

Gender and Women Entrepreneurs' Strategies in Tourism Markets: A Comparison between Tanzania and Sweden

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Abstract

Complexity of tourism markets has been a challenge for both developed and developing countries. However, there is an argument that gender has been playing its role in influencing strategies used by women in the tourism market. Again, there may be prevailing differences between developed and developing countries in production and consumption of tourism. This study aimed at examining the way gender plays a role in motivation for women to start a tourism business by comparing Tanzanian and Swedish women. It used case studies of women engaged in tourism as entrepreneurs from Tanzania and Sweden in order to examine their situations in terms of their background and context. From an interpretivist perspective and a post-modernist constructivism approach, the case study strategy was applied and their experiences were captured by using in-depth interviews.

Results from the study revealed that strategies used by women are determined by their motivations to enter in tourism markets as well as challenges they encounter in their businesses (tourism), society and households. Moreover, despite their differences, women from both contexts are influenced by tourism market stakeholders' perception on women's position in the industry. Theoretically, this study has demonstrated that gender can be conceptualized through an individual's motivation. This adds to variables such as context, individuals' activities and division of labour, which are in gender literature. Results from this study lead to recommend that development and women empowerment should be customized in order to accommodate differences of women in various contexts.

Key words: women entrepreneurs, tourism markets, motivation, gender, challenges

Introduction

This study is within debates on the way socio-cultural characteristics influence on women's position in tourism (Maliva, 2017; Maliva *et. al.*, 2018; Wagner and Peters, 2014; Harris and Wilson 2007). Gender as one of socio-cultural characteristics has been explained to significantly influence on women's access to tourism industry opportunities and possibilities in different ways (Apostopolopoulos and Sönmez, 2001; Kinnaird *et. al.*, 1994; Swain 1995). It is argued that tourism industry is considered to be friendlier to females than other industry sectors such as

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finance, mining, fishing and so forth (Ashley *et. al.*, 2000). Moreover, there is an assumption that nature of some activities related to the sector (accommodation or hospitality, entertainment to travel and tour operating agencies) would be highly attractive to women. Thus, it may be expected that many women would be found in this industry not only as employees but also in managerial positions and as investors. Given the fact that average female participation in the sector is 55.5 percent at global level and up to 70 percent at regional level in Asia and Africa, women's engagement and participation in tourism is quite significant compared to other sectors such as mining and political leadership (Peters, 2009). Yet, women are found facing challenges that are caused by gender division of labour (Veijola and Valtonen, 2007; Swain, 1995). For example, it is sometimes unavoidable that engagement in the hotel sector may impose unsocial working hours on employees and can make shift patterns unpredictable, both of which are difficult to reconcile with family and care responsibilities and the bulk still falls on women (Baum, 2013, Thrane, 2008, Tugores, 2008). Issues generated by culturally determined gender roles are also associated to disparities in skills development between men and women, eventually placing each gender in different situations against entry and participation in the sector (Pritchard and Morgan, 2000).

Developed knowledge about influence of gender on women's ability to work in tourism sector in different contexts has been in literature (Pritchard and Morgan, 2000, 2007; Ateljevic and Hall, 2007; Tugores, 2008; Tucker, 2007; Boonabana, 2014, Maliva 2017). Motivation of women to enter in tourism despite challenges emanating from society that they live and the tourism environment has also been documented (for example, Tucker, 2007, Maliva, 2016). However, there are limited empirical studies that examined women's decisions to enter the industry despite prevailing challenges. At the same time, available studies have limitedly shown that challenges encountered by women entrepreneurs in tourism may be different, depending on the specific context within the industry. This may be because of different social, political and economic contexts, which offer different situations for the tourism sector. Yet, studies that explored comparative women entrepreneurs' experiences in decision-making about ways of accessing tourism markets in different societies are scarce. Therefore, it was important to examine the manner such factors have affected women entrepreneurs' access to tourism markets in their respective countries. Thus, researchers examined the situation of women in tourism from a comparative approach, using case studies of Tanzania and Sweden, two different countries in terms of their backgrounds and contexts in order to understand how women fair in such business.

Research Questions

Key questions that the study explored included the following: what are challenges that face women entrepreneurs in tourism business in the two countries? Are there some similarities and/or differences? Also the study sought to examine whether or not their situation can be explained by existing gender relationships and cultural characteristics of each country.

