM DEVELOPMENT: FACE-TO-FACE ENCOUNTERS (OFFLINE PLACE)

Social reproduction includes the care work, the organization of sexuality, biological reproduction, and how food, clothing, and shelter are made available. Most social reproduction occurs within the family unit. (Laslett and Brenner, 1989). Homestay tourism seems to reproduce social reproduction. From the feminist perspective, women reside in the socially constructed domestic sphere and with an expectation of doing reproductive work; this is while men are resided predominantly within the public sphere (e.g., power positions). Yet, Pilcher and Whelehan (2004) reveal that the concept of the domestic division of labor has been being debated since the 1970s. The domestic (household) division of labor refers to the tasks and responsibilities distributed between family members, particularly those who live in the home. Generally, there is a culturally marked difference between which tasks women and men perform. A traditional domestic division of household responsibilities involve men financially supporting the family by doing wage labor outside of the home; this is while women (as social reproductive labor) provide house and personal caring work (e.g., cleaning, laundry, shopping, cooking, and caring for children). The distinction of the domestic and public sphere, and social reproduction concepts are of concern and discussed in feminist political economy. However, Choowonglert (2012) reveals that gender roles and division of labor are not fixed in a tourism space. White Tai ethnic men in Vietnam, for example, can help women with doing what is traditionally women's role. However, gender roles are still fixed in the domestic sphere for the White Tai women. Moreover, Juan and Paiboonrungroj (2007) mention that gender roles in the tourism space transform during the tourism season. Men in China's Bai village, as another example, normally help women with doing women's roles during that time. Nowadays, Lahu women have more roles in the public sphere in comparison to the past. In a tourism space, gender roles can shift among women and men in the domestic sphere. Thus, I agree that we should not look at gender's division of labor as a technical fix.

Tourism development opens more space for women in the public space and connects them to the globalized world. Nowadays, Lahu women play key roles in the homestay, while Lahu men play key roles in the farm. Lahu women represent themselves via multiple identities and gender roles; this includes entrepreneurs, mothers, farmers, etc. Lahu women represent their identities or gender roles, this might negotiate with the main discourse related to gender construction, such as the division of labor in the domestic and public spheres. In the feminist perspective, gender is a social construction. Society predominantly expects women to perform traditional gender roles, exhibit femininity and sexuality in ways that are societally dictated by the biological sex and sex category (West and Zimmerman, 1987; Butler, 1990). The concept of social reproduction in the feminist political economy focuses on the domestic sphere, where production and reproduction intersect with socio-cultural constructions. Dichotomous ideology divides women and men (Thaveesith, 2007), fixing them into respective domestic and public spheres as a discourse. Culturally, women are constructed in the domestic sphere, performing reproductive labor — family care, such as cooking, cleaning, childcare, and so on. Marxist ideas state that humans overall are in modes of production. But women are fixed in the domestic sphere as in a mode of reproduction labor. Yet, reproductive work does not count as an economic contribution, at the local, national, and international levels (Laslett and Brenner, 1989).

Indeed, women work hard for family and society. However, when considering the mainstream economy, domestic work and reproductive work are unpaid or undervalued work; this is unlike wage labor in the public sphere which is culturally dominated by men. Women sacrifice to be nurturers and educators to produce better children (Gilman, 1998). In feminist political economy, the social construction of the gender division of labor, and the dichotomous ideology of the public and domestic spheres, is underpinned with gender equality as societal hegemonic power (Sarma, 2009: Werner et al., 2017; Ngome, 2003).

In the studied village, Lahu men and women's roles traditionally have culturally overlapped both the domestic and public spheres. Both men and women have traditionally been involved in doing farm work together. From the past until now, Lahu women's roles are not fixed only in the domestic sphere. This against the dichotomous ideology of gender construction of domestic and public sphere discourse. However, in the past, Lahu women had less space in the public sphere in comparison to Lahu men. For example, men normally were those who contacted outsiders and traveled outside the village. In the past, Lahu women traditionally were shy and mostly stayed at home; they were afraid of going outside the village. A Lahu woman said "I feared outsiders. If I saw them, I would run away." As prior mentioned, Lahu men were trained as a leader in the past. Lahu metaphors posit Lahu women as though being like "an elephant" because an elephant's character is shy. The metaphor posits men as though "a dog" because a dog is brave. During hunting, men bring a dog to lead them in the forest because dogs are brave. After a successful hunt, they celebrate by inviting all villagers to eat the animals together; this shows the man's bravery. Lahu men in the past had more mobility in the public sphere and connected with outsiders more so than the women.

