

Exploring Factors facilitating the engagement of women in traditionally masculine employment in tourism delivery: A case study of Tanzania Northern Tourism Circuit

by
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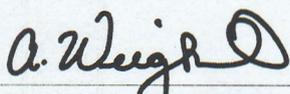
Witness Humphrey Lyimo

Presented as part of the requirement for the award of Master of Arts in Sustainable Leisure
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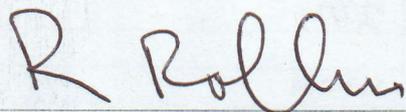
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Thesis Examination Committee Signature Page

The undersigned certify that they have read and recommend to the Department of Recreation and Tourism Management for acceptance the thesis title "Exploring Factors facilitating the engagement of women in traditional masculine employment in tourism", submitted by Witness Humphrey Lyimo in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Sustainable Leisure Management.



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Declaration

This thesis is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except where specifically indicated in the text.



Witness Humphrey Lyimo

I agree that this thesis may be available for reference and photocopying at the discretion of Vancouver Island University.



Witness Humphrey Lyimo

Abstract

Despite the apparent increase of women working in the traditionally masculine employment (TME) in tourism, (such as tour guiding, supervision, and management), empirical research indicates that men are still predominant in these positions (Carvalho et al., 2018; Chambers et al., 2017; Pritchard and Morgan, 2000). Literature that analyzes women in traditional masculine employment predominantly focuses on the barriers to attain these positions (Carvalho et al., 2018; Ferguson, 2010; Segovia-Pérez et al., 2018). The principal assumption is that knowing the barriers is vital to overcome them and reach the desired state. The question remains, what are the positive facilitators for women who do reach these top positions. This research critically explores the facilitating factors for women's engagement in traditionally masculine employment in tourism delivery. Using qualitative methodology this study took a strengths-based approach and used the social-ecological model as a theoretical framework. Exploring the lived experiences of women who were employed in traditionally masculine positions, this study focused on facilitators rather than the barriers that prevent women's equitable employment.

Drawing from the strength-based approach, this study did not ignore the deficit responses, but it navigated the deficits and identified the opportunities for engagement of women in TME in tourism. From a social-ecological standpoint it was concluded that in Tanzania, women's engagement in traditional masculine employment was facilitated by intrapersonal, interpersonal, organizational, community, policy, and structural factors. Individual factors such as skillset, career interest, and resilience were noted. Interpersonal factors like the importance of relationships with family members, friends, and significant others were revealed. The role of formal institutions like schools, post-secondary institutions, and tourism organizations were noted. Community factors like the role of related and non-related tourism associations emerged. Supportive policies were noted to influence and support women's careers. Lastly, structural factors like changing social norms, and globalization were noted to increase opportunity for women engagement in TME and influence other SEM levels. Further, this study reinforced that women's perspectives, experiences, and resilience to achieve and prevail in TME is a form of resistance to traditional gender roles. This study supports that it is worthwhile for researchers in Tanzania, and elsewhere, to use the social-ecological model in their inquiries to scrutinize the social contexts to provide better design interventions to enhance gender equality and equal participation in the labour market.

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Chapter One: Introduction

The tourism industry provides an opportunity for women to get out of poverty but only if gendered barriers to meaningful employment are lifted (Masadeh et al., 2018). Pritchard and Morgan (2000) argued that tourism is a highly gendered industry. It has a strong vertical and horizontal segregation within the workforce, creating a substantial gap between men and women (Masadeh et al., 2018; Ramchurjee, 2017; Segovia-Pérez et al., 2018). The problem is more marked in the Global South (Khatiwada and Silva, 2015; World Bank, 2012). The recent report by UNWTO (2019) indicated that in the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), both the tourism and hospitality sectors, males are predominant in the managerial and leading roles. Positions related to roles like management, tour guiding, and driving are perceived to be highly masculinized (Carvalho et al., 2018; Khatiwada and Silva, 2015). This perception has created unfavorable working conditions and limited access to employment for women. For example, in Eastern Africa, safari guides are typically male and the barriers to this employment for women are numerous and diverse (UNWTO, 2019).

Gender equality is an essential consideration in all professions, including tourism (Ferguson, 2011; Dayananda, 2014). It is a particularly significant issue for the Global South and for mid and senior-level positions in the tourism workforce of Tanzania, for reasons discussed further below (Mrema, 2015; (Nyaruwata. & Nyaruwata, 2013). Tourism research highlights that gender equality needs to be integrated into the industry workforce (Ferguson, 2011; Masadeh et al., 2018). Different bodies like governments and NGOs have continually supported women and affirmed their rights to join the leading roles in tourism (Fischer, 2018; Mrema, 2012; Domenico & Jones, 2006); however, despite the apparent increases in gender equality emphasis, discrimination continues to manifest itself in the global tourism workforce (Ferguson, 2011).

Women in the Global South incur many challenges compared to their counterparts in the Western World (Chant; 2013; Laisser et al., 20). In this part of the world, women have been experiencing poverty in various dimensions such as income, time, assets, and power (Chant, 2013). Asset poverty is reflected in less ownership of assets such as land and housing by women (UNDP, 2015; Zambeli et al., 2017), power poverty defines low engagement of women in politics, access to education, and decision making (Boley et al., 2017). Income poverty is attributed by less participation of women in employment and formal economic sectors, lower

occupations, low paid jobs, concentration on non-payable domestic tasks, poor access to formal education, and traditional norms (Chant, 2013; de la Torre-Castro et al., 2017; UNDP, 2015). Time poverty is reflected in the impacts of women's role within the family which leads to unequal time burdens in the family, and less freedom on women due to domestic labor responsibility (Chant, 2013; UN Human Rights, 2014). Moreover, within the Global South patriarchal domains are prevalent which accelerates poverty, injustices, and violence towards women.

Relatively, little attention is directed to gender-related tourism studies in Tanzania. Studies that have been conducted in Tanzania have noted the involvement of women in both traditional and non-traditional women positions in tourism and highlight the challenges and prescribe opportunities for women's employment and empowerment in the industry (Stevens, 2014; Mrema, 2015; Prinster, 2017). Example: Stevens 2014 in their study of Community Based Tourism (CBT) initiatives, explored the general roles occupied by men and women in tourism, in Longido community and highlighted the tourism potentials for building economic and social capital for women. On the other hand, Mrema (2015) addresses the potential role of tourism on women empowerment and acknowledged the unequal flow of tourism benefits between men and women due to poor engagement of women in tourism businesses. (Prinster, 2017) in the study of "A Tanzanian Woman's Place is on Top" they examined the experiences of women working in mountaineering roles (guides and porters) which are typical masculinized positions. Further, the study informs the barriers to women's participation in these roles. This study adds to the limited reach by exploring facilitators that helped women gain employment within the tourism industry in positions that are typically held by men.

Global initiatives towards achieving sustainable development are addressed through the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG). SDGs were dedicated to aiming to address different issues related to social, economic, and environmental. Addressing gender equality in employment is imperative for achieving sustainable development (Chambers et al., 2017). For example, SDG 5 is intended to promote "gender equality and empowerment of women and girls" (Adams, 2017; Gupta & Vegelin, 2016). Thus, the goal targets the inclusion and participation of women in formal careers and equal opportunities for leadership and decision-making. Tourism can support the SDG -5 through women's empowerment in the industry (Carvalho et al., 2018;

Kimbu and Ngoasong, 2016). Strategically, it is targeting in expanding chances for women possibilities in the traditional masculine positions. (Kimbu and Ngoasong, 2016; Segovia-Pérez et al., 2018).

SDG 8 is intended to “promote sustained, inclusive, and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment, and decent work for all” (Adams, 2017; Stuart & Woodroffe, 2016). Implementing policies to promoting sustainable tourism that creates job opportunities for all people are among the strategies to attain this goal by 2030 (Stuart & Woodroffe, 2016). Improvement in women’s living conditions through income earnings in tourism accounts for sustainability by addressing income poverty experienced by women. The sustainable development goals emphasize job opportunities that touch the lives of all, socially and economically, to improve their life standards (Stuart & Woodroffe, 2016).

The engagement of women in formal employment is necessary to enhance livelihood sustainability. It has been argued that women make better spending decisions with household resources, thus enhanced sustainable livelihoods for women result in a more sustainable household economy. Moreover, formal employment for women informs advanced liberal division of roles and the renegotiation of gender roles in society. Therefore, the presence of women in traditionally masculine tourism careers indicates a more sustainable workforce (Sinclair, 2005).

The purpose of this study was to explore the factors facilitating the engagement of women in traditionally masculine employment in tourism delivery, within the Northern Tourism Circuit. This study aims to build a better understanding of the factors that facilitated women to break through gendered barriers in their employment to help other women follow a similar path. Moreover, the study contributes to knowledge about women employed in tourism from a strength-based (versus deficit/problem) perspective. The present study employed a strength-based approach so as to identify the elements that facilitated non-traditional employment in tourism.

A strength-based approach focuses on strengths, positive experiences, and optimal performance, which informs the facilitation for action, long-term solutions and navigates the barriers to inform the motivation around them (Green, 2005; Seligman, 2002; Warren and Coghlan, 2016). In contrast, deficit approaches focus on the challenges and needs of an

individual, which eventually inform the barriers that individuals need to navigate through to reach the goals. This study suggests that it is important to explore what facilitates women rather than solely focus on the limitations. The remaining sections of this chapter will introduce the issue, research context, and the research questions that were investigated.

Gender in Society

Gagne and Tewksbur (1998) argued that gender is a focal point in shaping society. Societal culture and values influence gender roles and influence an individual's thinking, reasoning, and behavior (Martin, 2000). The social environment experienced during a young age, shapes a child's emotions, attitudes, perceptions, and behavioral reactions to a different matter. While in some cultures gender is viewed as a spectrum of identities, in many cultures (i.e., Tanzanian) the concept of gender remains binary (Özkan & Lajunen, 2005). In these circumstances, the sexual dichotomy is used as a basis for gender determination (Gagne & Tewksbur, 1998).

According to Risman (2004), gender is produced and reproduced within society. Societal elements such as culture, stereotypes, and socio-economic development, are likely to be influenced by views on gender. Specifically, these elements shape how individuals should act based and how they view others' actions, based on gender. Further, gender has long signified the responsibilities of women and males in society (Lippa & Tan, 2001). Societal division of roles has resulted in gendered stereotypes and gender disparities in career development and the workforce (Perrone et al., 2009)

Stereotypes refer to the general beliefs regarding a particular group of people (Anjum, 2019); or roles that can be performed by a social group (United Nation Human Rights). Traditionally, women have been limited to caring roles within the family, while men were responsible for attaining formal careers (Chambers et al., 2017; Laheey, 2005). These perceptions about women influence their development, life choices, and career progress. Further, these gender roles are a menace to gender equality. According to Anjum (2019) and Laheey (2005), poor engagement of women in the formal and professional positions in the workforce can be attributed to gendered stereotypes about women's roles; as a result, there are fewer opportunities for women to occupy leading roles (Anjum, 2019).

Sustainable Development and Women

Sustainable development is the leading paradigm for United Nations. It refers to global development initiatives that focus on achieving the needs of the present society without compromising the needs of future generations (UNESCO, 2019). It emphasizes on the importance of integrating the social, economic, and the environmental aspects of decision-making in every functional sector (United Nations, 2015).

Equality, inclusion, and participation are among the major global strategies to gender equality and a measure against inequalities, exclusion, and discrimination (Bayeh, 2016). Women have a significant role in sustainable development because most of their income is directed to family support and most of their businesses have significant social goals (Kimbu & Ngoasong, 2016). However, different studies indicate that their contribution to the workforce is still minimal (Figuerola Domecq et al., 2015; Mrema, 2015; Prinster, 2017). According to Bayeh (2016), many formal positions in the workforce are reserved for men; thus, women occupy lower positions. Poor policy development and implementation continue the discrimination of women in employment settings (UNWTO, 2019).

With the exception of China and India, women outnumber men in the global statistics (World Bank, 2020); therefore, they should be an active part of sustainable development initiatives (Bayeh, 2016). Global measures such as the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDG) and subsequent SDGs, were dedicated to promoting gender equality and empowering women around the globe (Chambers et al., 2017). It is acknowledged that gender equality in employment, and all social aspects of society, is imperative for sustainable development to be achieved.

According to Fourie and O'Manique (2016), the Sustainable Development Goals aim to address the systemic inequalities at the workplace to attain gender parity by 2030. The initiatives include empowering women to develop their careers in leading roles (Ferguson, 2010). The structure of the tourism labor force and career development is changing (Khatiwada and Silva, 2015). Many women have occupied the leading roles and have achieved senior positions in the economy's formal sectors, including tourism (Chugh, 2001; Domenico, & Jones, 2006); however, their participation is still marked unsatisfactory. The MDGs initiated the strategies to foster gender equality; however, the progress was not satisfactory (Chambers et al., 2017;

O'Manique & Fourie, 2016). The SDGs also aim to address the prevailing gender inequality issues that hinder women's participation in the labor market through its strategies (Stuart & Woodroffe, 2016). Ramchurjee (2017) argued that less occupation by women in traditional masculine employment is inextricably linked with a lack of empowerment, poor working skills, and gender stereotypes.

Women and Workforce in the Less Economic Developed Countries (LEDCs)

Discrimination against women in the workforce is still persistent in many parts of the world (Bayeh, 2016; Pizer et al., 2011) including Tanzania (Hinton et al., 2003). Chant, (2013), Laheey (2005) and ILO (2018) noted that in the Less Economic Developed Countries (LEDCs) women have fewer opportunities in the formal workforce, they do not earn the same benefits as their men colleagues, and the pay gap is vivid. This situation is mainly linked to poor skills among many women (Chant, 2013). Favre (2017) argued that, in many societies, women are still denied the right to formal education or excel at high levels in education which poses limitations on their qualifications in formal employment. These circumstances cause many women to be classified as less skilled employees and suffer unemployment or occupy the lowest positions in the workforce (Favre, 2017; Okkolin, 2010). Moreover, the beliefs about women not being able to dedicate themselves to full-time jobs due to family responsibilities (Chant, 2013) make many women do part-time jobs (Jaffery Hill et al., 2004). This contributes to lower income for women and impacts career development for women as compared to men in the workforce. UNWTO (2019) highlighted that women have tended to fill more informal and insecure positions rather than formal positions in the workforce. However, it has been acknowledged that there is an increasing number of female entrepreneurs owning businesses as a strategy to cope with unemployment, traditional gendered employment, and constraints to full-time employment (Laheey, 2005).

It has also been acknowledged that changes in the perceptions of women's role in society have led to more women pursuing careers in the formal sectors of the labor market (Chugh, 2001; Domenico & Jones, 2006). Different studies conducted in Tanzania confirmed that women are struggling against traditional gender roles and are participating in the non-traditional positions for women (de la Torre-Castro et al., 2017; Laisser et al., 2011; Stevens, 2014)

In Tanzania, the World Bank report in 2008 noted women's contribution to the country's workforce (World Bank, 2008); however, the report highlighted different issues associated with the Tanzania workforce in general. Disparities were noted in terms of low income and literacy level for women relative to men (Ruitenbeek et al., 2008; World Bank, 2008). Low literacy level accounts for poor skills which is a significant barrier to formal employment (Chant, 2013). Other factors that were noted to limit the inclusion of women in the formal workforce include traditional gender roles (Zambelli et al., 2017: 15), additional barriers to entrepreneurship (Ellis et al., 2007: 5), gender disparities in education (Fox, 2016; UNDP, 2015), and reproductive health pressures (UNDP, 2016).

Context of Research

This study took place in Tanzania, which is located in the East African region of sub-Saharan Africa. In sub-Saharan Africa, tourism is among the primary industries that have a high contribution to many countries' economies (Kweka et al., 2013). The World Economic Forum (2019) ranked Tanzania 95th (total 140 countries) in terms of overall tourism competitiveness, but it is ranked 125th in the human resources and labor market. The ranking results from both the lack of a broadly skilled labor force and limitation to women's participation in the formal labor market.

Tourism in Tanzania is largely based on wildlife tourism in the natural spaces due to the presence of diverse landscapes and vast biological resources (Mariki et al., 2012). Other forms of tourism like beach tourism and cultural tourism have fewer opportunities as they receive less attention in the country, making wildlife tourism the leading niche.

Even though Tanzania is viewed as culturally homogenous, it is inhabited by more than 120 tribes so it quite diverse and in terms of ethnic groups, tribes, mother tongues, cultural values, and religion (Malipula, 2014). However, the majority of Tanzanians speak the national language of Swahili. The prevalent kinship is patrilineal, with the matrilineal tribes accounting for less than 5%. While one may expect that the matrilineal tribes were more advanced in terms of gender equity, a recent report revealed that this is not the case. It is clear that patriarchy is dominant throughout the country and influences gender inequality in most domains of life in the Tanzanian society (Brain, 2014).

Gendered Tourism Employment in Tanzania

In the Tanzanian context, women are viewed as household and family caretakers (Badstue, 2020; Prinster, 2017; Zambeli et al., 2017), while men are considered as the family leads (Bastue, 2020). The patriarchal culture dominates social life and labor participation (Bastue, 2020; Brain, 2014; Sakamoto 2008). Women are mostly limited to caring roles in the households while men have control and right over the properties and family economy (Siegel, 1996; Stevens, 2014). This dichotomy has alienated women from formal employment, or their occupations have mirrored their domestic roles (Chant,1993) Within the Tanzanian context, formal positions in employment are generally reserved for men, while women have concentrated on domestic unpaid work (Zambeli, 2017).

In Tanzania, the leading tourism products are related to outdoor adventure and wildlife viewing which is mainly viewed as masculinized domain (Pritchard and Morgan, 2006). According to UNWTO (2019), the prevailing challenge in East Africa tourism is that wildlife tourism is highly masculinized. This stereotype constrains women's participation in wildlife tourism. Sinclair (2005) argued, within tourism and hospitality sectors occupations are characterized by gender stereotyping, sex-typed occupations and patriarchal dominance.