Literature Review

Women, gender and tourism

Women's position in literature on tourism has mostly been explained under realms of gender theories (Aitchison, 2000; Aitchison, 2005; Swain, 1995; Wilkinson & Pratiwi, 1995). Many authors see gender as a social construct that shows relationship between men and women (Swain, 1995; Wilkinson & Pratiwi, 1995). Besides, its definitions vary, depending on context and perspective that pinpoint the definitions (Wilkinson & Pratiwi, 1995). Swain (1995: 247) defined

gender as, “a system of cultural identities and social relationships between female and males as a significant variable in any study of human relations.” Apart from showing influence of culture on identifying and positioning individuals according to their sexes, she (*ibid.*) also implied that gender has a significant contribution in explaining human relations. In defining gender, Henderson (1994) showed influence of individuals’ activities on constructing cultural structures that result into gender (re)production. For her (*ibid.*), both cultural patterns and individual agency have their roles in creating meaning of gender, though society steers the assignment of that meaning. Due to the fact that gender construction process is dynamic, its meaning tends to change because individuals tend to behave in response to their perceptions of what is masculine and what is feminine. In this respect, Henderson (1994) defined gender as, “a set of socially constructed relationships which are produced and reproduced through people's actions.” However, Henderson’s definition was criticized because of its shortcomings in delivering gender within the cultural construction and social relation ideologies (Swain, 1995). Despite such anthropological critique, Henderson’s definition was argued to have done a remarkable work by clarifying characteristics of gender, namely, gender as a dynamic process, signifying relationships of power, expressed in perceptions, learned behaviour and expectation about feminine as well as masculine (Swain, 1995).

Additionally, Connell (1987) in his definition of gender, added division of labour among other elements and defined gender as, “a system of culturally constructed identities expressed in the ideologies of masculinity and femininity, interacting with socially structured relationships in divisions of labor and leisure, sexuality and power between women and men” (Swain, 1995: 245). Division of labour within masculinity and femininity ideology is argued to be among the main parameters in understanding gender relations in tourism (Swain, 1995). The parameter can be elaborated using two main dimensions: association between division of labour and division of leisure argued to expose gendered use of time as well as distinctions between works and play (Henderson, 1994). Social sexuality from this perspective is another dimension of gender relations (Swain, 1995). Drawing from Connell’s (1987) work, social sexuality is framed to be the primary variable in understanding gender relations and also demonstrating dynamics of gender in tourism social structures that guide gender relations, which are conceptualized as division of labour, power and social sexuality.

Kinnaird and colleagues (1994) theorized gender in the context of varied and complex processes, which embody relations that are hierarchical and unequal in nature. Gender being one of complex elements is argued to have an impact on prevailing differences between men and women in production as well as consumption of tourism (Apostopolopoulos and Sönmez, 2001; Kinnaird *et. al.*, 1994; Swain, 1995). Moreover, such differences extend their impact on shaping tourism markets, tourists’ motivations and hosts’ actions (Kinnaird *et. al.*, 1994; Pritchard & Morgan, 2000; Swain, 1995). Thus, the said differences have implication on tourism employment opportunities that are argued to be gendered, control of waged work and ‘women work’ norms (Swain, 1995). These overviews were taken in this study to explain influence of gender on women’s decisions on strategies they use to enter and work in tourism. The study explored the way context and individual activities (Henderson, 1994) shape women’s decisions. It also explored women’s perception on households’ division of labour and the way they relate to their choices, performance and their coping strategies. The influence of femininity and masculinity perception was also explored to see if women are influenced by how they see themselves and how they think other people think about them. The study was also concerned

with the way women cope in complex processes as well as hierarchical and unequal relations in tourism industry.

Tourism Industry Markets

The tourism market primarily emanates from opportunities that are offered by the tourism industry. The tourism industry can be defined as range of businesses and organizations involved in delivering tourism products (Cooper *et. al.*, 2008). Due to global nature of its activities, it is argued to involve complex processes, activities and outcomes arising from relationships and interactions among tourists, tourism suppliers, host governments, host communities and surrounding environment involved in attracting and hosting visitors (Goeldner & Ritchie, 2009). Complexities in the industry have been argued to bring challenges that limit women's choices to work in tourism (Henderson, 1994; Kinnaird & Hall, 1996; Kinnaird *et. al.*, 1994; Swain, 1995). Such challenges are argued to be influenced by gender relations as well as makeup of the tourism industry business.