Highland development policies have brought a cash-driven capitalist economy to rural villages. This has rendered more space for Lahu women in terms of modes of production; some Lahu women have even become sellers or traders. Moreover, tourism development opens more space for Lahu women in public space, connecting them with the global world. From 2001-2014, the promotion of CBT development didn't open much public space for women, in comparison to since 2015 when tourism began booming in this village. During the initial stage of CBT development, men had higher participation in CBT management than did women. As for gender roles in the homestay, men were the primary ones welcoming guests in the past. A chair of the village CBT group who is a man managed the tourism management, such as financial management, contacting outsiders, and attending tourism training held outside of the village. Considering family, the husband and wife must allow guests to stay in their houses and provide for good hospitality. In homestay tourism, women normally cooked and prepared other accommodations; they had few interactions with guests in the past. The women were shy to talk with outsiders.

After tourism began booming in 2015, tourism significantly opens public space for women. This is as women play key roles in the homestay, while men still play key roles in farm work. The key drivers influence women who run homestay tourism having more space in public areas. This is because women nowadays, especially the newer generations, have higher education, have more connection with outsiders at the local and global levels, have more opportunities to be community representatives (attending training organized by government and non-government offices), have access to new technology (e.g., smartphone and social media), can widely access information in local and global levels, and more commonly have good Thai language skills.

In the past, for many villagers, especially the women, the Thai language was a barrier that affected many aspects of their life. Furthermore, new generations have a chance to study higher education, but women normally get married and stay in the village when they graduate from high school; they are also shy to interact with outsiders. After tourism began booming, women who run the homestay business often interacted with Thai guests, and they must speak Thai for communicating with them.

Besides, a middle-age woman revealed that she still feels anger toward the TG-HDP officers who looked down on her and her friends, considering them stupid because they could not speak Thai. This insult seems like a push factor for her to practice Thai language skills. Nowadays, she is not shy to interact with outsiders and speak at meetings. She is proud of herself. In this case study, it can be concluded that Thai language skills influenced women's self-confidence.

In a homestay, a tourism place is overlapped in the public sphere and domestic sphere (home). In a homestay business, women perform multiple identities and gender roles as mother, wife, farmer, and entrepreneur. They can provide good hospitality to serve guests as mothering labor. In a homestay, Lahu women interact with guests and perform "hospitality service;" that is their gender role. Nowadays, women are welcoming guests, while also cooking, preparing accommodation, cleaning the house, interacting with guests, and facilitating their needs, washing bed blankets, and so on. Women have also become leaders in performing cultural tour activities such as teaching tourists how to make Lahu handicrafts. Men simultaneously show weaving bamboo and traditional music. Women are tour guides, participate in tourism committees, and are serving as environmental protectors. Men help women with collecting water and wood while guests are there; they are also tour guides for hiking and trekking. As for community tourism development activities involving laborious hard work (e.g., constructing ladders leading to the caves) men play the primary role. Sometimes when there is a large group of tourists, women who are members of the CBT group gather and do the cooking; they share the income.