The majority of women are working in the tourism workforce are employed in traditionally caregiving and low-paid jobs such as retailing, waitressing, housekeeping, accommodation caretakers, selling, and catering (Chant, 2005, as cited in Sinclair 2005; Stevens, 2014). This accounts for the underrepresentation of women in higher positions compared to their male colleagues (Nyaruwata & Nyaruwata, 2013); however, a growing number of women have managed to start working in the traditional masculine employment in tourism (Evans, 2014; Mrema, 2015; Prinster, 2017). Within the tourism workforce the traditionally masculine roles are related to managerial, supervisory, seniority, tourism operations, companies ownership, leading roles (tour guiding), and guarding (rangers); thus, these roles are defined as male occupations in tourism and they are informed by patriarchal domains and gender stereotyping in the society (Nyaruwata & Nyaruwata, 2013). Therefore, for the purpose of this study which focused on tourism delivery, the traditionally masculine roles are related to managerial, supervisory, tour guiding, operations, and company ownership. According to the Ministry of Community

Development, Gender and Children 2016, 60 percent of Tanzanian women live in utter poverty (as cited in Prinster, 2017) indicating women are still an economically inactive population.

Tourism's role in poverty alleviation and women empowerment has been acknowledged in the literature (Melubo and Carr, 2019; Mrema 2015; Stevens, 2014). Women have been engaged in both traditional and non-traditional women's positions in the workforce (Stevens, 2014; Prinster, 2017). Stevens (2014) noted that in Tanzania women who occupy the traditionally masculine roles (i.e., safari guiding, operations management, and supervising) in tourism earn a significantly higher income compared to the others who are engaged in traditional feminine roles like selling souvenirs and produce to the tourists, working as cooks and in accommodations, or involved in cultural bomas. The income earned by women is mostly directed 's to family support and community (Kimbu and Ngoasong, 2006). For example, Stevens (2014) noted that part of the income earned by Maasai women is used to lessen community needs by taking the responsibilities on the widows and families, and fellow women. Also, men acknowledge this relief because of the lesser economic burden of full filling women's economic needs (Stevens, 2014).

Gender Policies in Tanzania

Tanzania is a member of the United Nations and the African Union. It has sanctioned many UN Human Rights and Equality Conventions and the country is a signatory to many international equality agreements. For example, Tanzania has signed gender equality provisions and SDGs which involve significant global strategies to address gender equality in all domains of life and emphasize women empowerment. The SDGs have another focus to “promote sustained, inclusive, and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment, and decent work for all people”. Other conventions like the “Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women” (CEDAW) focuses on social justice for women. (see Table 1 for the full list).

The Government of Tanzania has adopted policies that aimed to improve gender equality, education, and enabling environment for women. Through the Ministry for Community Development, Gender, and Children, Tanzania has been working on the problem of violence against women and children, gender discrimination, and exclusion from the formal labor market (URT, 1997). USAID has launched a lot of projects like "Let them Learn" to support young girls

who were denied the right to go to school. The project has enabled skills development for many girls in the country. Most of the International funding agency integrates women empowerment and gender equality towards their endeavors in the country. There are many humanitarian organizations and NGOs whose main aim is to support education for girls. The strategy has improved the status of women to a greater extent.

Table 1

Human Rights Conventions and National Provisions Ratified by Tanzania.

Name of the International Convention and National Provisions	Date signed
Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)	1965
Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)	1985
Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD)	1969
Sustainable Development Goals (SDG's)	2015
Millennium Development Goals (MDG's)	2000
International Labour Organization (ILO)	1964
Convention on Discrimination in Respect of Employment, and Occupation.	1958
National Provision on Sexual Offences	1998
Human Rights provision	1964
Gender equality provision	2000

While it had been acknowledged that progress in human rights and gender equality in the country was achieved (Anasel, & Masue, 2015), some of those gains were lost under the most recent regime. For example, it has been noted that since 2015 within Tanzania it is only safe to have a binary (i.e., cis gender) identify of either female or male. Gender inequality from the family level to the National level is still pronounced. The country has not directed enough efforts in eliminating the discrimination against women. The presence of patriarchal systems in the country hinders progress to a great extent (Sakamoto 2008; Siegel, 1996). However, the failure of integrating the international policies into the Ministries is the challenge.

Tanzania's commitments in abiding the international agreements are still low (Anasel & Masue 2015; Msuya, 2017). Periodic changes and transitions in the leadership regimes in the countries have subsequent impacts on the gender equality policies imposed by different regimes. For example, in the study of Continuity and Change which was done by Basque et al., 2020 acknowledged the impacts of leadership regimes. For example, Basque et al. (20290) noted that

in 2006 Tanzania was ranked in an extremely better place in terms of women's economic participation. This was enhanced by the policy strategies that Tanzania had for women's empowerment. The report on gender gap report in 2018 indicated a fall from 1st place in women's economic participation sub-index and 24th place for the combined ranking indicator in 2006 to 71st and 72nd places respectively in 2018, just after changes in leadership regime. The Human Rights Watch Global Report (Human Rights Watch, 2019, as cited in Badstue et al., 2020) noted that girls, women, and lesbians, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBTQI) people face increasing discrimination and harassment in Tanzania. Badstue et al. (2010) noted in 2017, the Government imposed a policy that banned pregnant girls and young mothers from access to education, and in 2018, the Government suspended USAID initiatives on birth control.

After the data for this study were collected Tanzania had a significant change in national leadership, with the inauguration of President Samia Suluhu Hassan who became the first female president. However, her ascentation to this position came from her role as the Vice-President and death of the President Magufuli. While this has disrupted some of the traditional stereotypes about the leadership capabilities for women (Idris, 2018), and there are early signs of changes related to gender equity, it is still too early to determine whether a female in the presidency will impact the lived experiences of Tanzanian women and the dominant patriarchal culture of Tanzania.

Tourism in Tanzania

Tourism has been one of the fastest-growing industries in Tanzania (MNRT, 2008) and has the potential for income generation and employment opportunities (Msuya, 2015). Tanzania, like many LEDCs, has viewed tourism as a tool for poverty alleviation community development, and women empowerment (Luvanga & Shitundu, 2003; Stevens, 2014; World Bank, 2006). The World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) reported that in 2016, the industry generated US\$2.1 billion in revenues (9.9% of total GDP), employed 3.9% of the country's total labor force (equal to 470,500 jobs); (WTTC – Tanzania, 2017).

Tourism development in Tanzania has been gaining an increased global profile (Kilungu, 2014), with an emphasis on the promotion of sustainable tourism (Hayden Collins, 2015). In the striving destinations market like Tanzania, sustainability is still challenged (Gössling, S. 2000; World Bank, 2015). As a significant approach, sustainable tourism must embrace three

dimensions which are environmental social, and economic aspects. The National Tourism strategy for promoting sustainable tourism in Tanzania aims to create a destination that is "environmentally friendly, culturally and socially acceptable and economically viable" (Eagles & Wade, 2006; Sinclair et al., 2008; URT, 1999). Yet, the desired outcomes have not been met due to different challenges confronting the industry (Lwoga, 2013). The challenges include poor infrastructure, lack of tourism experts, insufficient marketing (Eagles & Wade, 2006; Wade et al., 2001), inadequate human resource development (Msuya, 2015), and unsound policies (Lwoga, 2013). The country is divided into four major tourism circuits: the Northern tourism circuit, the Coastal circuit, the Western circuit, and the Southern Circuit (Mariki et al., 2012)

According to Pforr and Hosie (2008), tourism is an industry that is highly prone to global crises. This is attributed by the mobility nature of the industry operation. The COVID-19 pandemic caused the loss of the last decade of tourism growth and imposed a lot of challenges in the sector. The future of many tourism businesses was at stake due to the travel restriction, shutdown of airports, borders closure, lockdown of cities and countries, closed businesses, hotels, and other accommodations (McCarthy, 2020; UNWTO, 2020). Many people working in the industry lost their jobs and increasing inequalities in the global workforce (Lock, 2020). The impacts are visible to other sectors as well due to tourism industry multiplier effects.

Northern Tourism Circuit, Tanzania.

The Northern Tourist Circuit covers five regions which are Kilimanjaro, Arusha, Mara, Manyara, and Mwanza (see Figure 1). This circuit is the home to famous and iconic destinations such as Mt. Kilimanjaro National Park (KNP), Serengeti National Park (SENAPA), and Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA). Other destinations in the circuit include Lake Manyara National Park (LMNP), Tarangire National Park (TNP), Arusha National Park (ANAPA), and Mkomazi National Park (MNP) (MNRT, 2002). The presence of the most famous tourist destinations in this circuit has attracted the majority of the countries' tour operators, tourism enterprises, and investments. (Greenfield, 2020; MNRT, 2002). Therefore, it was determined that this circuit was the most appropriate for this study.

Figure 1



Possible Implications of COVID-19 for Tanzanian Tourism

This research occurred during the pandemic; however, the impacts of the pandemic were not a focus. It has been acknowledged that the COVID-19 pandemic has severely impacted not only women but the whole of the tourism industry (Karabulut et al., 2020; McCarthy, 2020). The COVID-19 pandemic caused an unprecedented global emergency and affected the social and economic aspects of all countries (McCarthy, 2020). Destinations that were highly dependent on tourism suffered great impacts and are still uncertain if the recovery will keep their tourism industries afloat (McCarthy, 2020).

According to UNWTO (2020), the tourism industry has proven resilience from crises that occurred in the past; therefore, recovery from COVID is likely to happen. However, there is great uncertainty about how that recovery will evolve. This may end up being a more pronounced issue for LEDCs that rely more heavily on international visitation and whose access to vaccines is delayed (UNWTO, 2021). A recent joint report on the African continent (AFCAC et al., 2021), has highlighted the different measures for recovery and attaining unified and health travel again. These measures include accessibility of COVID-19 testing facilities, management

of travel protocols, lifting of travel restrictions, reduction to the high costs on Polymerase Chain Reaction (PCR) testing in Africa, and the adoption of digital global health passes (UNWTO, 2021).

Gendered Implications of COVID-19

The covid-19 pandemic is reported to be gendered in both its effects and experiences (Al-Ali, 2020). The breakout of COVID-19 pandemic has increased: (a) gender-based violence (Johnston et al., 2020; Taub, 2020), (b) women's household obligations (Johnston et al., 2020; United Nations 2020), (c) inequalities and vulnerabilities of women (Al-Ali, 2020) and (d) gendered divisions in the labor market (Alon et al., 2020; Johnston et al., 2020). As a result, there has been an increase in gender inequality in many domains of life (United Nations, 2020).

Due to restrictions and lockdown, poverty among women escalated and further limited their access to resources to support their families. While it has been acknowledged that the overall engagement of women in the workforce has been affected by the pandemic, this impact is not felt the same by all. In the less gendered societies like North America, it has been reported that women have lost decades of employment gains because of the economic shutdown. Ud Din (2020) noted that women in LEDCs are likely to be affected more because the gender gap in the workforce is already wider in those countries. Moreover, it was acknowledged that women working in informal sectors like small enterprises, food services, and tourism were likely to be even more affected. This emphasizes that now more than ever, women's engagement in tourism needs to study to ensure a more equitable future that better aligns with the SDGs and sustainable tourism.

Research Framework and Approach

The research presented in this thesis was framed within the Social-Ecological Model (SEM; McLeroy et al., 1988) which argues that behaviors are influenced by multiple factors. These factors can be organized into five categories including (a) individual/intrapersonal, (b) interpersonal, (c) organizational, (d) community, and (e) policy. As a research framework, the SEM model provides the successive linkages between the individuals and their social environment (Winter et al., 2018). It is a competent of the model to analyze multiple causation factors simultaneously, while emphasizing that a behavior or an action is likely to impact, and be

impacted by, several levels of influence (Essiet et al., 2017; Golden et al., 2015; O'Connor et al., 2012; Stokolos, 1996).

The model was selected as a framework for this study because of its efficiency in investigating the facilitators within a social phenomenon (Lyons et al., 2018; Shogren., 2013; Stokolos, 1996). Further, it extends previous applications that used SEM to define the relationship between women and their social system environment (Fleury and Lee, 2006; Joseph et al., 2015).

This research also took a strength-based approach (SBA) to explore the facilitators for women's employment in the traditional masculine role in tourism delivery in Tanzania. This approach enabled the exploration of what was working rather than not working (Green, 2005) by focusing on the positive traits of a person, a group, or related to a phenomenon rather than the negative ones (Cooperrider & Whitney, 2005). In the context of Tanzania, a strength-based perspective was an appropriate approach because the impacts of gender inequality (Badstue et al., 2020) and the gendered nature of the tourism industry are well documented (Stevens, 2014; Prinster, 2017).

Within its origins in positive psychology, the SBA aims to explore strengths, positive experiences, and optimal performance (Cooperrider and Whitney, 2005; Seligman, 2002), which encourages the pursuit of action (Green, 2005). Goldman and Schmalz (2005) noted that a deficits approach documents barriers but do not necessarily capture successful approaches to overcome those barriers (Goldman & Schmalz, 2005). Therefore, it was determined that focusing on the positive influencing factors was more important to achieving change and helping women overcome employment barriers than a deficit approach would be.

Research Questions

Many women are working in tourism, but they tend to occupy roles that are culturally gendered and deemed acceptable for women. However, there is a small but growing population of women who are working in positions that have typically been held by men. The purpose of this study was to explore the factors facilitating the engagement of women in traditionally masculine employment in tourism delivery. This study aimed to build a better understanding of the factors that facilitated women to break through gendered barriers in their employment and to help other women follow a similar path. Using a strengths-based approach (Goldman &

Schmalz, 2005; Green, 2005) that focuses on facilitators versus barriers and the SEM framework, the following research question and sub-questions guided this study:

- What were the facilitating factors that enabled Tanzanian women to gain employment in tourism positions that were typically reserved for men?
 - How did the lived experience of women aid their resistance to traditional gender roles?
 - How did the lived experience of women impact their resilience in gendered employment?
 - What facilitating factors within the Tanzanian social context influenced the employment of women in traditionally masculine positions?

Thesis Outline

The remainder of this thesis is composed of four chapters:

- (a) Literature Review, which situates the study within the available literature related to the study, theoretical framework, and the sensitizing concept.
- (b) Research Methods, which details the research approach, design, population, and sampling techniques. Further, the discussion on the data collection method, ethical considerations, and researcher's positionality to the context will be provided.
- (c) Data Analysis and Findings, which presents the steps taken in data analysis, the findings of that analysis using an abductive reasoning approach. Moreover, the chapter details the discussion on rigor and trustworthiness.
- (d) Discussion and Conclusions, which describe the study findings relative to the available theoretical knowledge and relates the findings to the research questions. Additionally, the chapter details the contributions of the study to theoretical concepts, including SEM, a strength-based approach, and gender studies. The chapter will conclude with the highlight on study limitations, recommendations, and areas for future research.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

The research in this thesis explored the factors facilitating Tanzanian women's employment in traditionally masculine positions, in tourism delivery. This chapter situates the study within the relevant literature, including the theoretical framework and related concepts. This review is organized into main sections that cover the following topics: (a) Theoretical framework –social-ecological, (b) a strength-based approach, (c) gender schema theory, (d) gender socialization and roles formation, (e) Women and gendered employment, (f) gendered nature of tourism workforce (g) Resistance to traditional roles, and i) gaps in the literature.

Theoretical Framework: The Socio-Ecological Model

This study is framed by the understanding that human behavior is influenced by interactions within their social context. For the purposes of this research, social-ecological models of human behavior were explored to better understand the lived experience of Tanzanian women. These models evolved from traditional ecological models which concentrated on flora and fauna within their physical environment, to the field of social ecology (Stokolos, 1996). Stokolos (1996) further noted that the new social-ecological models (SEM) explored social, institutional, and cultural contexts of people, unlike the earlier ecological models. SEM has been used to explore a wide variety of research topics including; (a) public health (Drew et al., 2016; Golden et al., 2015; Mcleroy et al., 1988; Roura, 2009; Sanga et al., 2019), (b) conservation and natural sciences (Cullen-Unsworth et al., 2013; de la Torre-Castro et al, 2017; Ferreira et al., 2018), (c) labor force issues (Van Kasteren et al., 2020; Lyons et al., 2019), (d) gender (Chynoweth et al., 2020; Kawarazuka et al., 2016; Laisser et al., 2017), and (e) leisure and tourism (Bec et al., 2019; Essiet et al., 2017; Holladay and Powell. 2013; Kutzner, 2019; Oncescu 2015; Skrimizea and Parra, 2019; Tehrani et al., 2016). However, much of this research conducted has been done within the Global North rather than the Global South.

Social-ecological models have been utilized in public health studies across Eastern Africa; for example, Sanga et al. (2019) used SEM in their examination of the facilitators and barriers faced by patients in accessing HIV care. Whereas Laisser et al. (2011) used it in their study of 'community perceptions on intimate partner violence', to contextualize the phenomenon

and their results. However, in East Africa, the use of social-ecological models in exploring the social contexts of daily life has been limited.

Gendered analysis within the social-ecological models and systems has been well explored in the global North. Chynoweth et al. (2020) used SEM in their study of male survivors of sexual violence in humanitarian settings, categorizing barriers to service use into the SEM levels. Kawarazuka et al. (2016), in their study on the resilience of the small-scale fisheries, used SEM to understand gendered differences in access, roles, and management decisions.

The use of SEM within the disciplines of leisure and tourism has focused on better understanding factors that facilitate participation in leisure activities (Essiet et al., 2017; Martínez-Andrés et al., 2020; Oncescu, 2015; Tehrani et al., 2016; Woodside et al., 2006). These studies have considered the influence of multiple layers of social factors. Oncescu (2015) used SEM to explore community recreation opportunities in response to the restructuring of the rural communities. Her findings, linked to interpersonal (family), community, and organization levels illustrated the utility of SEM as a framework for understanding impacts. Tehrani et al. (2016) used SEM to evaluate the effectiveness of interventions to promote women's physical activity. Their research focused on the impacts of interventions on different SEM levels, revealing how this approach can be used to look at a situation holistically. Finally, Essiet et al. (2017) used SEM in their study to assess different predictors for physical activity performance among Nigerian University students. This suggests that social-ecological models can be used to explore factors the influence behavior, as was the aim of the research presented in this thesis.