Therefore, tourism markets comprise places where tourists can get products and services through exchange (Cooper *et. al.*, 2008; Goeldner & Ritchie, 2009). They are characterized by complex environments embracing international and domestic organizations in which foreign multinational companies play a dominant role (Gentry, 2007). According to Cooper and his co-workers (2008), the tourism market is characterized by small business domination whereby large corporations have market prominence. Entrance into the market might be tricky because it is characterized by high ratio of fixed costs to variable costs, which has considerable implications for individual financial stability. Moreover, the high level of customer contact demands highly trained personnel in both operational aspects and customer care. Similarly, the perishable nature of the product demands continued investment in reservation and yield management system. Additionally, prevalence of seasonal and irrational demand patterns, involving enterprises in use of promotional and pricing strategies gives rise to unpredictable business (Cooper *et. al.*, 2008).

Methodology

Research Design

The case study methodology was applied from interpretivism perspective and a post-modernist constructivism approach (Jennings, 2010). Five cases were selected from each of the two countries. Tourism authorities from each country were requested to provide researchers with contacts from which interviews were requested to the selected respondents. The individuals in the cases are referred to by pseudonyms in order to protect their identities.

Tourism in the study areas

Tourism in Tanzania and Sweden is a major contributor of foreign exchange such that it employs close to a million people and therefore, it is vital for its economic development (BoT, 2016; Terpstra, 2011). Both countries are endowed with diverse attractions that bring in tourists. In Tanzania, there is a range of game parks with unique wildlife, both flora and fauna, to natural wonders and rich cultural heritage resources (Kweka *et. al.*, 2003; Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, 2008). Likewise, Sweden is endowed with thousands of coastal islands and inland lakes, along with vast boreal forests and glaciated mountains. Its principal cities, eastern capital Stockholm and southwestern Gothenburg and Malmö are all coastal places. Stockholm is built on 14 islands. It has more than 50 bridges as well as the medieval old town, Gamla Stan, royal palaces and museums such as open-air Skansen (Terpstra, 2011).

Tourism businesses are owned by both local people as well as foreigners and range from small to large enterprises, some of the latter being multinationals. Recent studies indicate that employment in the tourism sector at operational level is lop-sided on a gender basis, for example, hotels tend to have more women as room cleaning attendants than men (Linda, 2009; Baum, 2015). But at the tourist enterprise, ownership and decision-making level are indications that many areas may be dominated by men. This implies that decisions on distribution of resources obtained through this business may favour men compared to women. Sweden is a developed country, with one of the highest per capita Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in the world. It is a country well known for its people-oriented social policies and its adherence to gender equality. It is endowed with many cultural attractions and tourism is a significant sector contributing to the economy. Women's access to tourist markets compared to men, especially in terms of ownership and decision-making is an issue that would serve as an important benchmark for other countries, particularly developing nations like Tanzania.

Interpretivism perspective allowed researchers to capture different explanations from the selected cases. Selection of cases was based on researchers' convenience to access and respondents' willingness to cooperate. Selected cases were women who own tourism enterprises in different areas. In Tanzania, respondents were from Arusha, Iringa and Dar es Salaam. The researchers also selected successful women in terms of size and kind of business they carry out. During in-depth interviews, women were asked to explain their experiences about their decisions to work in the industry, their views about their businesses, challenges they encountered and the way they coped with them. Data interpretation was guided by the researchers' understanding of gender, tourism industry and the contexts (Tanzanian and Sweden contexts). Interpretations during interviews guided further processes such as during organizing and coding of data. With the aid of the computer software (ATLAS.ti), open codes were used to categorise collected information. The codes such as motivation and challenges were obtained, while patterns such as gender, economic gains, personal advancement/satisfaction and independence were noted.

Data analysis and Interpretation

According to their responses, women's decisions and strategies to work in the industry were explained by their motivation to enter into tourism markets. They explained their life experiences in terms of societies they live and dynamics in tourism industry as well as their households. Women also explained challenges they faced in their day-to-day business and social lives.