It seems like women's roles as caretakers have been extensively reproduced through hospitality service. However, the reproduction work has interplayed with power relations between men and women. Becklake and Ferguson (2017) argue that the social reproduction of the caretaker role in homestay tourism might affirm traditional gender roles as a social construction of the gender division of labor. Yet, Lahu women participating in homestay tourism businesses challenge the stereotype of the social reproduction of the caretaker role. Nevertheless, Lahu women in this case study can use domestic ideology to negotiate with the public in a homestay tourism space after tourism booming. In the past, women might sometimes use motherhood roles to negotiate for changing their gender roles, such as domestic chores, with their husbands during giving birth or taking care of a baby. Lahu men said, "Men do housework such as cooking, laundering, taking care of babies while their wives are sick and having a baby or giving birth". Sometimes, men also cook when women do not have time. This reflects the gender roles' negotiation process. Nowadays, women participating in the homestay tourism business also use the motherhood identity of caretakers' role to negotiate power with men in their family. Women use the motherhood identity strategy to contest men's space in the homestay space. Yet, financial income is a key motivator for Lahu women to contest their roles in the homestay space. Homestay is a type of business to generate supplemental income, but it becomes the main household income after the tourism boom in 2015. In a homestay, nowadays Lahu women interact with guests

and perform "hospitality service", this is their gender role since Lahu women participate in a homestay tourism business nurture culture. For example, they manage the house, cook traditional food, and wear Lahu clothing. Culturally, women are expected to cook and do housework in the domestic sphere, this social reproduction of care work tourists shift to homestay tourism in a public sphere to generate household income.

Moreover, the economic empowerment from the homestay can change women's status and increase their overall capacity (Svetamra, 2001). Currently, women participating in a homestay tourism business have more confidence in interacting with tourists. They also practice speaking Thai with them. A woman said, "I cannot talk in a foreign language, but I sometimes use body language to communicate with them. When guests are staying in the homestay, men normally visit neighbors and come back at night; they have few interactions with guests. Women said, "men are shy to talk with guests", then they were laughing. The women joke about this. In a homestay household, a husband after coming back from the farm also helps the wife with taking care of small children. Women said, "Normally men take a rest after doing farm work, but now they have to help us to take care of a baby or small kid when there are guests at our home." Sometimes, a husband helps his wife with cooking, if a woman is sick or there are many tourists that day. Nowadays, women usually stay at home if guests stay overnight at the homestay to prepare things for welcoming guests. Thus, when CBT guests are present, men take the primary roles in the farms (Promburom, 2019).

Furthermore, a woman leader who is a committee member of the village CBT group now plays an important role in CBT group finances. She manages queues for homestays as well as contacts tour companies and organizations. She does account. She used to attend training that was organized by a government office and acquire knowledge from that. She also records tourism data for the CBT group; this includes documenting the number of tourists, as well as managing and recording the tourism fund. She said, "After I manage the finances, I could collect the village tourism fund, which is about 20,000 baht per year. I have transparency. At the village CBT member's meeting, I always inform about the amount of money. No one can do like me, even the village headman. You can ask the villagers about this. I am an honest person." (Interviewed on February 3, 2018). Moreover, she said, "Now in a training or meeting, I do not fear to speak through the microphone to introduce myself in Thai. In the past, when I attended a training, I normally avoided that. When they asked participants to introduce themselves, I hid in the toilet during the introduction session. Now, I do not fear like in the past." (Promburom, 2019).

Yet, Lahu women still play an important role in domestic work when there are no guests. Lahu women still work on the farm when there are no homestay guests. In a home, women do tasks such as cooking, taking care of children, and so on. In a homestay place, it has been found that gender is fluid; it depends on time and space. However, particularly during the high tourism season, women experience a triple burden — doing domestic, public, and community work. A woman who is a committee of the village CBT group told the researcher, "This year, I don't have time to feed the pigs, have no time to sew new clothing for a New Year, and have no time to pound the rice cake for a new year. I ask my son for doing that. Today I am tired. I do not have time to take a rest or even brush my teeth. Sometimes I brush my teeth nearly noon. I have breakfast at almost noon, have dinner at 9 pm. I must check the tourists' contact, and tomorrow I must wake up early morning to cook for my little son before he goes to school. However, it is good if there are many tourists, I can generate much income to support my family". While men said, "It is okay to work on a farm alone, but it is good if my wife helps me too. During harvesting rice season in winter, my relatives and neighbors help me for harvesting rice as exchange labor, if my wife has guests at the homestay and cannot work on the farm. Anyway, homestay tourism can make a good income for the family." (Promburom, 2019). It seems that the kin network can be used to support women's negotiation about gender role shifting in homestay tourism, especially during harvesting or planting season in the farm. However, a Lahu woman said, "If there are no guests, I also work on a farm to help my husband. Sometimes, my husband also complains if he often works alone on the farm. After tourist check-out, I will go to the farm and grow some vegetables; otherwise, he will complain that I don't do anything." (Promburom, 2019).