Much of the Tanzanian research using a social-ecological approach has been in conservation and natural sciences research and has been grounded in more traditional ecological systems (Cullen-Unsworth et al., 2013 de Bisthoven et al., 2020; de la Torre-Castro et al, 2017). Adger (2000) argued that the use of social-ecological approaches in natural science has focused on the resilience of the social-ecological systems due to the influence of human consumption of natural resources. Common to this area of research is viewing impacts from the social context, defined at the macro-level (i.e., human population), on the natural ecology. For example, de la Torre-Castro et al.'s, (2017) analysis of seascape resilience based on gendered livelihoods and their related uses of the seascape, utilized binary gender identify to explain their findings in isolation of other social factors (e.g., age, poverty, education, etc.). Similarly, Cullen Unsworth

et al. (2013), used social-ecological systems to study the resilience of these seagrass meadows. The researchers involved humans as an intervening social factor in the resilience of the ecosystem. This research and others (de la Torre-Castro et al, 2017; Kawarazuka et al., 2017; Shumsky et al., 2014) suggest that humans are typically viewed as a connected social aspect to an ecological system as defined in various ecological models.

While there are inconsistencies in how social-ecological models are presented, the common approach is to represent different societal structures as differing levels of influence (Laisser et al., 2011; Lyons et al., 2019; Joseph et al., 2015). The differences are fostered by the spatial and temporal changes within the social contexts studied (Cumming et al., 2021). For example, researchers have justified the altering of the levels within the model to account for the differing cultural contexts (Cumming et al., 2021; Stokolos, 1996). Further, researchers have added levels to the model to fit all their data into the resulting SEM (Essiet et al., 2017; O'Connor et al., 2011; Joseph et al., 2015).

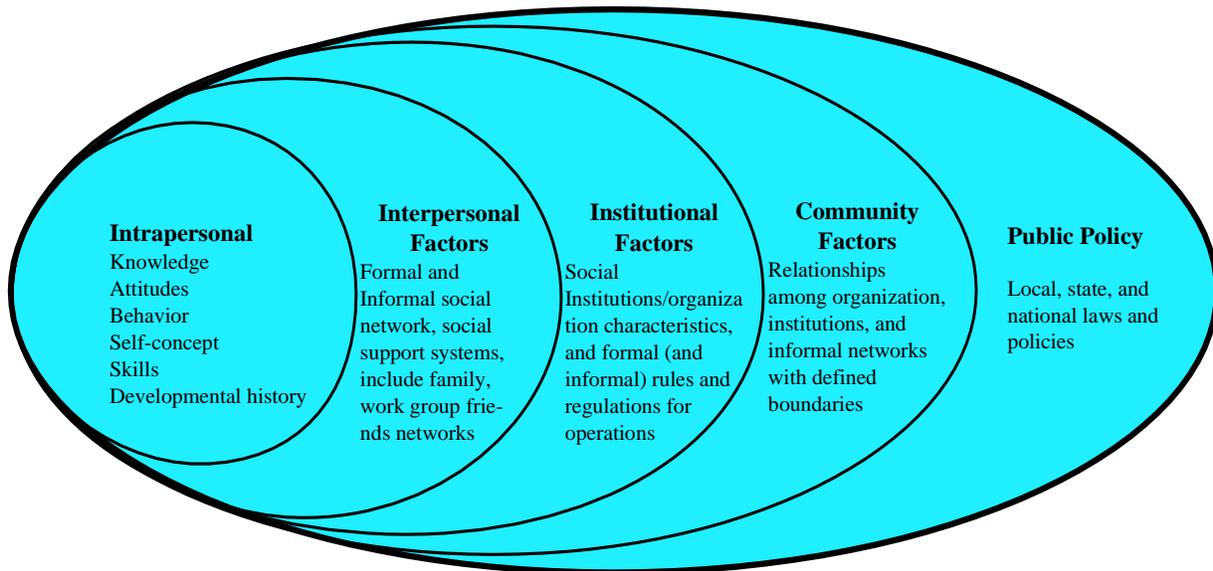
Given the lack of SEM research within Tanzania, the flexibility of SEM to be adapted to different cultural contexts was viewed as a strength and made it an appropriate approach for this research. The social-ecological model selected as the framework for this was that described by McLeroy et al. (1988). They argued that human behavior can be viewed as a series of interactions that can support or limit human behavior (Tehrani, 2016). The remainder of this section describes each of the five levels of influence as illustrated in Figure 1.

The Individual level is at the centerpiece of the model and includes personal characteristics like age, gender, attitude, skills, and knowledge (McLeroy et al., 1988). This level specifies that an individual's behavior and actions are likely to be governed by an individual's traits (Tehran, 2016). For example, the type of tourism employment experienced or desired by women in Tanzania may be influenced by their age, sex, gender, and attitudes towards career development for women.

The Interpersonal level examines the range of interaction that exists between the individual and another individual(s) or groups (Fleury and Lee, 2006; McLeroy et al., 1988). The presence of these varying relationships influences networking, collaboration, and socialization in society (Fleury and Lee, 2006). Further, it determines the influences that exist between the interacting parties (Casey et al., 2009).

Figure 2

Social-Ecological Model (McLeroy et al., 1988)



The organizational/Institutional level refers to formal institutions that individuals interact with. Organizations have definite boundaries and can interact with other organizations that function similarly or in a different manner (Casey et al., 2009). This level focuses on how organizational context might contribute to facilitating how individuals access services (McLeroy et al., 1988). For example, Prinster (2017) noted the masculine nature of tourism and commercial mountaineering organizations influenced gender inequality, where males are likely to be hired than females. Another example is the role of ‘Voice of Empowered Women foundation’ which emphasize the tour companies to give chances to women in guiding positions is showing resistance to the male dominated workforce (Fischer, 2018).

Community-level of SEM explores the individual’s environment such as access to the services, social engagement, community associations, social networks relationships among organizations, and formal and informal networks (McLeroy et al., 1988). According to Baral et al. (2013), the explored networks are not necessarily limited by culture, race, geographical location,

or socioeconomic status. These relationships within the community are likely to support or challenge women in their career development.

The policy relates to the rules and regulations that govern society including individuals, organizations, and communities. Public policies are those approved by different levels of government and are generally designed to influence how people and businesses behave and how organizations are structured and function. These policies typically seek to address the need of the society and can be proactive or reactive to reinforce the dominant culture and social norms (Reimer et al., 2009). In contrast, organizational policies are narrower in scope and focus on personal and operation chains (Reimer et al., 2009). These policies may function to resist or reinforce social norms (Stamarski & Son Hing, 2015). For example, according to Brenton et al., (2013), Tanzania's national policy against inequality in higher education enrolment has led to an increased in number of women in leading positions.

As this research is focused on the lived experiences of women in employment settings that resist social norms, it was determined that SEM was an appropriate holistic model for the research. Further, different researchers such as O'Connor et al. (2012), and Ungar et al. (2013) have noted the influence of proximal and distal factors in behavior. However, the use of social-ecological models in research has been critiqued due to the inability to fully control the scope of the influencing factors (McLeroy et al., 1988; Stokolos, 1996). For example, the model can inform both constraints/barriers as well as facilitators to different outcomes (Sanga et al., 2019). Authors like Fleury and Lee (2006), and (Golery, 2005, as cited in O'Connor et al., 2012), recommended that the addition of theoretical knowledge to the model might improve the focus of outcomes to the issue being investigated. Since this study used a lived experience approach to focus on the facilitating factors that permitted women to negotiate the barriers to traditionally masculine employment, it was determined gender schema theory would be used as a sensitizing concept and a strength-based approach to research design would be used (see Chapter 3).

Gender Schema Theory

It has been argued that Tanzania is a highly gendered society and that it remains grounded in a dichotomous view of gender (Badstue et al., 2020); therefore, this study was informed by a theoretical perspective of gender that aligns with sex-typing (i.e., male or female)

and the ways that gender roles are formed and perpetuated. Specifically, gender schema theory (GST) as described by Bem (1981, 1983) was chosen as a sensitizing concept.

Bem (1982) noted the sex-typing of children ultimately resulted in society's view of gender as a dichotomy. Bem argued that gender identity is highly associated with individual gender schema processing. Children are likely to develop an internalized schema on their gender. Therefore, they appear to be sex-typed because of the culture on distinction and socialization (Bem, 1983). Throughout individuals' development, they are likely to learn different roles pertaining to their sex. The process teaches the young generation what is considered as socially and culturally appropriate based on their gender (Šikić-Mićanović, 1997) through observation, learning, and modeling (Blackstone, 2003). Chueng (1996) noted that the family is the first social context within which this happens, while peers, school (institutions), and their community become the secondary contexts for gender role development (Adler, 1992; Blackstone, 2003;).

While Bem (1981), noted that not all cultures rely on sex dichotomy as the basis for gender identities. For example, some Western cultures have recognized that gender identity is not necessarily dependent on one's assigned sex at birth and that it is not dichotomous (Herdt, 2020). However, the concept of gender binary (cisgender) is still common in the countries like Tanzania. Šikić-Mićanović (1997), argued in these countries, individuals are socialized into specific gender roles that follow cultural norms through a process of learning the beliefs and behaviors of society. It is through this socialization process that individuals are taught what is appropriate for their gender (Martin, 2000). Therefore, this research defined gender roles as those roles that Tanzanian society typically associated as appropriate for women as opposed to those appropriate for men.

Women and Gendered Career Choices

Gender roles refer to how individuals within the society are expected to act, speak, dress, and behave based upon their assigned sex (Perrone et al., 2009). While women are expected to be "polite, humble, and naïve men are expected to act strong, bold, and aggressive" (Plannedparenthood.org, 2021). Therefore, traditional gender roles (masculine or feminine), are the stereotyped roles that are widely expected to represent members of a certain gender, for example, appearance, occupations, and domestic responsibility (Perrone et al., 2009; Stamarski & Son Hing, 2015). Traditional masculine roles are also referred to as non-tradition gender roles

for women. Likewise, the traditional feminine roles can be referred to as non-traditional roles for men (Perrone et al., 2009). Non-traditional roles refer to the roles that are performed by different genders in a society contrary to the community/societal stereotypes (Stamarski & Son Hing, 2015).

While the concept of gender equality in all domains of life has been advanced globally, some societies still perceive women's pursuit of a traditional masculine careers as inappropriate (Masadeh et al., 2018). Idris (2018) argued that within Tanzania men are traditionally associated with formal careers, while women remain concentrated in the household spaces. Further, Hinton et al. (2003) noted that in the LEDCs gender roles are still prevalent from households to labor participation and that only a small segment of the population works in non-traditional roles. However, even those who have attained employment in the formal economy still face many challenges due to their gender (Carvalho et al., 2018). In 2018, ILO reported on workforce inequalities in the workforce which are associated with gender imbalance, discrimination and pay gap.

Research continues to show that traditional gender roles and stereotypes limit women's opportunities for employment (Idris, 2018; Hinton et al., 2003). In many contexts, women are only responsible for reproductive labor and caring for the household (Enloe, 2014; Munshi, 2006; Tucker & Boonabaana, 2012). The feminization of these roles further restrains women from participating in formal economic sectors and limits their dedication to full-time employment (Tucker & Boonabaana, 2012). Furthermore, traditional stereotypes and the demands of domestic labor influence women's career choices.

Also, the influence of patriarchal culture in many contexts propagates gender inequalities in the workforce (Brain, 2014). The patriarchal system influenced androcentric and masculinized domains in the workforce where males are in favor and perceived as leads (Brain, 2014; Haugen, 2010; Sakamoto 2008). This extends to how women are viewed when required to participate in work-related activities that are more commonly associated with men. For example, Orichardson-Mazrui (2015) noted that when women spend overnight away from their families and children because of jobs it is labeled as a lack of morality.

Other authors have spoken to the role of education on the career choices of women. For example, Mkuchu (2004) noted, learning materials framed women as family caretakers and

informal (e.g. domestic) workers while men were framed as leaders and formal workers. These assertions adhere to the traditional gender roles and posit challenges in emphasizing gender equality to young generations. Access to formal education is another barrier facing Tanzanian women.

The number of Tanzanian females participating in formal education is best depicted as a pyramid. Specifically, while an increasing number of girls enter primary school fewer complete secondary school and even fewer complete tertiary education (UNDP, 2015). The presence of few educated women propagates horizontal and vertical segregation in the workforce (Masadeh et al., 2018; Segovia-Pérez et al., 2018) and accounts for challenges in gender equality and the participation of women in the labor force (Boley et al., 2017). As a result, there is a higher percentage of economically inactive women (Idris, 2018). Researchers have also acknowledged that the lack of skills and empowerment, gender roles, and traditional norms, impede the engagement of women in traditionally masculine roles in tourism delivery (ILO, 2018; Masadeh et al., 2018; Ramchurjee, 2017; Prinster, 2017).

Gendered Nature of Tourism Employment

Tourism is an industry with many sub-sectors from hotels and restaurants to attractions and tour operations (Camilleri, 2018), this results in numerous and diverse employment opportunities (Dayananda, 2014; Uppink et al., 2019). The World Bank (2017) highlighted that among all the industries, tourism led in terms of providing opportunities for women to participate in the formal economy, to occupy leadership roles, and to be entrepreneurs. Women are dominant in terms of numbers in many sub-sectors in the tourism industry; however, the nature of those positions is highly gendered and raises equity issues (Masadeh et al., 2018; Nyaruwata. & Nyaruwata, 2013; Timo & Davidson, 2005).

Researchers have noted that men fill the majority of the leadership roles, while women fill the majority of informal and vulnerable positions in tourism (Nyaruwata. & Nyaruwata, 2013). The roles that women in the tourism workforce typically held were those traditionally defined roles for women in society and focused on caregiving and domestic labor (Baum & Cheung, 2015; Ramchurjee, 2017; Tucker & Boonabaana, 2012). As the access to education, a gendered analysis of women in the tourism careers is also best depicted as a pyramid (Baum and Cheung, 2015). The gender pyramids indicate the vertical segregation of

women in the employment positions within the workforce and also indicate that fewer women fill higher positions in the workforce structure (Segovia-Pérez et al., 2018).

Global statistics have revealed that women's engagement in tourism has been increasing (Baum & Cheung, 2015; Ramchurjee, 2017). Further, an increasing number of women have started to occupy positions traditionally held by men and to participate actively in micro and macro enterprises in the industry (Carvalho et al., 2018; Segovia-Pérez, 2018). It has also been argued that the engagement of women in these positions will help to improve their social and economic sustainability (Cliff, 1988; Favre, 2017; Kimbu and Ngoasong, 2016; Prinster, 2017; Stevens, 2014). For example, Cliff (1988), noted that the employment of women in traditionally masculine roles improved their financial and social independence, work flexibility, and the balancing of family responsibilities. Similarly, Stevens (2014) noted that income earned by Maasai women through tourism improved the livelihood of other widows and people who could not provide for themselves. Finally, it has been suggested that women's businesses often function as social enterprises with goals orientated at the communities in addition to economic goals (Kimbu and Ngoasong, 2016).

Resistance to Traditional Gender Norms

Shaw (2001) defined resistance as, “acts that challenge the structured power relations of class, race, disability, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, or other forms of societal stratifications” (p. 188). She further noted that it is those who are typically oppressed in society that is seeking to change the power dynamics and achieve collective empowerment. Women experience household obligations even when they have a paying job (Chant, 2013). Household obligations have made women fail to fully dedicate themselves to the paying jobs or limitation to full-time participation (Chant, 2013). Women who challenge social norms regarding gender roles can be viewed as demonstrating resistance (Prinster, 2017). Examples of resistance come from Stevens (2014) who argued that Tanzanian women from traditional communities working away from their homes were resisting the social norms (Stevens, 2014), and from Masadeh et al. (2018) who determined that some Jordanian women wanted to be tour guides despite strong religious and cultural beliefs that would suggest that it is not an appropriate position for them. Freysinger and Flannery (1992) caution that while women may be resisting traditional norms, it may not be a rejection of the role but rather a limiting of them to that role that they are resisting.

While gender roles are prominent in many cultures, it has been found that the changing perspectives, attitudes, and behaviors of women reflect their resistance to gendered norms (Al Mazro'ei 2010; Prinster, 2017). Further, Tucker and Boonabaana (2012) argued that gender roles could be renegotiated through participation in formal employment in tourism; thus, tourism employment can be seen as the site for women's resistance (Al Mazro'ei, 2010). The ability to resist came from a desire to gain financial independence (Mrema, 2015) and improve quality of life (Prinster, 2017). On the other hand, Stevens (2014) acknowledged the pressures for women to still complete their domestic labor responsibilities, might limit full-time job dedication and career choice.

Women use tourism employment not only for individual resistance but for societal change (Kimbu and Ngoasong, 2016). Women continue to face discrimination in the masculinized tourism workforce; however, the sector is experiencing an increase in the number of women-own and led businesses (Tucker & Boonabaana, 2012). The establishment of these companies is another form of resistance and in some cases, it empowers others as they focus on employing and empowering other females. Further, it is through these women-owned enterprises, that they are able to be committed to a career and renegotiate household responsibilities (Kimbu and Ngoasong, 2016)

Summary

The resilience of women in the tourism workforce relies on strategies for enhancing equality because gender inequality is still a prominent issue faced by women in the tourism workforce (Masadeh et al., 2018). The industry's pivotal role in empowering women has been acknowledged (Chambers et al., 2017; Masadeh et al., 2018; Pritchard & Morgan, 2017). However, tourism is still considered a highly gendered sector (Chambers et al., 2017, Munar et al., 2015) with women filling the positions most associated with the traditional caring roles and domestic labor, whilst men fill the most senior positions (Pritchard & Morgan, 2017).

Gendered segregation in the workforce is a chronic issue in LEDCs (Dasgupta & Sudarshan, 2011). It is attributed to prevailing stereotypes and perceptions regarding what women should and should not do (Prinster 2017; Zambeli et al., 2017). Moreover, the majority of our knowledge of gendered workforces comes from the Global North, resulting in a limited understanding of the gendered realities of women employed in the Global South. The existing

literature on gender and workforce and women engagement in tourism mainly focus on the barriers that women face (Carvalho et al., Craik, 1997; Lassiter, 2012; Prinster 2017; Ramchurjee, 2017), rather than exploring the negotiation strategies or facilitating factors that resulted in employment. Barriers to the engagement of women in non-traditional employment are linked to poor working skills, right to formal education, gender disparities in education, lower education qualification, barriers to entrepreneurship, and stereotypes (Chant, 2013; Favre, 2017; Fox, 2016; UNDP, 2016; Zambelli et al., 2017). This study aims to bridge that gap and inform the facilitating factors for women's employment.