Women's Motivation to Enter Tourism Markets

One of the preliminary issues of interest was to find out reasons women entrepreneurs were in this business in the first place. For Tanzanian women entrepreneurs, the dominant motives appeared to be economic and accessibility/suitability of the tourism business to women, while for the Swedish cases, great interest in the job from previous aspirations and desire to be independent seemed to be the main motives. Many interviewed Tanzanian women saw tourism industry as another option for their livelihoods that can be additional to traditional occupations such as agriculture. They also saw that tourism opportunities can act as a shock absorber when traditional ways cannot pay. For example, Madame Naweza in Arusha disclosed that,

“Motivation was poor returns we got from pastoralist living and also the need to educate my children. Besides, this business is better suited for women, for example, people making works of art for tourists are mainly women”

Moreover, many women disclosed that it is possible for them to engage in the industry because they are able to provide suitable products to the tourists. In some societies of Tanzania, it is traditional to teach women from their childhood on handcrafts of different kinds. This is because they are assumed to be homemakers when they establish their homes, normally after they get married. Thus, women use such skills as their unique qualification to enter into the industry. This was evidenced by an owner of curio shop in Zanzibar who explained that “I have expertise in manufacture of artifacts from a young age and this business helps to improve family incomes, while my husband does other businesses.”

While other women thought by working in the industry they help their husbands’ role of providing to the family, others were motivated by seeing that their family members can be potential business partners. Partnership with family members, especially husbands can be in terms of moral support as well as financial support. A woman who is a travel agent was motivated to get into such business because her husband is financially capable. She said that, “This business required a lot of money to establish it. But because I knew my husband is capable of giving me initial capital, I just went on and succeeded to make it. As you can see now my business is faring well.” Some women were motivated to enter into business because they joined with their family members. “It is my brother who enticed me to work in the industry,” said the owner of a tour guide company.

There are some other women who were motivated to enter into the industry because they saw potential opportunities. A woman, who is a successful travel agent in the city, said that, “I started this after realizing that I knew that it will pay me.” Some women have been able to see opportunities because they were employed in organizations that deal with tourists such as hotels and tour operating companies. “I was working as a receptionist in the hotel before establishing my own company,” said owner of a tour operating company. Some other women, who were in the industry as employees, were motivated to establish their own businesses because they were unable to comply with employers’ working schedules. Due to different reasons that require them to spend more time at home, such as nursing children including husbands, they decided to establish their home-based enterprises. Such pattern happened to some women who are dealing with curio and handcraft businesses.

Many Tanzanian women are primarily motivated to be in business in tourism industry in order to generate incomes. Other added reasons such as supporting their families were just to accompany the income generating motives. However, there are few women, whose primary motive was not income generation. This was shown by a handcrafts seller who said that, “I entered into business because I am happy to see tourists enjoy the work of my hands.” Moreover, there were other notable motives for being in the tourism business such as interest in specific type of undertakings like making artifacts (bangles, batiks, purses, and so forth) being “suitable for women.” On the other hand, the Swedish women had major motives like great interest in the business, with reasons such as love for excitement over people and cooking for them, while the desire to be independent was also emphasized. For example, a woman owning a restaurant had this to say,

“I love to excite over people. It sounds rather boring, perhaps, but I love baking and gardening and am thinking: what if they can be combined? Be able to bake full time, I was about to say that of course it is fantastic. I worked at a really big banking group it such that it is so easy to stay on, to work your way up and all that. But at the same time, it has got its downsides like with being governed from the top-down and really, you are just a little cog in a big wheel. No I want to be able to be my own boss.”

For the case of madam in Fjällbacka, reasons for being in the business were echoed in the following words,

“It is something that I enjoy and life is too short to do something boring. So I had rather do something I enjoy and this is lovely. Here in Fjällbackathe, we are lucky because we have history going back to Bronze Age. I want to be self-employed. (Laughter) In addition, I think maybe people I worked for before could see that. I was self-employable type of person. So when they wanted to sell it they offered it to me and I jumped on it. Yes, it has definitely a sense of freedom because I am the boss and nobody tells me what to do. But in a way, customers tell me what to do.”

Interviewed Swedish women saw working in tourism gives them grounds to practice what they have chosen to do in their lives. Thus, their primary motive is autonomy they get by doing business in the industry.