Even though women can negotiate gender roles that can be shifted during the high tourism season, they still perform traditional roles during the low tourism season when there are no guests. Nevertheless, it was found that women who bolstered economic status has the power to capacitate negotiating their family's decision making. Tourism income can change a family's economic status as well as women's economic status. However, the income that women earn through their homestay work does not necessarily become their own and of which they can do as they want. When a woman needs to buy things other than food, she generally must secure agreement from her husband. For example, a Lahu man said, "I wanted to buy a second-hand car for trading agricultural products because I don't want to borrow money. But my wife convinced me to buy a new car; she said it is a high cost to fix the second-hand car, then we can use our savings from homestay for living and borrow some money from the bank to buy a new car." (Promburom, 2019).

Considering economic status, Lahu women who run homestay tourism can generally negotiate their power regarding domestic work. Many Lahu women in this village recently purchased a washing machine, whereas Lahu women used to wash the family's clothes and the homestay stuff (e.g., blankets, bedsheets, etc.) with their hands. A woman said "It is a lot of work to wash blankets. A washing machine has helped me a lot. I can do other work at the same time while I am washing clothes." Another woman said, "I initiated the idea of buying a washing machine. I asked my husband about this. However, if he did not agree, I would not buy it because I do not want to argue with him. But he agreed about this purchase because he sees how it is hard work to wash clothes by hand." (Promburom, 2019).

A poor woman who runs a homestay and sells souvenirs for tourists said, "I bought a television by myself. The old one that we have is used by my son and husband. They usually watch Thai boxing and sports TV programs, but I want to watch the soap opera TV channel. I did not ask my husband about buying the new television. I collected my savings money from selling souvenirs. I also plan to buy a mobile phone. I do not have it yet, but my husband and my son have that. This winter season if I can save money from selling souvenirs, I will buy it." (Promburom, 2019).

Yet, I support Becklake and Ferguson's (2017) argument that homestay tourism blurs the line between the domestic and public spheres in terms of the social reproduction of gender roles, by shifting non-market labor to market labor. With homestay tourism, driven by capitalism, Lahu women now experience more space in the public sphere; women are also generating economic income. They are serving important homestay tourism roles such as cooking, cleaning, taking care of guests, washing bedsheets, preparing bedrooms, etc. These traditional gender roles as motherhood (domestic) labor in the homestay have therefore shifted to the public market sphere. However, the women in this case study village who are participating in a homestay tourism business play an active role in both the domestic and public spheres. They are challenged by triple-burdens of farm production and reproduction work, as well as with and by community-driven activities related to homestay tourism development. These phenomena are shifting, even reconstructing, the functions and meanings of Lahu women's traditional gender roles. Homestay tourism has been historically considered as non-value work (e.g., caretaking, cooking, cleaning, etc.), since to this work did not directly generate financial income, but it is evermore becoming value-work nowadays in the case study village.

Feminist Political Economy scholar argues that housework domestic work is economic work based on the argument of its societal value. Women work in subsistence production activities or unpaid work, for example, food cultivation, caring for animals and family members. Reproductive work is also a form of unpaid work for reproducing the present and future workforce (Wollstonecraft, 1792; Mill, 1869; Gilman, 1998; Chafetz, 1991; Svetamra, 2001; Beneria et al., 2016; Ramitanond and Somsawasdi, 1988; D'Altroy and Hastorf, 2001). Housework is becoming an economic activity, and the inclusion of women's voices is needed (Beneria et al., 2016). Thus, a homestay service in the form of domestic activities or housework is shifting to the market sphere and generating economic value by and for women. Likewise, this has shifted women's domestic activities from being of non-value to value work. This phenomenon has become more accepted by the men because the homestay generates income used for supporting the family. Therefore, this value-work as a domestic strategy is cultivating empowerment in terms of women's economic status and capacity for negotiating gender roles.