The purpose of this study was to explore the factors facilitating the engagement of women in traditionally masculine employment in tourism delivery. This study focused on the factors that facilitated women's resistance to the limiting nature of traditional gender roles in their employment. Given the multi-faceted nature of one's lived experience as it relates to gender and employment the research was framed using a social-ecological model.

Chapter Three: Methods

The purpose of this study was to explore the factors facilitating the engagement of women in traditionally masculine employment in tourism delivery. This study explored women's engagement in employment positions in tourism within the Northern Tourism Circuit that are typically held by men, for example, managerial, supervisory, and tour guiding positions where women were (and continue to be) underrepresented in the tourism industry in Tanzania. This study adds to the understanding of the factors that facilitated women to break through gendered barriers in their employment and to help other women follow a similar path. This research used to study a strength-based (versus deficit/problem) perspective and was grounded in McLeroy et al.'s (1988) social-ecological model. This chapter details the research approach, population and sampling methods, data collection, and ethical considerations. The chapter will conclude with a statement of my positionality on the topic.

Research Approach

The study of facilitators for engagement of women in the traditionally masculine positions in tourism necessitates the use of a strength-based approach to compliment the research framework. Strength-based approaches (SBA) are built upon a strength perspective and focus on positives rather than deficit viewpoints (Lassiter, 2012; Ludlam, 2016). Examples of SBA include asset-based community development (Matie and Cunningham, 2003), character strength (Warren & Coghlan, 2016), and the super-strength approach (Ludlam et al., 2016). They mostly rely on exploring skills, knowledge, and capacities that are essential in bringing change to design the future sought (Warren and Coghlan, 2016). Conducting a study using a strength perspective increases the specificity and the likelihood of reaching the desired goals (Goldman and Schmalz, 2005; Ludlam et al., 2016; Warren and Coghlan, 2016).

Strength-based approaches are useful in the studies which involve marginalized populations, as it has their focus on what their strengths and achievements are rather than focusing on what is wrong in their lives (Cooperrider & Whitney, 2005; Lassiter, 2014; Steiner, 2011). The SBA approach also allows participants to reveal sensitive aspects of their lived experiences in ways that they were comfortable with (Lassiter, 2014; Ludlam et al., 2016). In gender-related studies, this approach is essential to explore the lived experience of the

participants without causing discomfort (Steiner, 2011). Therefore, it adheres to the ethical perspective and protects the vulnerable participants in a study (Lassiter, 2014; Steiner, 2011).

Research Design

Qualitative description (QD) is grounded in the belief that the truth about phenomena should be found in people's lived experiences (Gergen, 2010). According to Bradshaw et al. (2017), the ontological position of QD reflects relativism, where the truth is believed to rely upon the subjectiveness of knowledge. They further noted that the epistemological view aligns with subjectivism, which acknowledges that an understanding of phenomena is socially co-constructed by the research participants and the researcher.

The use of qualitative description methodology in this study allowed for the investigation of gendered employment of women from diverse backgrounds, as QD honours the dynamic nature of phenomena within the real-life context (Roth, 1999; Yin, 2003). It has been argued that QD is an effective holistic methodology for exploring the experiences of marginalized groups in society (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011; DeVault and Gross, 2012). Gergen (2010) argued that QD is an advanced methodology for gender-based studies. Within QD are a combination of methods (e.g., sampling, data collection, analysis, and representation of findings) that enhance the outcomes of the research (Sandelowski, 2000; Bradshaw et al., 2017).

As a researcher's experiences can introduce biases or influence the study, this methodology encourages self-reflexivity and requires acknowledgment of their theoretical orientation including, (a) their knowledge and understanding of the research topic, (b) relationships with the participants, and (c) biases which might influence the findings (Gergen, 2010). Reflexivity in this methodology is considered essential to maintaining trustworthiness in the research methods and findings. Further, it requires the researcher to ensure that the finding truly reflects the participants' lived experiences.

Qualitative description is concerned with honoring the voices of the participants in the research (Sandelowski). This research design required the researcher to try to stay as close to participants' words and stories as possible (Sandelowski, 2000). As Vaismaradi (2013) noted this methodology results in findings that are descriptive rather than interpretative (Vaismoradi, 2013), therefore the design stays close to the data and provides a summary that honors the participants' words and stories (Sandelowski, 2000).

Population and Sampling

In this research, the population of interest was women who worked in tourism positions that are typically held by men including, managerial or supervisory positions with tours operations, tour guiding, or owning tour companies within the Northern Tourism Circuit of Tanzania. Women in these positions were sought as they had already negotiated the typical gender barriers to reaching such positions and because this tourism route sees the highest levels of visitation in Tanzania (Mariki et al., 2012; Okello, 2009). Therefore, potential participants needed to be in the Northern Tourism Circuit and had to meet one of the following selection criteria: a) they owned a tour company, or b) they were employed in a traditionally masculine position in tourism delivery.

Initial recruitment of participants used purposive sampling so as to ensure that potential participants met the inclusion criteria (Patton, 2002; Vehovar, 2016). According to Vehovar (2016), purposive sampling requires representativeness and diversity of the sample based on the study criteria. Therefore, to identify and gain access to diverse participants, I collaborated with the Association for Women in Tourism Tanzania (AWOTTA) and approached tourism operators that promoted themselves as being female-owned or managed. However, recruitment using referrals from participants (i.e., a snowball technique) was also used. While snowball sampling can lead to homogenization in participants (Explorable.com, April 24, 2009), the combination of purposive sampling and snowball sampling in this study resulted from the inclusion of women in diverse positions that were all typically associated with men.

Data Collection

This study adopted semi-structured interviews as the data collection technique. This approach requires the researcher to develop a theoretical and conceptually ground set of questions that are open-ended and flexible (Creswell, 2015). The approach enables the researcher to probe the participation for clarification and additional information, while also adding questions based upon participant responses resulting in rich information (Mertens, 2007). The technique aims to use the available knowledge of the topic to extract deeper insights from the participants (Mertens, 2007). Further, this data collection method enables the researcher to get actively engaged in the process of knowledge sharing, while providing the participants with the freedom to express their views and perspectives of the phenomena (Mertens, 2007). This method

was selected because semi-structured interviews are commonly utilized in qualitative description design, as they focus on lived experiences (DeVault and Gross 2012; Taylor, 2015).

Instrumentation

Research instruments are designed with the support of the proposed theoretical framework, theoretical knowledge, and the researcher's experience (Knafl, et al., 2007). For this study, the interview guide focused on three topic areas: (a) personal profile (e.g., name and current position) and early life experiences, (b) career and employment path, and (d) gender equity and existing policy. Drawing from the qualitative descriptive perspective, the instrument focused on exploring the participants' lived experiences from childhood to the present day (see Appendix A).

To ground the research in the social context of women's lives, the social-ecological model provided the theoretical framework for this study (McLeroy et al., 1988). The model guided the development of questions that explored the individual, interpersonal, community, organizational, and policy factors related to the women's lived experiences. Moreover, the use of a strength-based perspective ensured that the instrument focused on the positive rather than negative experiences of the participants (Cooperrider & Whitney, 2005).

Ethical Considerations

This study adhered to the ethical procedures for research involving human participants as outlined by Canada's Tri-Council policy statement (Canadian Institutes of Health Research et al., 2014). This included ensuring informed and ongoing consent, as well as providing the participants an opportunity to review their interview transcripts and provide any edits. Further, the women in this study were provided the choice of being directly identified by their given names or indirectly identified through the use of assigned pseudonyms.

Given the nature of this study, there were inherent risks to participants as they were asked to speak to the management of their workplaces as well as the beliefs and behaviours of others in their lives. Therefore, I took into consideration the social and economic risks that the women could face due to the presentation of my findings and adjusted them accordingly. However, as this study employed a strength-based approach, it helped to reduce some of the risks by focusing more on the positive participants' experience (Lassister, 2014). Other measures, like removing

company names or concealing identifiers of companies were also employed to protect participants.

Researcher's Positionality

In Tanzania, gender roles are evident in all areas of life, from the family and community to formal institutions like schools and workplaces. Women are the most responsible people in households. They are responsible for the majority of domestic labour including household chores, taking care of children and elders, and subsistence agricultural production (Minde, 2015). I believe what researchers have said about the division of social roles based on gender. Specifically that it has resulted in the increased vulnerability and marginalization of women, leading to gendered gaps in education, employment, and decision making (Masadeh et al., 2018; Minde, 2015). Ultimately, many Tanzanian women have limited; (a) control and possession of assets, (b) economic opportunities, (c) control over decision-making, (e) employment opportunities, and (f) access to education compared to men (Minde, 2005; Prinster, 2017).

I am a Chagga woman from Tanzania, and in my country, cultural diversity is defined based on tribes. Patrilinear societies are prevalent, which perpetuates patriarchal domains throughout society (Siegel, 1996). The Chagga tribe is principally located in Northern Tanzania at the foothill of Mount Kilimanjaro (Bender, 2013). It is patrilinear in nature where males are privileged in resource ownership, power, and decision-making compared to women (Chagga people, 2019).

I am a graduate of the College of African Wildlife Management, Mweka which is a well-known tourism college in Tanzania. During my studies, I had field experiences that familiarized me with Tanzania's tourism industry, and in particular, the Northern Tourism Circuit and its stakeholders. This education exposed me to the imbalance of males to females within the study of tourism, while also showcasing that most operators we interacted with were male. The chances to meet with female guides and tourism operators were exciting due to the novelty of women occupying those positions.

My values align with feminist perspectives (Brandwein, 1986), which includes the need for a reconceptualization of power, the rejection of the inconvenient gender dichotomies, and redefining reality based on peoples' experiences. Feminist scholars like, hooks (200/2015) noted "feminism is for everybody". Chambers et al. (2017) expand the idea by adding that, "it is for

everybody who believes in the power of love (expressed both as an emotion and as activism) to free societies from hegemonizing patriarchal domains, institutional structures and policies which undermine both women and men” (p. 502).

As a researcher, I believe that all people can perform the jobs that are traditionally held by people of a particular gender. Further, I strongly believe that women are just as capable as men in leadership roles and can do great in the workforce. I also believe that promoting gender equality and women's empowerment in the tourism workforce is essential to achieve sustainability within the tourism industry and sustainability within Tanzanian society. However, feminist epistemology was not applied in this research, due to aspects like the political nature of the realm, intersectionality concepts (Chambers et al., 2017).

Research on marginalized groups seeks to impart more power to the population of interest rather than accelerating their vulnerability. As a researcher, my goal was to ensure I end up with rich data describing the phenomena. During my data collection, Tanzania was not in the best political place to discuss controversial topics. Discussing national politics relative to gender matters was perceived as a risk to participants. This situation would affect the trust, openness, the willingness to share information and would intimidate the participants. On the other hand, discussion of intersectionality concepts in feminist research was perceived to create another risk. Until last year there were reported incidences against transgender people, tribalism, and resources confiscation. Discussing these subjects with participants were determined to impose further risks by accelerating feeling of discomfort and the fear of being stigmatized in the society. Therefore, the constructivist worldview opted as the leading paradigm in this research.

I am interested in this topic because I grew up in a community where gender roles, discrimination, and gendered employment were prevalent. Women were subjected to gendered practices that resulted in reduced involvement in decision-making, opportunities to pursue their careers, and leadership. Further, I grew up in the Kilimanjaro region a famous tourism zone that presented opportunities for women to join the tourism industry. I have seen women start to seek careers in the tourism industry, not only in this region but country-wide. However, few women have managed to occupy traditionally masculine positions and the majority occupy positions that are associated with labour fitting into traditionally feminine roles (e.g., housekeeping). My experiences and education have lead me to want to understand their success stories to empower

other women who want to achieve similar employment and career development while also enhancing gender equality in Tanzania.

Chapter Four: Data Analysis and Findings

This research explored the factors facilitating the engagement of women in traditionally masculine employment in tourism delivery. Following the principles of qualitative description (Roth, 1999; Yin, 2003), data were analyzed abductively (Kovács and Spens, 2005; Lipscomb, 2012). This chapter presents the steps taken in data analysis and the findings of that analysis. The chapter concludes with a general summary of the findings and outlines the next steps.

The findings are organized into three primary thematic areas: a) the gendered nature of the Tanzanian society and, b) perceptions and gendered nature of Tourism within Tanzania, and c) women's employment in the traditionally masculine roles in Tourism. The first section provides an understanding of gender roles and social norms from the family level to the broader society within the Tanzanian context. The second section provides the tourism setting in Tanzania describing different perceptions about tourism employment and the gendered nature of tourism employment. The third sections present the factors facilitating women's employment in the traditionally masculine roles in tourism organized under the social-ecological model categories. The factors highlight the facilitators for women getting a non-traditional job and the facilitators for keeping their job.

Data Analysis

Thematic analysis of the transcript from 17 interviews with Tanzanian women was developed abductively through: (a) an understanding of the social-ecological model (McLeroy et al., 1988), which was used as a theoretical framework, (b) the use of a strength-based approach (Cooperrider & Whitney, 2005) to the research design, (c) personal experience studying and working in Tanzania's tourism industry, and (d) observation of the data. Abductive reasoning in the analysis is an active reasoning process that is open to possibilities of new answers in the inquiry (Rinehart, 2020). The goal of abductive reasoning is to present the best explanation. Lipscomb (2012) noted that in research the best explanation is the one that fits the existing ideas about the world. Therefore, abductive analysis alternates between the considerations of theory and research evidence/data (Kovács, and Spens, 2005; Rinehart, 2020). Thus, this reasoning approach considers the available knowledge concerning the phenomena and stays open to the new insights that can be part of the observed phenomenon (Lipscomb, 2012). Timmermans & Tavory (2014).

NVivo 12 software was used to managed data through a multi-stage thematic coding process that included:

1. Familiarization: In this initial stage of the analysis, the author reviewed the transcripts, trying to get insights from the data and obtain a good overview of each interview.
2. Sorting: In this stage, the data were sorted into broad categories based on the theoretical framework, the understanding of the context, and theoretical knowledge.
3. Coding: Starting from broader categories, codes were formed to categorize data extracts in a more specific manner. This process involved thoroughly observing each piece of data step by step, extracting the details, and creating and assigning new (specific) codes.
4. Reviewing the codes: During this stage, the codes were reviewed to determine the similarities and differences between the categories. The procedure resulted in the merging of several similar codes.
5. Generating themes: Initial categories and codes were reviewed which informed the overarching themes. At this stage, the codes that were created were reviewed to determine overarching themes from the analysis. A total of three themes were generated.
6. Reviewing the themes: The themes were constantly reviewed to get a nuanced understanding of the codes. A pattern was noted in the third thematic area which informed two sets of factors which were (a) the factors that facilitate women in getting the jobs and (b) the factors that helped women to keep their positions (Keeping the jobs).

Rigor and Trustworthiness

In qualitative research rigor and trustworthiness demonstrate the quality of the research process (Bradshaw, 2017). Researchers have noted that the use of a theoretical framework (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Burnard, 2011), honouring participant voices (Finlay, 2006), and researcher self-reflexivity and co-creation of the social construction of phenomena (Bradshaw., 2017; Gergen, 2010; Lincoln & Guba, 1985) are aspects of ensuring that studies employing qualitative description are trustworthy and rigorous.

To achieve trustworthiness and rigour in this research, I worked to ensure that the values and processes of qualitative description were followed. This included honouring the voices of participants in the data collection and analysis, being close to literal description being reflective on how my own lived experiences impact my understanding of what the data revealed, and ensuring that rigorous and well-documented data analysis processes were followed. In the early stages of data analysis, I used my supervisory committee in a triangulation process to develop the initial codes. Finally, my research supervisors interrogated my findings and required me to be able to defend the themes and conclusions that emerged.

Participants Profiles

In this research, the population of interest was women who are working in tourism positions that are not typically held by women include managerial, supervisory, tour guides, operators, and tour companies' owners. Taking a strength-based approach, women working in traditional masculine positions have overcome the typical gender barriers and other obstacles to reach the positions that they have. Therefore, seventeen women working in traditional masculine employment in tourism delivery were recruited. Participants' profiles are discussed in the following table.

Table 2*Profile of Research Participants*

Participant's Names	Participant's profile
Siaely	She is 26 years old. She is a Chagga but grew up in Dar-es-salaam. She acquired a tourism degree at the College of African Wildlife Management, Mweka. She attended different courses that were related to her guiding career. She has at least two years of experience working in the tourism industry.
Flaviana	She is 29 years old and a mother. She grew up in Kilimanjaro Region and the coast of Tanga Region in Tanzania. She attained secondary education. She started pursuing a non-traditional career in tourism as a porter in Kilimanjaro in 2018. She took more courses and got promoted as a mountain guide. She is currently working with a free-lance mountain guide.
Eva	She is 24 years old and a mother. She was born and raised in the Kilimanjaro region, in Same town. She attained Secondary education at an ordinary level. She did further studies at the Mweka College, where she took a Basic Technician Certificate Course in wildlife tourism. She did other courses related to her career. She is a free-lance guide and she has worked for at least 2.5 years in this industry.
Aziza	She is 45 years old. She was born and raised in the coastal region, Tanga. She comes from a family with high educational achievement. Her brothers and sisters are educated to the university level. Her father was an engineer, and her mother was a doctor, so they expected her to follow a career that was closely related to or the same as the parents. She grew up in a historic town. That's why she developed a passion for tourism. She studied in Tanga and Dar-es-salaam for Secondary school. She went to the Arusha region and attended a professional tour guiding school for further tourism studies.

She currently works for N'eyond as a safari guide and Assistant ranger in the camp; however, before joining this company, she worked with other local companies in her hometown in Tanga.

She is among the very first women to be employed as a guide in the tourism industry in Tanzania. She has been working in the industry for at least 16 years.

Glory She is 26 years old and the owner of Kilibeyond Safaris in Tanzania. She was raised by a single mother. She attended private schools (International schools) at primary and secondary levels. She attained Ordinary Diploma at the College of African Wildlife Management. She has at least three years of experience working in a tourism career.

Currently, she is a guide and a tour operator based in Tanzania and mainly operates in the Northern Tourism Circuit.

Mary She is 55+ years old. She is Haya by tribe, and she was born in Bukoba Region, Tanzania. She attended different schools in and outside of the region that she was born. She has been a leader for a large part of her life. She attained a master's degree in Wildlife related studies and worked at Dar-es-salaam University as a trainer.