Challenges faced by Women in Tourism Markets

Despite the general view that tourism business is friendlier to women than other sectors, challenges still appear to confront those who venture into it by the mere fact that they are women. However, they seem to vary somewhat in nature and intensity when comparing the cases from the two countries. Generally, women mentioned challenges that relate to the position in their households, other people’s attitudes to women in tourism business and the way other owners or managers perceive them as women. Taking a full charge of responsibilities in their households gives women challenges that constrain their ability to perform in their businesses. In the case of Madam in Dar es Salaam, she explained her major challenges as a woman in the following way, “My challenges include domestic chores where I have to prepare children for school before coming to the business and also I have to routinely attend clinic for the baby.”

This is interesting to note since there are great similarities with what Akvalleren of Sweden had to say:

“There is an insane amount to do during those four weeks in July whereby one has no freedom then, I was about to say. That is how it is and that is combined with children being at home on holiday, if we have not managed to get them to stay with their Grandma and Granddad, so that they can ... well, it sounds like I am making generalizations about men and women here but, although my husband is fantastic in many ways, when it comes to planning and thinking about the summer, we need to see to it that they can go camping. They have got somewhere to live and we need to consider Grandma and Granddad ... Oh, it will sort itself out. Hubby says, ‘we will worry about that later’ – but that does not work. Once summer comes round, there they sit in front of their computer games, while charge about. I feel that I am one who has to try to take charge of all that.”

Women also mentioned customer attitude to them in tourism business to be another challenge that they encounter in their work in the industry. In explaining this, a Swedish woman said that,

“There was a guest at the weekend who claimed that he had paid me and at the time, it was I and another girl who were working there. We both knew that he had not paid. Thus, it makes you feel that is he doing this precisely because it is just us? People do not really take me seriously, I think because I look a bit too young and because I am a woman. I could believe that and actually I agree that it can be a bit like that on occasion. There are some people who drink too much and feel they can behave just as they like. Maybe that is a situation I have too little authority to deal with such situation. Of course I can put a stop to it – that is definitely not a problem – but when Hubby is there and who is that bit older and a man too, it still feels like they take him a bit more seriously.”

Some women from Tanzania also mentioned the problem they faced by serving drunkard customers. Complaining on customer attitude, A Tanzanian woman added that, “It is sad to see some of customers see us like prostitutes. When you serve customers, they attempt to take advantage of us.”

Presence of other counterparts in the business may serve as a strategy to deal with difficult customers. Akvarellen explained such situation by saying that,

“When dealing with customers and that sort of thing my husband carries a bit more weight there. He finds it easier to discuss prices and that sort of thing. I am having to pick up, whereas at the start my approach was more: yes, it costs 1,000 kronor and I know it is a bit pricey but he will simply say it costs 1,000 kronor. Fine, they say, then we will take it. Make no assumptions.”

Women’s ability to work in tourism industry was also mentioned to be a challenge for some of them. Many interviewed women have not reached to the higher education level. In the case of Tanzania, it is common to see many women who had dropped out of school compared to men. However, according to their life stories, Tanzanian women take advantage of training they have been undergoing since they were children about housekeeping. Women have been trained to cook, handcrafts and keeping house in general. One woman had this to say,

“We have been trained to do many things because we were expected to be good housewives. I have been assisting my mother to do chores, cooking, taking care of my siblings and mat making. As a result, I can do six things at a time like plaiting, painting henna, cooking and doing massage. Although I could not perform well at the school and obtain my certificate, I can do handcraft and make items that attract tourists.”

Likewise, education background has been a bottleneck for Swedish women. It was explained by Akvarellen that,

“Again, it is what you as a woman have in the way of background and education or training and experience and all that, but there is also a lot of really technical stuff. You do not get any help with anything from anywhere. So if you do not have any back-up assistance from other people when you start up, which hopefully you do, you will need other men – or women, of course – to help you specifically with the technical side and therefore, it is probably harder for a woman to start up her own business. If you are setting up in business as a woman, what you also need, even if it is just some tiny bakery or whatever, it is to put your name about.”

Swedish women also see the way other owners or managers perceive a woman as a challenge. Such situation was explained by Trubaduren that,

“Senior women bosses have a certain tendency towards, ‘Hey you. Little waitress, you don’t speak to me.’ It is difficult for them to see who owns the place, or, you see, you might come and serve them and they want something and kind of say, well, ‘Can I speak to your boss?’ Yes, you may speak to me. ‘No, no, I want to speak to your boss.’ You see, they cannot imagine that I could be the boss – I am a woman, it could feel a bit like that at times.”