Thus, as a gender performance, the women in the case study village who are participating in homestay tourism development can be an agency. Goffman (1959) considers the life and the roles we play as a theatrical performance. At the front stage, we are a carefully crafted representation of who we are, and what we want others to think about who we are. We are expected by social norms to put on a certain front, and there is little room for tactics while we are on this stage. Lahu women participating in the homestay tourism business use their motherhood identities or domestic ideology of caretakers' strategy to contest men's space in the homestay to perform domestic roles and for bargaining gender power relations. While on the front stage, Lahu women can use impression management (Goffman, 1959) as the hospitality service in a homestay as a tool for making themselves look more appealing to guests when interacting, guiding, and controlling how guests (and therefore greater society) perceive them.

6. CONCLUSIONS

The Lahu women in this case study village traditionally perform both reproductive and productive work, such as by doing house and farm work. The domestic and public spheres of women and men of Lahu Na Shehleh culture have traditionally overlapped. However, they have experienced a division of labor in these domestic and public spheres. As for gender roles construction, Lahu culture has traditionally required women

to perform the primary roles in domestic work and as caretakers. Culturally, men are trained to be leaders; they have had more mobility connections with outsiders than women in the past.

In the past, Lahu women were shy and normally stayed at home. However, it is realized that capitalism opens more space for women. Community-based tourism (CBT) development, as an example, and its related financial income is beneficial for CBT participating villagers, at least in terms of livelihood support. However, there is another aspect to this dynamic. Tourism has also greatly impacted villagers' economic status and their gender relations. Nowadays, the women in the case study have more economic status, as well as mobility and capacity to connect with outsiders. The women have more space in the public sphere, including economics as well as with social and political dynamics.

For example, women participate in CBT group committees, village committees, as a vice village headman, and a community representative when attending workshops and meetings outside the village. The primary drivers influencing this has rendered women with having more space in the public realm because women nowadays, especially the newer generations, have higher education, more connections with outsiders in the local and global levels, have more opportunities to attend training organized by government and non-government organizations, and eased access to new technology (e.g., smartphones and social media), via which they can acquire information through social networks. Younger villagers also have more Thai language skills. In the past, lack of Thai language skills was a barrier that hampered women's overall confidence, particularly when connecting with village outsiders. Nowadays, however, the women in the case study have more connections, after practicing speaking Thai with Thai CBT guests.

Nevertheless, women experience various struggles around housework and community-based tourism. In a homestay tourism place, the public sphere (homestay) overlaps the domestic sphere (home). In a homestay business, women perform multiple identities and gender roles as mother, wife, farmer, and entrepreneur. Likewise, particularly during the high tourism season, women experience a triple burden doing domestic, public, and community work. Women still work on the farm to help their husbands, particularly if there are no CBT guests. Women still tie themselves with the wife and motherhood ideology. For example, women worry that their husbands might complain if they are not accompanied by farm work. A woman said, "After the tourists check-out, I will go to the farm and grow some vegetables; otherwise, my husband will complain by saying that I don't do anything."