In her professional journey, she has worked with other wildlife organizations in the continent (Botswana). She has more than 25 years of experience working in the tourism industry.

She is a co-founder of the Association of Women in Tourism Tanzania (AWOTTA). It is a non-profit organization that is committed to empowering women to reach their true potential, gain equality of opportunity, and attain financial security within the Tanzania tourism industry.

Further, she is the Director and the CEO of her own company that operates in the Northern circuit and has got a hotel base in Dar-es-salaam and Bukoba town.

Naomi She is 25 years old, and She was born and raised in the Mara Region. She is Kurya. She was raised by a single mother. She attended both private schools and government schools. She did her tourism bachelor's degree at the College

of African Wildlife Management, Mweka. After graduation, she pursued other courses that are related to her career. Currently, she is working as a Travel Organizer in one of the local companies in the country. She has at least two years of experience working in the tourism industry.

Anna She is 33 years old. She was born in Kilimanjaro; however, she was raised in another region. She currently works as a mountain guide and a safari guide. She also does a lot of tourism works related to website designing and marketing. She has been working in the tourism industry for four years; however, she started pursuing her guiding career two years ago. She is currently single and focuses more on her career and supporting her family.

Miriam She is 33 years old and a mother. She works as an Assistant Operation manager in one of the famous company East Africa. She achieved a bachelor's degree at Sokoine University, Tanzania. She has worked with various companies in the Northern Tourism Circuit. She worked in other different non-traditional positions and traditional positions before she got her current position. She has more than seven years of experience in the tourism industry.

Afsa She is 55+ years old and a mother. She was born and raised in the Same, Kilimanjaro Region. She is among the most successful women and operators in the country. She works as a director and tour operator. She owns a charity organization too. She is based in the Northern Tourism Circuit. She has created employment opportunities for many people in the region and beyond. She has employed mountain guides, porters, driver guides, and many staff in the office. She has given chances to women in different positions in her company. Her decisions, leadership, and power have influenced radical change in society's perception regarding women in Tanzania's culture.

Christine She is 26 years old. She is half Tanzanian; however, she refers to herself as Chagga. She attended international schools for her secondary education in Tanzania and studied abroad for her degree. She started a career in the mass media. After some time, she decided to join the tourism industry. She is

currently working as a design manager with one of the famous companies in Eastern Africa.

- Mishi She is 35+ years old. She was born and raised in the Manyara region, in the small tourist town called Mto wa Mbu. She has experience working in traditional positions for both men and women. She studied Accounting in college. Her dream was to work in the tourism industry. She took different courses that are related to her current career.
- She has more than 15 years of experience in the industry but ten years' experience in a traditional masculine career. She was recognized as the best female tour guide in the country in 2019. She loves her job, and her skills are remarkable.
- Agatha She is 24 years old. She is Pare (tribe). She was born in the Kilimanjaro region. She did her bachelor's degree at the College of African Wildlife Management, Mweka. She started pursuing a tourism career as a porter. After graduation, she started working as a safari guide and a transfer guide in Kilimanjaro. Currently, she is the owner and the director of Afro-lioness Adventure and a safari guide. She focuses on empowering women. All the guides in her company, be it mountain guides, porters, or safari guides, are women.
- Victoria She is 45+ years old and a mother to three children. She is a "Chagga" (ethnic group/tribe). She has managed to achieve a Secondary level of education, attending a tourism college, and did other different courses related to her career. She has at least 17 years of experience in the tourism industry. She is among the very first women to be employed as guides in Tanzania. Most of her works are based on the Northern Tourism Circuit. She is a freelance guide but does most of her work with one of the biggest tour companies in Tanzania. Apart from that, she also works as a local tour agent. She is interested in supporting future generations of women that are interested in guiding careers.

- Hope She is 40+ years old and a mother. She is a charismatic leader in a country that has traditional elements like Tanzania. She has adopted girls that are under her care until now. She is Chagga by tribe, and she is based in the Northern Tourism Circuit of Tanzania. She studied in Tanzania as well as other countries in the region. She has advertised Tanzania's culture beyond the country's borders and the continent. She currently works as a freelance guide. She is the Co-founder of the Female Guides Community Initiatives in Tanzania. Their mission is to promote, support, and encourage women aspiring to become tour guides and help them to reach their goals through the provision of professional skills, tuition fees, transport, field gear expenses, guidance accommodation, and psychological support. She has been a voice to many women and girls in her community. She has trained a number of girls, supporting several in their education, and she has been visiting tourism colleges and provide professional support to women and girls in these colleges. Her Association is trusted, and through her, different funders have been able to provide charity to girls and women living in remote communities in the country.
- Elizabeth She is 37 years old and a mother to three children. She was born and raised in Arusha. She achieved an Advanced level in her education. After graduating high school, she started working for Swissport at Kilimanjaro Airport. She quit and continue with her career in the tourism industry. She is currently working as a transfer guide for one of the famous companies in Arusha. She has more than ten years of experience in tourism.
- Jessica She is 40 years old and a mother. She was born and raised in the Mwanza region. She is a Sukuma. She achieved a college diploma at Dar-es-salaam Institute for Tourism and Business. She currently works as a Store Manager in one of the famous companies in the region. She is also a trained relief manager. She has more than seven years of experience working in the tourism industry.
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Findings

The findings of this study are organized into three major sections. The first major section will focus on the gendered nature of the Tanzanian society, and the second will focus on the perception and the gendered nature of Tanzanian tourism. The remainder of the findings chapter is organized into a major section that will address the factors facilitating women's employment in the traditionally masculine roles in tourism. The findings presented in the third section were framed using the social-ecological model McLeroy et al. (1988) contextualized for Tanzanian society. Analysis revealed that women's experiences in traditionally masculine positions were generally split into two phases: (a) getting the job and (b) keeping the job. This is a fundamental contribution of this study where the findings suggest that there are facilitators to join the careers but at the same time, the need to prevail in those careers can be facilitated differently. The factors were organized under the social-ecological model categories (as presented in Table 3). Each of these categories is further divided into themes and sub-themes defined by the women's lived experiences. Themes are listed with subthemes in parenthesis for each category. The categories address both the factors that the participants identified as helping them to achieve employment in a traditional masculine career and the factors that facilitate the women remaining employed in those careers under the SEM categories.

Before speaking to the factors that facilitated women's employment, it is important to also address the social norms, the gendered nature of life and tourism in Tanzania, and how tourism is positioned in Tanzanian society. The first major section will focus on the gendered nature of the Tanzanian society, and the second will focus on the perception and the gendered nature of Tanzanian tourism. The remainder of the findings chapter is organized into a major section that will address the factors facilitating women's employment in the traditionally masculine roles in tourism. The factors were organized under the social-ecological model categories. The categories address both the factors that the participants identified as helping them to achieve employment in a non-traditional role and the factors that facilitate the women remaining employed in non-traditional roles under the SEM categories.

Table 3*SEM Categories and Different Factors Found in Data*

SEM Category	Factors
Individual	Post-secondary education background Skillset Qualification/certification Work ethics Resilience Financial independence Women Interests in tourism careers Women Resistance to Social Norms
Interpersonal	Supportive people Networking
Organizational	Tourism Operators and Businesses Roles of schools and post-secondary institutions
Community	Geographical factors Associations (roles of tourism- and non- tourism-related associations) Social development (Social support to families and communities and Networking) Tribal affiliation
Policy	Supportive organizational/Institutional policies Ministry of Natural resources and Tourism initiatives
Structural*	Changing social norms National initiatives to increase access to education Strong female leadership in government Industry opportunity (e.g., low competition, sustainability) Globalization

* Structural factors did not appear in McLeory et al.'s, (1988) model.

The Gendered Nature of the Tanzanian Society.

This section focuses on how participants perceived social norms and the gendered nature of life in Tanzania. Findings indicated that gender roles are perpetuated from the family level to

community and institutional levels. The subthemes represent women's perceptions about the influences of gender roles and the impacts of gender roles on women in Tanzanian society. This section is organized into two subsections (a) influence of gender role development in Tanzanian, and (b) impacts of gender roles.

Gender Roles Reinforcement in Tanzanian Community

Gender roles were highly reflected in women's lived experiences. Participants highlighted that it was among their first experiences in their socialization. The participants shared common responses and had related perspectives on this topic. Their experiences were somehow related, and their subjective experiences were revealed in their responses. This section presents the context of gender roles in Tanzanian society and the influence on reinforcing those gender roles. Findings of this study prescribe that gender roles are reinforced/influenced by different levels, including families, institutions like schools, community lifestyles, society, and urban and rural areas.

According to gender role development literature (Blackstone 2003; Cheung, 1996), family is the first social level that influences adaptation to gender roles. Findings in this study described participants' experiences in the family in relation to gender roles. In this study, families were noted to influence gender roles differently. Some adapted to both – traditionally masculine roles and “non-traditional roles” and other families did not adhere to traditional gender roles because they had children of the same gender. For example, some women highlighted that gender roles are still reinforced at the family level, and that there were specific roles that families expected them to perform, such as caregiving and domestic labor. For example, some of the participants noted that:

Ahaaaa, you know as an African girl in my family ...I was responsible for most of the chores.
(Aziza)

In my home, me [I] and my siblings were all ladies. ... Every task that is associated with home is for us. Like you can never find my dad, coming and cooking and prepare the meals on the table, No.

... My dad never cooked or prepare the food on the table. So, we'll always wash, cook, cleaning, doing laundry, set everything in a proper way, like setting a room but my father

was working on the gardens. I never saw my father or even relative(s) (boys) doing what we were doing though. (Siaely)

Participants connected gender roles in relation to the nature of the families. However, in families with only male or female children, the situation could be different. In Tanzania, many families depend on their children for assisting in household tasks. In some families with children of the same gender, the children adapt to all the roles regardless of whether they were for the opposite gender. So, some males could do the traditional roles for females because they had no female siblings and the same for females.

So, it's a different story in my family because my grandma had a lot of boys and so she taught them all the household chores and so my father was a little bit different compared to others he could cook, wash, clean. So even boys that were related to me would work with us without judging the tasks that they were doing. (Mary)

Sometimes in families with girls only or boys, only things might be different. For example, as a mother, if you have boys only then it doesn't matter you will have to teach them the household chores. (Siaely)

Apart from the family level, participants noted that institutions such as schools also influence gender roles and what women become later in life. Some participants' families did not raise their children following the traditional gender roles. However, since traditional gender roles still dominate within society, it remained a hard task for the participants to overcome. Interestingly, Miriam, Glory, and Eva also spoke about very traditional roles, emphasizing that family setting is only one aspect of socialization. Glory noted that in her school experience, children were treated the same when it comes to tasks regardless of their gender; however, more moral teachings were mostly directed to girls in building them as women. Also, Christine noted that in the school she went they were all treated equally. On the other hand, Eva noted that there was equal treatment in their families when it comes to gender roles, but after going to school, they started noticing the differences.

In terms of tasks, we were both treated in the same manner ... I remember when I was in primary school, we were taught things that women do, and how they should behave and

when you reach maturity how to take care of yourself, to clean and how to behave in front of men, we had a pregnant campaign on the effects of early pregnancy. (Glory)

In school we were treated the same. There was no division of tasks between girls and boys. (Christine)

But when I went to school, I started noticing the differences, you know some used to say to me you are a lady this is supposed not to be done by you it has to be done by a man. (Eva)

In this study, society was noted to influence the reinforcement of gender roles. Participants presented their perceptions on what it means to be a woman in the Tanzanian culture and what the majority expects women to be. Society stereotyping exerts household responsibility pressure on women. The generation of Tanzanian women aged above 50 was very traditional compared to current generations. Therefore, the children (girls) in the current generation are expected to behave according to their mothers and to traditional norms, (i.e., in a typically feminine way like behaving in a passive and naïve way, nurturing, dressing, and acting politely). Behaving against those traditional beliefs is considered immoral. Participants in this study noted that society expects girls to behave like their mothers and expects them to follow the traditional norms of Tanzanian society. Some participants noted:

According to my experience, society is highly expecting that so long as you are a girl, you should behave like your mothers. ... Society is discouraging, and some people are still perpetuating the previous traditions like a woman is supposed to be at home, and some jobs are defined for different sex. (Flaviana)

In my perspective, they [society] see a woman as a person who should take care of the household like cooking, cleaning, washing, and for enjoyment. (Eva)

My mom was a housewife, and she is still a housewife. Most of the mamas [in the community] are housewives, she has a few goats and cows that she takes care of. (Mishi)

There are always tasks for the girls. When comes, to cooking, cleaning, washing dishes, looking up for the kids, it is usually a woman that is looked at for that. (Elizabeth)

The interviewed women explained how society expects a woman to be and behave in a typically feminine manner, but also women spoke of how they behaved differently from society's

expectations. For example, Agatha talked about her modern/trendy fashion style and recalled occasions in which people in her community were astonished by her [the young girls admire her while the elders think she is not behaving like women are supposed to]. Eva noted that she dressed differently compared to other girls in her community, like wearing shorts and trousers, which was considered immoral by other members of the community. Women are supposed to wear clothes that cover their bodies, like long dresses or long skirts.

I really had difficult times because our family was a little bit different. Whatever I did sometimes people take it in a different way. From wearing styles and everything you might wear even if it is a normal trouser the locals perceive it as immoral, so they had so many words about it.

I was not dressing the way many girls were dressing, which caused negative feedback from neighbors everyday. My parents raised me in a sense that I was not prohibited from wearing just some kind of cloth-like gowns and skirts only because I was a girl, so I wore shorts, trousers, and pretty much everything that I could.

Participants in this study noted the influence of culture on gender roles from the urban areas and rural areas. For example, they spoke of gender role perceptions in the village areas and urban areas. Participants highlighted that gender roles are highly prevalent in the village areas, unlike in the cities. In the Tanzanian perspective, when people talk of the difference between “being in and out of” the village, they refer to the traditional tribal connection rather than in the multicultural city centers. In the village areas, women are holding the traditional roles defined for them compared to the town areas. This might be contributed by different levels of exposure people have. Participants noted that.

I have been away from home for quite a long time, but when I go back during the holidays, I can see the same trends. Girls still work more compared to the boys... but in town for those people who are well educated have started changing but in the villages in my perspective things still looks the same. (Aziza)

...when you go there [the villages], if a woman does what is expected from a man, or a man does what is expected from a woman, people will look at you weirdly. (Elizabeth)

In Tanzania, some communities still live in the traditional ways of life/primitive lifestyles. In these communities' gender roles are prevalent, and there are no pronounced changes regarding gender roles. Aziza also noted that the tribes like the Maasai still live in a traditional way, and therefore, the traditional gender roles persist.

For example, in Ngorongoro [Maasai community] I still see women do a lot of stuff in the households compared to men. Masaai women are responsible for fetching water, building the houses, taking care of the children, milking the cows, cooking and men just take care of the cattle. (Aziza)

You know I come from Mara region; gender roles are still an issue in remote places.

Women are household caretakers, suffering violence, and are not given enough freedom and respect like men. (Naomi)

Impacts of Gender Roles in Society.

The findings of this study inform the impacts of gender roles on women in society. Due to society's assertion on women about the roles they should perform and the way they should behave, it limits career opportunities for women. Notably, the responsibilities/roles that women are expected to perform in the household limit women's engagement in the formal and payable careers.

Women noted the responsibility pressure that is exerted towards them as they are expected to take care of their families and children. Elizabeth noted women with formal careers are still they are expected to take care of their children and families through the roles like cooking, cleaning, and nurturing. Eva noted that, because of the pressure on gender roles, society's expectations and additional responsibilities for women limit women's career choices. They noted that.

... there's that pressure that a woman has to work and put the food on the table. When you come home, you are expected to do what a woman is supposed to do, so you come home, you're tired, but then there's a family that is waiting for you to put food on the table, maybe clean up, take care of the kids this is a lot. So, there is a lot of pressure on women if you ask me. (Elizabeth)

So, with all those expectations from society, they limit so many women not to do what they want. Men especially see women as people who are supposed to leave their homes for work after them and return home first before them. (Eva)

Perceptions and Gendered Nature of Tourism Within Tanzania

This section will provide participants' perceptions about the understanding and awareness of the society regarding tourism and the gendered perception of tourism in the Tanzanian society. It signifies the subjective experiences of the participants in their communities and outside of their communities. According to the literature in Tanzania, tourism careers are dominated by males. However, according to women's perceptions while it is still very gendered there has been some important progress made.

The Understanding of Tourism

Participants' careers and their engagement in the tourism industry are shaped and influenced by different contexts. Both the community where they live and their working environment influenced their career development. Within the community context, it is represented by the perceptions that families, friends, community members, and strangers have about the tourism industry and the tourism careers.

In Tanzania, traditional masculine tourism careers are noted to be payable compared to traditional careers. It is also believed that income from tourism careers is higher compared to many careers, which might be true. Therefore, many people can be interested in tourism careers because of the income they might achieve. For some participants, their families perceived that working with tourists would lead to economic gain and wealth generation. So, their families were more acceptable due to the perception that the women would make more money by being involved in tourism careers. Participants noted:

If you will say to my family that you are working as a guide, they will give you a round of applause because they believe that you will be associating yourself with wazungu [a Swahili term used to describe non-Black foreigners]. And they know wazungu bring a lot of money, so they will ask how you got that job, and they know you will get rich quickly. (Siaely)

Even though some family members did not approve of my career choice, my mom agreed to my career because some of my uncles told her to be in this industry there is a greater

chance of success because of earning a good salary and tips compared to other jobs where the salaries are very low. (Eva)

Some friends told me if you join guiding careers, you will succeed especially here in Arusha unlike other business careers. So, I trusted their opinions and started looking for a job. (Siaely)

Participants explained that while other people perceive tourism careers as an option for men, there was still progress on acceptance of women in these roles. Some of the women noted, for people that understand the tourism careers and their benefits are proud of them while others do not understand normally disapprove of women in traditionally masculine careers. For example:

So, most of the time, people who really know my work and the benefits I am getting say good job you are in the right position.... But for people who do not understand what I am doing, they have negative comments like why I am doing this kind of job, [they will say] go out there and do something else. (Eva)

Few people have a nice perception of the kind of job that I am doing. Many people take it the wrong way. Many people think that women that are working in tourism do not have good manners. (Naomi)

The Gendered Perception of Tourism Employment

The gendered perception of the tourism industry and women's experiences working in traditionally masculine employment was captured by this subtheme. Participants presented their perceptions based on their experiences working in traditional masculine positions. Their experiences were highly linked with their working environments, like their perception through the interactions with the clients, their companies, and the community they live with. While the traditional masculine positions are mostly viewed as men's positions, the findings suggest significant progress in the perception of those roles in the community.