However, Tanzanian women see acceptability and other people’s perception of what they are doing is a challenge. This was explained by Niponipo said that,

“When you are doing something it means you have agreed with your husband but we live with many other people in society. Normally my husband has no problem with me working but the problem is from other relatives and friends. My husband may sometimes change and become furious, restricting me to go anywhere. Imagine this job requires me to move to different places, to receive and send products. But I came to know that it was influence from relatives. They said that, ‘what a kind of a woman that you have married, she does not stay at home, always walking around like a prostitute, and she disrespects you.’ This troubled me very much at the beginning such that I was about to give up. They even threatened to disown me. But this was God’s way of liberating me. I also thank my fellow women who encouraged me.”

Women use different strategies to cope with challenges caused by gendered relations and tourism industry.

Discussion of Findings

Both Tanzanian and Swedish women’s motivations are influenced by both gender relations and tourism industry complexities. From findings from this study, it is found out that gender relations include women’s feeling about their position as women. Women in both countries feel that their households’ responsibilities limit their ability to work in the tourism industry. This study also found out that women’s motivation and choice of business type that they do is also influenced by the way they think other people’s perception of what they do. Furthermore, dependency on second opinion from their male counterparts was noted to both Tanzanian and Swedish women. Generally, doubt about women’s ability to own and perform in their business still prevails in both countries.

The study also found out that women from both sides tend to find their own ways of encountering tourism industry complexities. They mostly choose to do the kind of businesses that enable them to balance with their households’ responsibilities. It was noted that most Tanzanian women deal with handcrafts and food processing, while Swedish women deal with accommodation and food supply businesses. They are businesses that are categorized to be ‘suitable for women.’ In both countries, there are women who are dealing with tour operating and travel agency, which are mostly regarded as ‘suitable for men.’ This implies that culture and traditions contribute significantly on choices made by women. But such in choices, women found convenient ways of encountering complexities in the industry, especially in finding markets for their businesses. Thus, it can lead to conjecture that what was observed in this study is part of what Kinnaird and colleagues (1994) declared that gendered realities shape tourism

marketing and particular sets of stereotypes shape tourism in societies. This is in relation to choice for going into business in this particular sector and opting for specific types within the sector.

The study also found differences between Tanzanian and Swedish women. Tanzanian women's primary motivation to work in the industry, which is income generation, reflects that they are mostly pushed by situations rather than their own interests. This is contrary to Swedish women who have chosen to work in the industry because they have passion to do so. As such, they work in relaxed and comfortable environments. Such situation also reflects exposure level to services such as education that Swedish women have. This also reflects available services such as financial support, business planning and development skills that are available in the country. Moreover, women in Tanzania are mostly influenced by traditions and culture compared to Swedish women. This is because they have shown to be sensitive to what other people say rather than the way they face difficulties or easy ways in doing their businesses.

Women's confidence level in Tanzania and Sweden also differ. This has shown in the manner women find ways of coping with both gendered and complexities of tourism industry. While women in Sweden use their own confidence as a lens that enables them to encounter tourism industry complexities, Tanzanian women still use other people's perception as a lens. Generally, the study found out that what makes differences between women entrepreneurs in the two countries is that Swedish women show that dealing with challenges is determined mostly by levels of their capabilities and confidence. On the contrary, women in Tanzania showed that their ability to deal with challenges was mainly influenced by interactions and perceptions of other stakeholders and society.

Theoretically, this study has demonstrated that conceptualization of gender is dynamically changing in terms of context and time used. In literature review in this paper, the concept of gender is understood by the context (of place and theory used to explain gender), individuals and society (the way they view individuals and divide their labour). This study has found out that gender can also be explained in terms of an individual's motivation. In other words, it is in terms of the way the individual responds to stimuli. That means, when they encounter changes or they need to achieve something they can respond by using different ways. They may comply with the context or use other ways. In this study, it was revealed that women still see that they need support to their male counterparts. Findings from this study can provide inputs for policy makers. Internationally, the inputs can be used in designing programs that can be used to implement sustainable development goals. Instead of using universal approaches, they can design customized programs that will fit different contexts. Likewise, at national level, these findings can be used to implement development and empowerment programs in the best ways.

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