Yet, women participating in a homestay tourism business can use their motherhood identity and caretakers' strategy for contesting men's space in homestay tourism and can negotiate their power in both the public and private sphere. Feminism demonstrates that gender is a social construction that is yoked with power relations between men and women in the public and domestic spheres, respectively. The household is the site of gender inequalities in workload, resource allocation, and power relations that have historically controlled women, particularly via unpaid work and the social reproduction of caretakers (Beneria et al., 2016). We cannot see domestic and public as a dichotomy and fix. Women participating in homestay tourism contest and challenge social reproduction. With homestay tourism, driven by capitalism, women in the studied village who are participating in a homestay tourism business now experience more space in the public sphere. Homestay tourism, therefore, blurs the line between the domestic and public spheres. Women are serving important homestay tourism roles with hospitality services such as cooking, cleaning, taking care of guests, washing bedsheets, preparing bedrooms, etc. These traditional gender roles in the homestay might affirm the social reproduction of women in the domestic sphere. However, these traditional gender roles in the homestay have therefore shifted to the public market sphere, as women are generating economic income. This phenomenon has become more accepted by the men in the studied village because the homestay generates income used for supporting the family. Yet, homestay tourism place-making in this case study has constructed new meanings of women's traditional gender roles. For example, homestay tourism historically considered non-value work (e.g., caretaking, cooking, cleaning, etc.), due to not cultivating financial income, has become a value-work. Yet, tourism income can change a family's economic status as well as women's economic status. It has been discovered that gender is fluid; it depends on time and space in a homestay place. Lahu women can negotiate temporal gender role shifting during high tourism season, but they still work traditional roles during the low tourism season when there are no guests; this is the challenge for Lahu women in homestay tourism.

It was found in this study that women who have more economic status cannot fully negotiate power in the family unless they have an independent income. The result of this study supports Ngome's (2003) study that women's ability to negotiate decision-making powers is dependent upon their access to an independent income. Thus, even if women have high social status this does not mean that they can have absolute power for bargaining at the family level. UNWTO and UN Women (2011) mention that tourism can generate gender equality and women's economic empowerment. However, this case study reveals that homestay tourism cultivates family income. And even though women, through CBT, can bolster their empowerment through economic generation, they are still not free to have absolute power in the family's decision-making.

Moreover, the Lahu women who are participating in homestay tourism businesses can also learn from and use social media for doing things other than reproducing gender role stereotypes. Likewise, through social media, they learn how to form their agency through online social networks. Social media opens space for Lahu women to create a new set of capacities. Women learn how to use social media as a tool for promoting homestay tourism and building online customer relationships. Social media is a tool to support the small enterprise that helping Lahu women to promote tourism marketing that supports women's economic status. Yet, intersectionality such as age, education, language literacy, and technology literacy might impact on Lahu women's accessibility to social media unequally. For instance, aging, low-class, and low literacy women might have more struggle to access new technology than other women.

The 'gender performance' is fluid. The women in this studied village who are participating in homestay tourism businesses perform women's roles via the display of hospitality and caretaking workers; therefore, women's roles as caretakers have been extensively reproduced through hospitality service. However, Goffman (1959) argues that people can be an actor or agency and manipulate their audiences at the frontstage of their performance. Likewise, Lahu women who are participating in the homestay tourism business use impression management as a tool for making themselves look more appealing to other people. In the homestay tourism business, women perform their self and gender through acts, speech, gesture, dress, and so on at the frontstage. Yet, a 'homestay service' is overlapping with both the domestic and public spheres. This creates space for women to utilize hospitality services for generating income that supports both the household and the community, and this (economic generating) agency can sometimes be carried over into bargaining power at various scales and levels. For example, women might perform their gender roles to impress guests, perhaps in hopes that tourists may revisit or promote the homestay. In another way, the Lahu women in this case study village who are participating in homestay tourism development may perform their gender role identities via social media; this can be for representing themselves, as well as for promoting tourism as a negotiation space for economic fulfillment. Women also use this empowerment for negotiating relationship roles that have traditionally been relatively static.

Furthermore, a Lahu woman leader used her accounting and finance skills obtained from training, ethics of financial transparency, and the CBT mentor network as strategies for negotiating power with the CBT group members. She is respectfully accepted by the village CBT group members and tour companies. Later, in 2020, she was selected as the new chair of the village CBT group. West and Zimmerman (1987) mention that people when interacting with others do gender-based things because of "accountability." This is because people know they will be judged by society and need to perform via gender appropriation. However, women can receive accountability for their gender roles if they have good skills and work well within these roles.

Thus, the researcher argues that the Lahu women who are participating in a homestay tourism business negotiate gender roles within the broader discourses of tourism development and ethnicity, where tradition and femininity are key signifiers of authentic homestay experiences. Women's actual practice of CBT engagement must be considered in order to fully understand women's participation in CBT place-making.

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