Participants presented society's perceptions about traditionally masculine tourism careers and noted that while there is a growing awareness of tourism, it is still viewed from this gendered lens. Supervisory managerial roles are still viewed in a very traditional masculinized way. Women noted that the majority of people believe that newly evolving jobs for women in tourism (traditionally masculine positions) are strange traditionally masculine and that they are meant for

men for a reason. Some participants noted that:

But on the other side, most of my friends still perceive this job as a men's job and they constantly questioning what I am capable of [my capability] and if I describe to them with mere words, they do not believe me unless they see me driving or doing interpretation in the field. (Siaely)

"... Some friends will ask me why you are choosing bush life this is life for men". (CK 3)

According to traditional gender roles in Tanzania, women are expected to be in the household taking care of the families and are not expected to do formal careers but not to do executive /managerial. In terms of careers, women are expected to do the jobs that will allow them to be back home at the end of the day/shift and take care of the household. The findings of this study suggest that there is a traditional image painted on how women are and are supposed to be. Participants presented that due to gender role perceptions, women are regarded unfit to the traditional masculine tourism positions, like tour guiding, and therefore men had better chances than females. They noted that:

It was quite a male dominating in this tourism industry, So, if you tell parents or anybody about what you thinking you wish to do, they never understand you. They'll never understand you. You want to drive, you to want to join the tourism industry, they will ask you what is that you want to guide? (Victoria)

Many people expect a girl or woman to do a job that at the end of the day they should return home. Because of the time that we spent in the field so many people believe that tourism field jobs are for men and not women. (Eva)

Women spoke about society's reaction to tourism employment. Findings suggest that there is still poor awareness or understanding of the tourism careers. Flaviana said some of her relatives disagree with her position because of the hearsays concerning the behavior of women who are working in tourism, while Aziza spoke about low awareness of the tourism careers, especially for the regions where tourism is less developed.

Until now, some of my relatives do not agree with what I am doing, they feel like life was so hard on me and so I've just decided to do this job so that I can earn money through my body [prostitution]. Even in the beginning, my mom did not agree with my decision. (Flaviana)

Especially people who grew up in the less developed tourism regions, have low awareness about tourism jobs. Until today, some of the friends that I went to high school with, tell me this is not a good job for you. You could be a doctor or something else. (Aziza)

Participants spoke about their working environment as well. Women explained their consensus of clients' perception of women working in traditionally masculine tourism positions in Tanzania's cultural context. For example:

Guests are happy with their experience; However, their reactions are different, because of the stories that they hear about this part of the world [African context], that women have to stay at home, women have to raise kids, so seeing them working in the field and doing what they perceive to be done men is such a wonderful experience for most of them. (Aziza)

... Most of the time they ask how you manage to live far from your family, so when they come, they know that there will be only men in the field, but they are happy, and I think this is mostly a different experience for them. (Elizabeth)

While the traditional masculine positions are mostly viewed as men's positions, women noted significant progress in the perception of those roles in the community. As time passes, there is a significant increase in the number of women engaged in traditionally masculine employment. Afsa noted the changes regarding the engagement of women in TMR: in the tourism industry. Other participants noted that there is an increased awareness of traditionally masculine tourism positions like guiding. Some participants noted:

... Now [Currently] more and more women are joining these careers, we have women guides, more women mountain guides, more women safari guides, so I think in time more women will join careers in tourism. (Afsa)

It is becoming more like a normal thing, and we have a number of girls now, but at the beginning, there were only a few. I was feeling a bit afraid when sitting at the Land Cruiser

driving, people will line up to observe me. That's exactly what was happening and say to each other look at that lady I was telling you about. (Victoria)

I think there is awareness of these positions now. More women are joining the non-traditional tourism positions even parents are paying school fees for their daughters who study about the tourism careers willingly, so there is a change. (Siaely)

Women's Resistance to Social Norms

In this study, resistance was viewed as a struggle of women against social norms and being limited to traditional gender roles (Freysinger & Flannery, 1992; Shaw, 1994). Women in this study demonstrated resistance in different ways as discussed below.

Findings suggest that women are resisting the traditional norms which consider women to focus on the household roles only. Participants noted the changes in women's positions as they take part in supporting their families, unlike before. Elizabeth mentioned that women are more actively involved in working away from their homes, likewise, Glory noted the resistance of women being limited to the household roles only. On the other hand, Victoria noted that the physical demands of traditional roles for women in tourism made her quit that job and started seeking careers in traditional masculine employment.

...Previously women were forced to stay at home mostly, but right now many women are working out of their homes. (Glory)

I feel like the narratives right now are changing, back then we didn't have women who were going to works [women doing formal careers] it was just the men who were going out, look for jobs to feed their families but not women. (Elizabeth)

I was the only girl on a night shift and I was the head of the breakfast Department I was an amazing chef at breakfast ever because it's a big lodge yes even if there are presidential houses and lots of people, there are several halls So you get 300 people plus 400 people plus 200 people you feed them all and we're only two or three of us, So I started working from 22 until 10 am in the morning. ... then after 11 months, I was crying my sister did find me resigning. (Victoria)

The findings of this study suggest that women are resisting traditional social norms; however, they are not necessarily resisting their responsibilities as women and mothers. These women do not wish to leave their roles as mothers and in fact, they accept the double shift. Christine noted the acceptance of nurturing nature for women, while Miriam noted she has a career and at the same time she feels obligated to take care of their families. For example:

... It is our role [taking care of the families]; we are mothers, we are wives and before anything, we are human, we have self-responsibilities, but we are also nurtures. (Christine)

I am a mother, and I have little kids; I do not have an assistant at home, it is me, my kids, and my husband, and my mom and dad are close to me, so sometimes I have to take care of them too. (Miriam)

Findings in this study suggest that women are not necessarily rejecting the traditional roles as mothers but rather resisting against the being limited to traditional roles performances in the community: Elizabeth said she believes having open-minded parents is vital to teaching children to defy traditional gender roles, which will help them navigate societal barriers with confidence; while Mishy noted that women should not be limited to household roles only. They both noted:

I think I had parents who had an open mind, so that wasn't a problem usually when you have parents who are OK with you, and whoever you want to be, society does not matter. But when you are pushed by your family and they make you feel like you're not enough because you are a woman even when society tells you, you can do more I think you just cannot, so, I think it all begins back in your roots. (Elizabeth)

If you give a woman a house she will make it a home, so imagine what we can do in these male-dominated positions. (Mishi)

The findings of this study suggest that women's resistance to the social norms is not only for individual gain but for other women in the community as well. For example, Hope noted women who are aware of gender equality must fight for the rights of other women. Christine noted that, presence of feminists advocates for women's rights in society. They both noted:

It is for us women who we know that the gender is not balanced here in Tanzania, we need to do something for our fellow women that cannot say, who cannot say enough is enough.

(Hope Ringo)

I do believe things have changed and are changing. We have a lot of feminists right now, who are spreading the news about women's rights to careers, so we have more exposure than we did. (Christine)

Findings in this study demonstrate the presence of institutional resistance. Participants noted that there are significant changes in narratives about traditionally masculine tourism employment and gender roles. Anna noted the increase of women-owned companies unlike before; while Agatha noted that she thought of opening her own company so that she can employ herself and other women who have dreams to work in traditionally masculine careers in tourism. On the other hand, Christine noted the influence of school on her resistance towards gender roles and as a space where girls were promoted to fight for their rights. They both noted:

In the beginning, female-owned companies were few, but in recent years, these three years I see many women are waking up and opening their own companies. I have met them, and I have seen them, even me I am trying to open my own company. (Anna)

So, I thought of what I could do so that I could support all the ladies that wanted to fulfill their dreams and their need, and I thought of opening an organization ... So I thought of opening a company that could hire only ladies. (Agatha)

So, talking about the literature while we were in school, I believe it made me grow up as a person that defies culture or norms that traditionally aimed to suppress women. ... But at the same time, we, at least in the school that I have studied they would promote women to fight for themselves. (Christine)

Factors Facilitating and the Social-Ecological Model

This section presents the findings, which are contextualized in the SEM categories. Each category presents facilitating factors from the findings. The two main subthemes under this thematic area are (a) getting the job (how women obtained their jobs) and (b) keeping the jobs (how women retained employment in roles that are considered traditionally masculine within the tourism industry. Each of the categories contains the facilitators for women's engagement in

traditionally masculine roles in Tanzania and highlights the factors for getting the jobs and keeping the jobs.

Individual Level

McLeroy et al. (1988) identified that the individual level addresses the attributes of a person including age, gender, attitude, skills, and knowledge. Participants in this study highlighted several individual-level facilitators for women to achieve traditionally masculine employment in tourism. They stated that individual facilitators were important both in getting and keeping their jobs.

Concerning individual facilitators for women's engagement in traditionally masculine careers, the following factors were presented: (a) post-secondary education (b) women's work ethics, (c) resilience, (d) financial independence, and (e) women's interests in tourism careers. Generally, they mentioned the role of post-secondary education in enhancing professional skills, awareness, and qualifications which are important for achieving the traditionally masculine positions; Resilience as an individual attribute enabled women to navigate different systemic barriers and attain their careers. Other factors like financial independence were also acknowledged to enhance the individual drive to pursue traditional masculine careers.

Post-Secondary Education Background

Post-secondary education was rated as a strong individual characteristic and a facilitator for women to qualify for the positions that are traditionally masculine in tourism employment. The importance of educating people was clear as enabling factor to achieve these careers. Due to the nature of the tourism industry in Tanzania, which is wildlife and nature-based tourism, the post-secondary institutions offer the situated knowledge which is a combination of hard skills and soft skills for example hunting, weapon handling, driving, survival, wilderness skills, multilanguage, accounting (book-keeping/commerce), first aid, resource interpretation, navigation and flora/ fauna identification. This accounts for the reason why in the Tanzanian perspective education is being given tremendous credit among the facilitators. In the Tanzanian context, many people go to school to qualify for a certain career niche. Few women noted that the educational background they had, accounted for their occupation in tourism careers. Apparently, post-secondary education helps candidates to obtain careers that match their educational background. It is important to understand that post-secondary education

in the wildlife tourism field acts as an enabler and is linked to what is referred to as “skillset” in the following.

Your educational background is what holding you where you are for now. If I could not go to CAWM I would never be able to think of applying for this position. Apart from your interests in life, apart from your different roles in the family, educational background, help you to get to the position that you want to achieve. You might be hired because of your experience but still, education plays a bigger role in finding your employment choice.

(Agatha)

I studied wildlife. The first career I had was teaching and pass what I know to others. So, when I studied wildlife, it was somewhat related to tourism. So, what I studied and do earlier contributed to what am doing right now. So probably if I would've studied something else perhaps, I would have done something else apart from tourism. (Mary)

When I was back from Germany, I thought about owning my own tourism business. And this is because I had wildlife and tourism knowledge. (Glory)

Skillset.

Skillset can be understood as a collection of skills and abilities and can therefore be a product of targeted formal education, but also include unique skills, acquired through informal education. Skillset was noted to be among the very important enabling factors for women to join the traditional masculine careers. In traditionally masculine positions, skills like communication (foreign languages), driving, navigation, computer, and interpretation are essential to make a good candidate. The role of the skillset was clearly important for both phases of employment: Skillset was noted to be very important in firstly - getting the jobs – and secondly keeping the jobs that are traditionally occupied by men. A certain skill set can help women to get that first foot in the door, starting to work in the tourism industry.

In “getting the job phase”, participants noted that the set of skills were developed both formal education and through informal education. Participants stated that through formal education from tourism Institutions, they attained different skills which are important in their careers. For example:

I did a computer course and English language course... During the interview, I was speaking very good English, he asked me [company owner] if I know how to use the computer, and you know at school we were taught how to use the computers, and I told him yes, I can use the computer, so that was the start. (Mishi)

After I graduated from Mweka I did some short courses on computer and driving courses which I think are essential to these careers. (Glory)

Also, participants noted the role of language skills in tourism careers. In Tanzania, there is a growing need for speaking multiple languages, especially for tour guides because the country has been receiving a lot of non-English speakers' clients. It is a target for tourism where there are special courses offered in schools and training institutions to learn foreign languages.

Participants mentioned attending different language courses to enhance their competence. They emphasized that speaking other languages apart from English is potential in their careers, and that adds their potential during job searching. They noted the following:

I speak English, Spanish, and Korean. I can accommodate clients that speak Spanish or Korean, unlike other operators. (Agatha)

For women, having other different skills like a foreign language is a good asset, it really helps in lifting up your chances when looking for a job. (Glory)

In these careers, you need language skills, ... driving skills, interpretation skills and others. (Victoria)

Poor business education has been the reason for many tourism businesses to fail or not attain a good level of success. In this study, participants highlighted that through formal education on practical subjects like accounting and resources identification enhances their skills, which facilitate them to manage working in their current roles. In some colleges, the tourism candidates visit protected areas and the tourism enterprises to gain more experience with the resources and tourism business respectively. For example, two participants described courses they took during pursuing formal education [accounting together with practical field studies in protected areas] as still being helpful for their careers.

My studies and everything, truly until now have contributed a lot to me. For example, in Account studies, and there are fields that we attended in the National parks. So different courses that we took they help me until today. (Miriam)

Some of the practical subjects such as accounting basics are very important to me right now because they have daily application in my career. (Naomi)

I am confident now in resource identification, I know about plant species and animals which makes me a good guide. (Flaviana)

In contrast to formal education, other participants acknowledged the role of informal education and self-training in developing necessary skillsets which the employers are looking for at the candidates. For example, Mishi noted that her educational background is not related to tourism, so it took her extra effort to be able to attain that role. Some of the skills were informally developed by the participants when they were younger. For example, Victoria noted that she had insisted her brother teach her to drive a vehicle so that she could be a tour guide.

I have been learning through books and the internet. ... So, I trained for consecutive two years to become a field guide, remember my background is accounting. So, I had to learn everything, every single bird, a single animal, behavior, everything by myself. So, I had to really work, work very hard which I did. Three years later I was able to have guests in my car. (Mishi)

I started walking around with my binoculars and books. Birds' book, plants books, and go with friends to do birding to gain competence. (Victoria)

... since I was in primary school, whenever I used to go for leave for like a month or two weeks. I would go visit my brother and ask him to teach me how to drive Land Rover. (Victoria)

Concerning “keeping the jobs”, skillset was clearly of importance for women in this phase as well. Women expressed the importance of lifelong learning and the need to do “more”. They noted that due to market demand, in professions like tour guiding, they would need to constantly “upgrade” their skills, e.g., through learning new languages and evolve and learn from their work experiences. The consensus seems to be “The more skills you have, the likelier you prevail”. So,

keep updating their skills makes them prevail because they are extra. However, women noted that there is another pressure caused by stereotypes about women being poor in skills, so they need to go the extra mile in their careers for them to be trusted.

Some people do not believe in women, but I do believe that woman, a woman can do something better than what the men can do, because yes maybe a man can be doing something to be seen that he has been doing something because it's hard to something [to express masculinity-like to be bold, strong], but for a lady, 95% of ladies are doing things that we do have passion. (Agatha)

So, I had to really work, work very hard which I did. Three years later I was able to have guests in my car. You have to know how to change the tire, you have to know if something is broken [fixing], you have to speak very good English. Example taking six guests taking them to these dangerous animals [wilderness] and they [guests] see that you are a woman, you have to be extra, extra, extra. (Mishi)

The mentality of many organizations believes women cannot do better than men, so you cannot force someone to take you cuz you are a woman, you cannot. So, you need to know a lot so that you will be trusted in your career. (Miriam)

It is a challenge working with men, oooh, [they will say] you are just a lady what can you do, ladies first. So, sometimes they take you for granted, you have to do better than them, ... if it is work you have to be better than them, that is where the respect comes [how you will gain respect from men]. (Elizabeth)

In updating their skills participants noted the role of formal education by taking different short courses and through informal by using their experiences and personal learning. Participants noted the importance of taking different courses while in their careers. Women in this study noted that they had taken different courses which have added their competence, skills, and confidence in the position that they occupy, but also promotion Example, Flaviana noted that the course that she took expanded her understanding of her career and it added to her competence levels and she got promoted. At the same time, Eva noted that, while in her career, she took language courses which have made her more competent in her career. Glory noted that with

market demands and the changes in clients that they receive, it becomes important for them to learn new languages, which increases their potential to be in the industry or to maintain their businesses. Both noted the following.

The courses helped a lot because for me I was thinking as a guide you can just have a conversation with the visitor, to have a bond, of course, it is important. But there is information that you should have about the National parks there is something about being professional, about what you are doing, those studies helped a lot. They teach you to attend visitors professionally, they teach you to love your environment and how to take care of it even in front of the visitors, so a lot of information. (Flaviana)

I have taken English and Spanish courses so that I can be fluent and more competent in my position. (Eva)

I speak, Swahili, English, and German but still I would love to take another course to learn two more languages because there is a possibility of meeting visitors that do not speak English or German, so it will add my potential to my business. (Glory)

Also, participants noted while in their careers they build their skills through informal ways. Constant maintaining of the skills among the participant enabled them to prevail in the industry. Agatha pointed that; in her free time, she prefers to learn about biological resources to be competent as a safari guide. On the other hand, Victoria argued that learning new things in guiding careers is important to increase your potential as a guide. Example:

On my free time, I like taking my time and study about natural resources like plants, and birds. I believe this is important in my job because we are asked different questions every time. (Agatha)

I started like walking around with my binoculars and books. Birds' books, plants books, and go with friends to do birding ... As a guide, it helps to be more competent in identifying the resources. (Victoria)

Qualifications and Certification

Qualification refers to the formal recognition for attaining a skillset that is done through the formalized education. In Tanzania, the employers would normally ask for certificates to

verify the education levels and courses attained by the candidates. Currently, tourism employees are required to complete courses and attend a post-secondary institution which is specialized in tourism. The aim is to produce competitive and capable workers. When participants spoke about qualifications, they noted that it is an essential element for women to get employed. Participants suggested that qualifications come along with certification, which is important for someone to get a tourism job. They noted the following:

I would say my creative background, and when I saw the job description and what a person is needed to do in that job, I believed right there I was the right fit. I had all the certifications that proved that I am qualified for the job. So, I do not think it has to do with my career background, I think it has to do with my educational qualifications. (Christine)

I started looking for a job there, and I found one, and in the hotel, it was hard because they needed certificates and I did not have any, so I did not get employed. (Hope)

This explains the importance of certificates to be accepted in the workplace.

Also, participants explained the relationship between qualification levels and careers. They noted that education is important to attain traditionally masculine careers because the qualification levels determine the roles that a person might occupy. For example, Miriam argued that the education qualification places a person in or outside of the traditionally masculine positions. They noted that.

But I am grateful that they [the company] give an opportunity to all groups of people, those who are educated and those who are not educated too, so you will get a job based on your qualification. If you are qualified to be a housekeeper, you will be a housekeeper, if you are qualified to be a manager, you will be a manager. (Miriam)

You need a certain a number of qualifications to be a professional guide. (Victoria)

Women's Work Ethics.

Participants in this study noted that work ethics and features such as accountability, commitment, discipline, and trustworthiness make women an asset to the companies, and this influences women to get hired in these careers. Notably, women are noted to have good ethics and behave in a professional way than men, which accelerates the probability of them being

hired Some of the women in this study noted that women are trustworthy, and they have a high commitment to hard work, which accounts for companies' success and influences operators to hire women.

Most of the female guides are faithful, they do not have trust issues [mambo ya kando] you know men sometimes they do not have a settled mind, most of the male guides already have their companies in the background and sometimes they manipulate the visitors and steal them, but when you take the females with you, they do not do that. And many cases of redirecting the visitors to other companies always men are behind it. So that is the advantage for women and that makes us be trusted more sometimes. (Anna)

Also, male guides are alleged to be unprofessional with their jobs and some of them help women in the challenging landscape, but they end up harassing the female tourists... So, women are likely to be hired because they act more professionally. (Flaviana)

As an employer, women are more careful, women are more focused when you give them a job they have (woga) put dedication to get the job done afraid of letting the job sunk. (Afsa)

Resilience

Resilience is defined as a “dynamic process encompassing positive adaptation within the context of significant adversity” (Luthar et al., 2000, as cited in Mohaupt, 2008, p. 65). In this study, resilience was viewed as the ability to overcome challenges (Manyena, 2006), regarding their engagement in traditionally masculine careers. The findings suggest that participants were resilient in the face of many life challenges with respect to gaining and maintain employment.

As it is noted in the literature (Mohaupt, 2008), resilience was not a static character trait but rather a dynamic process that results in the individual becoming stronger and more resilient as they overcome challenges., In getting the jobs, resilience was seen in the ways that they managed to navigate life hardships, financial demands, and community beliefs about women. However, in the job retention phase, resilience was evidenced by their ability to prevail in challenging gendered working environments.

Concerning finding their careers, a multitude of internal attributes and external supportive factors inform their resilience. These women were able to navigate different systemic barriers to achieve their career dreams. Findings suggest that women have different backgrounds, and some of them took different paths to reach their careers. However, being women in Tanzania, with

somehow related cultural contexts, some of the barriers that had to overcome were the same.

Participants spoke about different life hardships, and the challenges they faced before achieving their careers. Rationally, these circumstances could make them fall and give up their dreams. These women have shown a sense of optimism, positive attitude, self-esteem, and problem-solving skills to overcome different adversities. Eva showed was optimistic after she got pregnant at a young age, but the situation made her desire to succeed and serve her situation. On the other hand, Flaviana noted that losing her father at a young age triggered her to find a way that she could support herself and her family.

At the moment I am living by myself., My, dad passed away when I was still younger. I had to find a job to be able to take care of my needs and support my family. (Flaviana)

I got pregnant before finishing the Ordinary Education by then I was 18 years of age. I am a mother; my son is six years old. The situation of being a mother has distracted me in my life, familywise and socially because my mother was protective when comes to me so many people were questioning that; however, in the end this is what gave me the strength to fight for opportunities. (Eva)

Resilience was noted among these women through the way they overcome the injustices and violence in their households.

Findings in this study suggest that financial struggle is an obvious barrier that most women must navigate. The lack of necessary financial support from families was a challenge to many participants. In this study, participants noted that achieving different education and college-level required money for the fees, where some of the parents could not afford. Participants in this study were optimistic and have shown problem-solving skills by getting into entrepreneurship to save for education. On the other hand, supportive external factors were seen into play example when Victoria noted joining fellow women in small entrepreneurship businesses to serve for her fees. By overcoming this struggle, they were able to reach their dreams.

So, after that, I was asking myself how I'm I going to get to guiding school, it was even a challenge.... What I did is, I started finding out what to do to get some money, like more of entrepreneurship, joining different people to get cash so as to get me to tourism school, and driving. ... I started as a local hotel [business] at the market called Mbuyuni. (Victoria)

Sometimes I had to do small business like to sell (Maandazi, or Chapati) [bites] so that I can get the money to join Secondary school. (Jessica)

As it was noted by Mohaupt (2008), resilience is rather a process, and it is not a static concept. Resilience among these women is noted in keeping their jobs as well. In this study, women have resilience is proved by their abilities to reign in new situations. Some of these women had terrible paths and through what they have gone through they can stand the other challenges that come along through their journey. Women are constantly overcoming challenges in their continued employment, such as underpayment, overworking, crisis (pandemic), hard business environment, male-dominated environment, and job insecurity yet they are resilient, and able to prevail in traditionally masculine careers.

Participants argued that some of the tourism companies pay very low salaries. They argued that the majority of women join these careers to reach their dreams but also to be able to provide for their families. Some organizations underpay women, and so they are unable to attain financial independence by holding different positions; However, these situations foster women to establish their own organizations and prevail in traditionally masculine employment.

At the end of the day, you receive a very little salary, so I was working more compared to what I was earning. This is when I realized perhaps, I should start my own business because most of my time is taken away. (Glory)

The problem is in some of the organizations, I don't wish to mention them here, but they pay very low salary, so guides are sometimes highly depending on the tips they receive from guests. (Anna)

Participants in this study noted that working in the already male-dominated industry is a challenge. This is because the majority of them still have the mindset that they are above women and they do not take orders from a woman. Women in this study have proved to have cognitive skills and they are able to regulate their emotions and survive these situations. The reality is many women aware of the effects of patriarchy in their societies and they can fight against male dominance. Anna emphasized the role of intellectual/cognitive abilities and she noted that her educational background enables her to understand different people's backgrounds which helps her to prevail in her role. Where others noted that some men lack humility and are not used to take orders from men, and this creates a hard-working environment; however, the ability to

understand and withstand this men's character enables women to prevail in their roles. They noted that:

... my sociological background has enabled me to understand people with varying backgrounds. That is why I stay with them [Men] and understand them from where they come from. When you tell me, someone is coming from a certain background, and sometimes they tell me themselves about their background, so I say to myself, mmh so it is not them, it is their backgrounds. (Anna)

So sometimes they ignore even if you give them tasks, you end up doing the tasks by yourself. If you tell them to wash the bathroom and they do not so you have to do it, imagine I am just the only girl. But it was not too hard because I went through a lot and I know how to defend myself. (Hope)

I have a men stuff which is sometimes they challenge they do not want to listen to you I think it has to do with the fact that some men do not use to take orders from women. (Afsa)

In tourism, like many other sectors, women need to overcome challenging business environment at times. Afsa and Mary showed strong character to adapt to the tourism business. Mary noted to prevail in tourism you need to be adaptive and optimistic even when you incur losses. Afsa noted when you are starting a business, you must be patient, as for her when she started this career, the business was hard, with poor communication, so it took personal efforts and commitment into the business to succeed.

In the tourism business, you need to be adaptive for sure, just with my first business my property was swallowed because of the increase of water depth in the lake but I did not lose hope and now I am opening another property. (Mary)

But at that time there was nothing, there was no communication, it was only you go to the bus stations look for clients or go to the train station looking for clients and there was the only telefax. So, I used to go to the buses trying to look for clients, and the guys are there. So, they were difficult situations for me as a woman. (Afsa)

... So, after a while, we started doing Kilimanjaro with the word of mouth, then we started getting the guides, getting the porters, get things going, so after sometimes we started wildlife safari as well, and we continue with the Travel agency, Safaris, and Kili. (Afsa)

Participants mentioned being optimistic in the face of the pandemic and its impacts on their income, and also in the process of expanding their careers. These women did not leave their careers, but rather learned to adapt to the new situation and prevail in tourism. Siaely mentioned that, when the pandemic hit, it was difficult for women to get together in their associations where they support each other. Others mentioned the impact that the pandemic caused their businesses and the decline in earnings.

We have a WhatsApp group where we organize ourselves. We are raising female guides from the down level and for those who are not experts, we organize in building the experiences like photography, bird watching, and built our skills in manual driving that helps our experiences to expand. This was possible especially for the two months that Corona hit we could hire a car and practice driving. (Siaely)

Before the pandemic hit, we only have two employees in the office here in Moshi and we had three employees that were all women. I was always here in the office, but because of the pandemic, there is only one lady that is not around all the time because the business is not good now, but I believe in adapting to new business techniques. (Glory)

As for me, there were hard moths behind us after the pandemic hit, but we have faith we will overcome this. (Anna)

Literature acknowledges that the individuals, which have shown resilience traits before are likely to persist in other similar situations. Findings in this study inform the need for finances. Even in the course of their employment, these women are showing abilities to overcome financial stresses. Participants noted that the money they earned by working in traditionally masculine positions enabled them to open a side business that can further support them in financial matters. They noted that:

... I was able to save a lot from my job and I opened a side business so that I can solve the financial issues. (Eva)

Through this career I have established another business which is helping to generate more income for the family. (Jessica)

Financial Independence

The importance of financial independence to the participants was clear. When participants spoke about the independence they achieved, they referred to financial security that was guaranteed by working in traditionally masculine positions. For example, Mary noted that the rise in the cost of living requires women to work in formal positions that provide financial remuneration. Participants noted that:

...The first is, holding this position enables many women to provide for their families and support their children and relatives, and free them from depending on men. (Mary)

Women need to earn income and achieve financial independence, and you know because of the nature of the lifestyle now people need income to live a life. Without money, you cannot do anything. ...So many women like to get jobs that are good-paying, contrary to when you try to compare the situation in the past where women could just work as helpers and sometimes without payment but now, they work for paying jobs. (Mary)

... It is important to alleviate poverty, if women are working you enable them to access the resources that they would not if they were not employed. If you give women positions, they will be able to stand up on their own without being dependent. (Siaely)

Concerning keeping their jobs, participants declared the economic gain is possible when one works in the tourism industry. Through pursuing their careers in tourism, participants presented their experiences and understanding of how the industry works in practice and how beneficial it can be. Eva noted that through her tourism career she has earned an income to support herself and live independently. Anna noted that she is single and through her career, she can support herself.

There is a lot that keeps me fighting for my position I am affording my needs, I am supporting my child and I have earned a large income out of this job, which has enabled me to open another side business... I do not need a financial back up because of my job. (Eva)

As a woman, this job has helped me a lot, especially by raising my income. I am a woman I am not married, and I am not the kind of woman that depends on some men for something or a living, ... This has enabled me to be independent, financially independent. So, I have

been working, I am using my money to pay for the rentals, I support my younger siblings who need help, I can also afford my living expenses. (Anna)

Women's Interests in Tourism Careers

Personal interest in a certain career can be a major factor for one to choose a certain career (Miller and Flores, 2011). Participants presented that their interest in traditional masculine positions and tourism was a drive for them to consider tourism careers. For example, Eva noted that seeing her uncles working in the tourism industry made her pick up an interest in tourism careers, whereas Flaviana noted that seeing men working as tour guides made her consider tourism careers a possibility as well.

Sometimes my uncle will spend more than a month in the bush, and I remember asking him after he comes back where he was, so he will show me photos and tell me what he was doing. All these situations contributed to my journey. (Eva)

Seeing how men were getting engaged in the tour guiding employment I was anxious if one day I can be one of them. Many of them when they were back from the hikes, would say that it is a very hard job. (Flaviana)

Interpersonal Level

Previous studies highlighted that the interpersonal level explores a range of interactions and relationships that exists between people or different groups, which can influence networking, collaboration, and socialization (Fleury and Lee, 2006; McLeroy et al., 1988). In this study, interpersonal relationships with family members, friends, neighbors, acquaintances, mentors, and contacts at work were revealed. These relationships were noted to play a role as facilitators for women to get occupation in the traditionally masculine position and in keeping their jobs. The following are the facilitating factors under this category a) supportive people, b) relationship with champions and mentors.

Supportive People

Findings in this study suggest the importance of supportive people in enabling women to achieve traditional masculine roles in tourism. The prospect of reaching their dream careers is influenced by this group of people getting jobs and keeping their jobs. Participants noted that supportive people fell into different categories; There were family members who facilitated

getting training and being in the traditionally masculine jobs, there were champions and mentors who provided early career support and facilitated access to formal education. Family support and champions and mentors were noted to play strong interpersonal support in both phases of employment; however, they played differently in each employment phase.

In relation to getting their jobs, the following factors were noted (a) family support (b) the role of champions and mentors.

Family Support. Family was noted to be particularly important in several aspects of daily life including financial and emotional support, mentorship, and assisting for domestic labour (e.g., childcare). Having women who already filled traditionally masculine roles within the family, made it easier for the women to also occupy these roles. Further having educated parents, who valued education for girls, was a key facilitating factor.

In this study for engagement of women in the traditionally masculine roles, women noted the contribution of post-secondary formal education to get in these careers; however, it should be noted that one has to pass through the lower levels first (primary and secondary levels). Miriam noted that girls with educated parents were fortunate, for they understood the value of education but also equality. On the other hand, Mary noted that when she was growing up, having educated parents or a social hierarchy was a determinant to educational fate. But also, the fact that her father was an educated man, he supported them in education as well. They both noted:

So, it is just a few of us who our parents were educated and they knew the value of educating a girl, they were taking both of us equally, only if you mess up on your own but most of the girls were not. (Miriam)

The lucky part is parents that were educated in those early times, at least for them or with a family that had a little bit of a social hierarchy their children had a clearer path to education. (Mary)

My father was a teacher in his earlier years, so he was serious about education. Apart from just having only female children, he made sure that we all go to school. So, we were very lucky because we all went to school. (Mary)

Participants spoke about the role of the parents' careers as inspiration to them. Christine and Mary noted that having their parents working in traditional masculine positions was inspirational and informed them of the career possibilities. On the other hand, Mishi noted that seeing his dad working in the protected areas inspired her to consider tourism careers. Women noted:

She [participant's mother] was the first female driver for the United Nations in Tanzania, so the inspiration comes from her. (Christine)

My dad was one of the Park wardens in Manyara National Park, so later he moved to Serengeti, I think that is where I picked up my interests. (Mishi)

My mother was a very strong character. She was an entrepreneur, she worked as a housewife as well especially when I was in primary school, she worked for a sisal company in Tanga, and after that she strongly engaging herself with business. She was my great inspiration. (Mary)

Findings suggest that support of the family is important for women to achieve their career dreams. Women need both career support, emotional support, and encouragement. Naomi noted that she wanted another career at first, but when she opted for a tourism career, her mother was supportive of her decision; while Aziza noted that her parents expected that she could follow their career, but she had different choices; however, when she informed her parents of her decision, her mother supported it. For example, they noted the following:

My mother has been very supportive, she is a teacher and even at the moment when I screw up, she will still give me the courage telling me that if I could do something in a different way it would've been better than how it is. She knew I wanted to be a doctor and she struggled to make sure that I reach the career that I always wanted. But when she learned that I was selected to join the tourism school that was not related to med, she still told me just go there but my relatives were questioning my decision so much, but my mom told them that my daughter will do something else that I think will be more beautiful. (Naomi)

As I told you my mother was a doctor, and my father was an engineer so they both expected me either to be a doctor or an accountant or teacher or police but not a guide. But I was happy because my late mom supported me in my decision, for a very long time, she told me

if this is what you want to do, I am going to support you, I will send you to the guiding school, because I believe you can do it, and she supported me 100%. (Aziza)

In keeping the jobs, the importance of family was noted to help women maintain their careers. For example, when participants spoke about family support, they explained the nature of their jobs and why family support is important. Mary noted that; her work alienates her from her family sometimes, so having an understanding partner and family, in general, make it easier for her to focus well on her career. While Miriam noted that having a partner that is supportive to her makes her prevail in her career. Women noted the following:

My family is very supportive they tolerate what I am doing and with my job sometimes I spend too much time with my computer, organizing stuff, and the travel because I am a tour operator so sometimes, I go away. Right now, I mostly stay with my husband, my two children have grown up, so they are living their own lives, so I always go and come back. My husband is very supportive, when my children were younger, I could leave them with him, but they understood my situation. (Mary)

... you know the position that I have my dear, especially when it is high season, even when I reach home I cannot cook. But I am thankful to my husband he is there for me even so there are ups and downs in the relationship, but he does understand my work. Sometimes I have a lot of work to do, clients are coming in and out. Sometimes at night, we need to keep each other awake if my colleagues are working and they face hardship they call me even if it is 3 am, sometimes I am tired and I cannot hear the call, my husband wakes me up [and tell me] your friends are calling so we start working at night. So, if you have a partner that is not understanding and does not know what you are doing, that will be very difficult. (Miriam)

The Role of Champions and Mentors. Women are living and working in a male-dominated system; however, different people, even men, sympathize with them and help them to achieve their dreams. In this study, women addressed the role of champions and mentors in their careers. For example, Victoria explained her situation to a man that was responsible for licensing, and she got help.

I said daddy [to show ultimate respect to a man who might be the same age as your father] please help me, I am coming from a family where we're living in a very poor life I've tried to this level, can I get a driving license please and he was like OK come back tomorrow.

(Victoria)

I had a very hard time trying to find a job as a guide, I applied in many organizations without any success. After some time, I met a one lady working in tourism in Arusha, she gave me some companies names and encourage me to apply to other organizations and I got a job. She trusted me, unlike other people I met before. (Eva)

Education is presented as a factor that facilitates women to reach traditionally masculine tourism careers. Apart from the family, participants presented the role of other people who helped them in finding training institutions that offered tourism courses. Victoria noted that her Godfather helped her in finding the tourism college. While Hope said that a lady that she did not know supported her education which was a foundation to her career. Women noted that:

There was a guy who was a Godfather in a church I went to him to ask him questions like, I want to join the tourism industry.

... Then I went to the same father, our Godfather telling him like I have a driving license, Class D So I want to join tour guiding school, where I didn't manage to do more on the secondary school advanced level, but I have managed to do this and this and that. So, he told me on Monday I will be going to Arusha there is a very good college. (Victoria)

I met the lady that connected me with another guy who helped me to study further when they found out my education qualification was very low. (Hope)

Participants noted the role of mentors in preparing them for their careers. Aziza noted that her mentors helped her to understand the choice she made and prepared her mindset about the job she will be doing. On the other hand, Hope noted that on their training the instructors told her that they are all equals. For example:

One of the trainers also told me, with this job you are going to face so many challenges so just get prepared, so I knew exactly what I might come across. One of the college trainers used to tell me that because you are a woman you must work extra miles in yourself to prove

wrong men. So, you will face many challenges but do not give up. So, whenever I came through challenges, I would remember their words until today, it is what has made me what I am. (Aziza)

I remember we did the same training as men there was no exception for anyone. So I remember one of the instructors during the training told me, you are all equals all of you are going to be in the wild so you need to prepare yourself mentally and physically. (Hope)

In the “keeping the job”, support from champions and mentors was noted to be important too. Participants explained the role of interpersonal relationships with their champions and mentors in keeping their careers. Mishi and Flaviana noted that the presence of mentors who encourage and support them and providing career advice and moral support enabling them to succeed in and maintaining their careers. Christine noted that both her family members and her managers play the role of mentorship, which is an essential support in her career.

They both noted:

I was working with a certain lady, but she is in Zambia now, North Luangwa she was the one that actually was encouraging me. Through her, I was able to be more confident and stronger in this position. (Mishi)

I was highly inspired by the CEO of that company because whenever I heard rumors that would have discouraged me, they kept on encouraging me that people will always talk no matter what ... that company contributed me to stay in line. (Flaviana)

One participant noted the importance of collaboration and relationships. She noted that her sponsors enable her to prevail in the traditional masculine employment in tourism by directing the clients to her, which strengthens her business in the long run.

My sponsor helped me with directing the clients to me because I am knowledgeable and so they can enrich their experience. (Glory)

Organizational Level

The organizational aspect of SEM is defined as a setting with definite boundaries that individuals exist and interact with at their workplaces but also it can interact with other organizations that function similarly or in a different manner. The findings of this study revealed

the contribution of organizational factors in all phases of women's employment in the traditionally masculine roles in tourism. The organizational level is characterized by the roles of tourism operators/businesses and postsecondary institutions in getting the job and training and supportive organizational leadership in keeping the jobs.

Participants presented that the operation of different institutions and organizations creates a range of facilitators that enables women to join the traditional masculine positions. This section speaks to the role of Tourism Operators/Businesses and other institutions like schools and post-secondary.

Tour Operators and Businesses

Participants acknowledged the role of different organizations, like the tourism companies, in facilitating women to join traditionally masculine employment.

According to the literature, gender equality is more advanced in developed countries than in the Global South (Chant, 2013). The participants of this study perceived that the foreign investors trusted female workers more than domestic investors did. Therefore, the presence of companies owned by foreigners created more opportunities for the women. Miriam noted that foreigners do not always have gender segregation in the workplaces as compared to Tanzanian tour operators and Agatha noted that foreigners have open arms in trusting women compared to the other male-owned companies in the country.

If you follow most of the companies, only these few which are managed by white people most of them do not have that tendency, that I need males than females [preferences]. But most of the companies that are run with us, black people most of them there is segregation when comes to gender. (Miriam)

I went to a Tanzanian guy asking for a car for transfer, I remember he asked me who is the driver. I said I am. He was very straight saying, I'm not gonna give a girl my car and that really hurt me. As time passed. I met this Spanish guy who had his own company and he called me for an interview, and I was there, and he told me, I know you can [drive] I wanna trust you and he gave me his car. (Agatha)

The increase of women-owned companies has accelerated the rate of women that are employed in traditionally masculine employment. Within the tourism industry, uniqueness is among

business strategies. There are newly established companies that are unique in terms of their operation. It is well known that, in the East African tourism market, males are predominant. Women in this study noted that presence of the unique companies such as Asilia Africa, which are led and operated by females receive many guests. Further, this has attracted other stakeholders to establish companies which enhance women empowerment through employment. The presence of these companies presents an opportunity for women to engage in traditional masculine employment. Women noted:

For example, a company like Asilia, they are likely to get more guests compared to other company, because they expand the guest experience, and attract people who promote gender equality. Women make the company well known because having the leading female guides attracts the attention of many people, thinking about how they can do it. The number of women-operated companies has increased which creates chances for more women as well. (Siaely)

We have a camp that is run by women in Serengeti, the managers, and the guides are all females. So, most of the guests that come to Asilia, most of them are normally surprised and they are happy with what we are doing. (Elizabeth)

The presence of companies like Asilia, has influenced the establishment of all-women companies in Tanzania. (Agatha)

In the second phase of employment, (i.e., keeping the jobs), participants presented multiple ways that their organizations function. Through the organizations' actions, plans and operations, they create a better working environment, build trust, and create job security for their employees. In this phase, the organizational category was associated with the following factors (a) organizational training, and (b) supportive organizational leadership.

Organizational Training

Participants in this study explained the importance of the training that is offered by their organizations in keeping their jobs. For example, Mishi noted that in her workplace, they have been receiving ongoing training, which enables them to do better in their careers. While Victoria said that, the training that she received from her first employer was essential because she can work anywhere with such experience. Examples:

In this company there are many people from different places in Africa, you know, we have people in S. Africa, we have people in Zimbabwe, Zambia they all came in and we got trained. At the beginning of this year, I had the chance to go to South Africa for 21 days, so it is all about learning new things in the industry. (Mishi)

They are very good people on training and giving you all these experiences of life once you manage to do the training and work with South Africans you can live anywhere in the world, and you can work with different people. (Victoria)

Supportive Organizational Leadership

Other participants explained that their workplaces had supported them to achieve further education. Flaviana noted that attending the course helped in building her skills, raise their qualifications and maintain has maintained her in that position.

... when I got hired the CEO supported me including paying for the courses that I needed to have to be more competent in my position. Therefore, currently, other female guides get support from the company. (Flaviana)

I just worked for two years as a porter to earn some more experiences but also after that I became a guide. I went to the college of African wildlife management for a short course which build by interpretation skills and made me more confident with the role that I am holding right now, because of the additional education piece. (Flaviana)

Roles of Schools and Post-Secondary Institutions

Participants acknowledged the role played by educational institutions in enabling women to get into traditionally masculine roles. Under this facilitating factor, participants spoke about the influence of the nature of schools on women's careers. For example, women spoke about the contribution of all-girl schools, mixed-gender schools, and private schools in building skills and a mindset that are essential for traditionally masculine tourism careers. They also spoke of the role of schools in creating exposure to the newer environments among students; but also, the role of schools in building awareness about gender roles to women.

Skills Development. The nature of schools in enhancing skills development for students was clear in this study. Participants noted the importance of attending better/private schools to

enhance skills like language which are essential for traditional masculine employment. They highlighted that attending private schools at an earlier age creates possibilities for them to be competent in skills like languages and other practical-oriented studies. In this study, women noted:

My mother would always say from kindergarten to grade 7 I will send you to private schools (English medium schools) so that can be a good language base when you are in Secondary and in your career. (Eva)

On secondary school, although we passed to go to public schools by that time most of the schools were not good so as parents, they were struggling to make sure that they take us to the schools that they believe that we can improve our language skills and other things. So, from O-level, I went to private school. (Miriam)

Exposure to New Environments. In this section, participants spoke about the role of schools and post-secondary institutions in building exposure which is important for traditional masculine careers in tourism. For example, Christine noted how exposure is important in enabling women to understand what is happening beyond their usual surroundings. On the other hand, Naomi mentioned that the post-secondary institution she attended exposes her to people with different backgrounds, which is useful when dealing with clients. Both women noted that:

I agree education provides knowledge and exposure and that gives one person the ability to be aware of what is happening around them and that is what is positive about the education system for a woman. (Christine)

Mweka was a remarkable experience for me, it was a good exposure, cuz [cis] I met different people with varying backgrounds, foreigners, and a good environment as well, I was happy, and I made good friends that until now I communicate well with them. I met good teachers who were really understanding so it was a good opportunity for me. In tourism, we deal with clients from different backgrounds. To have such exposure in the career is an asset. (Naomi)

Findings showed that there is a contribution of institutions like boarding schools. Women noted

that boarding schools created an opportunity to meet different people, live with them and understand them, which is exposure and helpful to their careers as well. They added that it is the opportunity to know more about a different culture as well. In their words, they noted:

...you can meet people from different places like the school I was studying was in Moshi, but they are people from Mwanza, Singida, Dar-es-salaam, and other places. So, you learn to live with people with different personalities, and this is important to me now because I meet clients with different personalities too. Perhaps if I would not have that experience dealing with people would be difficult for me. (Agatha)

I was the organizer of the culture magazine and things like that, so we had like people coming from Burma, so you will write about their culture, their dressing style, how do people live there, their famous food, traditional foods, and some things about that.

Understanding the culture of different people is very important in this career. (Hope)

Awareness of the Non-Traditional Gender Roles. Participants spoke of the importance of school environments in building awareness among women to discover possibilities beyond the traditional gender roles. Women in this study noted that schools enable women to have new perspectives concerning gender roles. Women are trained to be competent and fight for their ideas. This new perspective is important for women as they see how the world functions beyond the traditional society stereotypes about women. Women noted the following:

... I was very much involved in the debate clubs, and in most of those debates, there were women. Of course, that teaches us how to be aggressive and fight for our points. So, we will be fifty-fifty on the literature and the actual experience that our teachers gave us. (Christine)

In schools, we were given chances to compete with men in studies. This gave me a spirit of fighting for a position even if it means I have to compete with men. (Agatha)

Also, women presented the importance of being in an all-girls school atmosphere. Women believe that this environment enabled them to realize that they can do anything without men's help. Participants noted that in all girls' schools, there is no categorization of jobs for ladies or boys; they did everything.

We were pushed to realize that everything that a man can do a woman can do too. I've learned so much from that if I may say. And blend from that and it's helping me in life right now, knowing that whatever that I want to put my mind into it doesn't matter if I'm a woman I got to work extra but still it can be done even if you're a woman. (Agatha)

We were doing everything in teams, there was no window for excuses to say this is a man's job I cannot do it. (Anna)

Community Level

Previous studies defined the term community as a group of people with different characteristics, but linked by social ties, and exists in particular geographical locations or settings (MacQueen et al., 2001). Findings in this study revealed different facilitators for women's engagement in the traditional masculine positions in tourism employment under the community category. In getting a job, the community is noted to play a role in terms of geographical factors, tribal affiliations and the presence of women associations. In retaining their employment, the role of social-economic development was noted, and the presence of associations was noted to be a support as well. However, it came out a bit differently in this phase.

In getting the jobs, the presence of different women groups and associations from their workplaces enabled women to come together and help one another in their careers. Geography was related to the influence of the environments that these women were born and raised to their career occupations. The facilitating factors are discussed below:

Geographical Factors

In this study, women spoke about the influence of the environment on the careers they occupy. Participants highlighted that the nature of the environment that women are brought up influenced their engagement in tourism careers directly or indirectly. They emphasized that; the nature of their surrounding was among the strong determinant of their dream careers. Some women in this study noted that they were raised in the tourism regions like Kilimanjaro and Arusha, where they grew up seeing tourism in practical. These environments made them develop a passion for tourism careers. They both noted.

So, when I was in the class, I always used to see the land rovers, by then there was only land rovers nowadays we used to see the land cruisers. So, in standard four, I started building interest in loving being out and meet people from all over the world. So, I used to see land rovers driving with Mzungus (white people) and then I started doing my research and building my interest to know where these guys were being taken to. (Victoria)

I think also living conditions and the environment that i was born and raised in contributed for me to work in this career. (Flaviana)

I grew up in the place called Mto wa mbu, It is the center for tourism. If you want to go to Manyara you will pass there, if you want to go to Ngorongoro you will pass there, if you want to come to Serengeti, you will pass there, so there was a lot of tourist cars, this strengthened my passion as well. (Mishi)

In contrast to the first viewpoint, other participants noted that they did not grow up in the tourism regions; however, through traveling and getting close to the protected areas and wildlife, they developed a passion for tourism. Anna and Aziza noted that having an opportunity to visit the tourism hotspot region enabled them to realize other opportunities that other industries like tourism offer. They noted:

Actually, what I forgot to mention is, my parents moved to Dodoma region, and my brothers were studying in Arusha, so we used to go visit them and throughout the way, we passed near Manyara National Park and Tarangire and on the route we used to see so many animals like giraffes and zebra. So, I told my parents when I grow up, I would like to do the job that I will be able to see these animals oftentimes. (Aziza)

I had to explore another option in Arusha, where I came across this opportunity in tourism. I did not come to stay but after I saw the available environment and opportunities I decided to stay. (Anna)

Tribal Affiliations

After Tanzania was granted her independence, the first government had an emphasis on fighting tribalism. Unfortunately, that approach did not win. It is common in Tanzania to receive a favor from a stranger because you have the same tribe. The practice has got the advantages and the setbacks in the community. In this study, participants presented that tribal relationship

influences their careers in multiple ways. Women use it as a loop in navigating through the system that is set up against them. Participants attached this subtheme in relation to different institutions in the community. For example, Victoria noted that she was allowed to see a person that can potentially help her after she used the tribe relationship as an excuse for an appointment.

The following day I went to traffic police and there was a woman. She said what do you want? I replied, I want to meet the regional traffic officer (RTO) and she asked me who are you, I said he is my uncle, I did research before, So I knew exactly the guy is from Bukoba. I said he is my uncle; I've just came from home from Bukoba and I have a message for him.

A participant explained that presenting a fact of the tribal relation, she was heard out, which perhaps it would have been different if she could not use that trick.

On another occasion, Victoria noted that she had struggled with finances, so when she got a college, she presented the tribes of her parents depending on the people she was introduced to, and that relationship made them consider her. This situation suggests that people want to help their own kind. Hope mentioned that she was able to get her first job because the employer was a member of the same tribe as her, and she was in another region away from home. Victoria and Hope noted the following, respectively:

We entered the office again, the Guy was Haya in the tribe he introduced himself to me, and I introduced myself that I am Nyakyusa, I was born in Moshi my mother is a Chagga, but my father is Nyakyusa and he told me my wife is also Nyakyusa and I said, so your wife is my aunt, and you are my uncle.

... So, they loved me, and they became my aunt and uncle really seriously. (Victoria)

I found another place with one chagga person, in the place called Kihesa and he asked me if I am a Chagga too, for he will trust me to work for him. He told me you can come to my property and work for them. (Hope)

Roles of Associations

Participants presented the importance of different work-related associations in getting employed in tourism. This factor is linked to the following sub-categories (a) collaboration and networking and, (b) capacity building.

Collaboration and Networking. The presence of different tourism associations for women in the community has enabled networking among themselves and communicating with the government about their initiatives because of the collaboration from women leaders. Mary noted that their association acts as a platform that connects the most successful women with beginners, where they help each other with different strategies to take part in the tourism industry. Afsa mentioned that through these associations, we are able to collaborate and support other women who need help. They both noted that:

So, we try to reach out to the government and tell them about what we are doing. We have called the Ministry and the Tanzania Tourism Board; we have been collaborating with them. Luckily, some of the highly placed governments are members so like The Director general of TTB is an AWOTTA member so this is helping us a lot and the politician Mama Meghji who previously served in the Tourism Ministry, we have people like Mama Zara who are very successful in the Tourism Industry and others. So, when we are together on this platform, we are helping each other. (Mary)

Yes, I am part of a small association where the aim is to support each other and to collaborate with other tourism stakeholders. (Afsa)

Participants spoke about the roles of different tourism associations in the community in enhancing women's careers. The presence of different tourism associations that are initiated by women enables more women to reach traditional masculine positions in tourism. Some women that are more experienced in the industry have initiated different associations with the aim of helping beginners. Participants in this study noted that one of the things that many girls lack is field experience. Therefore, the presence of these associations is important in building skills for women and enhance their chances to find traditionally masculine careers. Women note that:

Women Guides Community Initiative which I am doing, I have found girls that have finished guiding schools from three years to go [and beyond three years], they never got the job because when they went for job application they were told they don't have enough experience, and there's no way you can get experience driving the car, you know our life, nobody can just take a four by four car and just give to you even the fuel is a problem. So now in the organization, we are working hard to give experience to these young females. (Hope)

I am the co-founder of Dare women's foundation. A big challenge female or girls, that is another thing that I did not mention, they are missing field experience. When they apply for a job, they lack it. Companies looking out for the image, they want to employ people who know Serengeti, Tarangire, Ngorongoro. ... So, we support these girls by having the vehicles taking them out for safari and showing them, around which is that's big support ever. (Victoria)

In keeping the job phase, the findings suggest various facilitators enabling women to keep their jobs. The factors were associated with (a) the role of associations (b) the role of social-economic development. When they spoke about associations, they highlighted the importance of being in those groups and how they enable them to prevail in their careers. When women spoke about the association in relation to keeping their jobs, they spoke about the role of associations in capacity building and collaboration. Also, they spoke of the role of the non-tourism-related associations, which are important for monetary support. On the other hand, when they spoke of social-economic development, they reflected on the support they direct in their community which is possible through the earnings from tourism employment.

Socio-economic development

Participants in this study spoke of the socio-economic development they enhance through the roles they occupy. When women spoke of socio-economic development, they reflect on the social and economic progress that they create in their community which is possible through the earning from tourism employment. Notably, many women businesses achieve social goals in the community, which makes them social entrepreneurs. Women in this study acknowledged that the progress they have created in their community by working in traditionally masculine positions, has made them stronger and more competitive. This factor was linked with: (a) social support to the community and, (b) networking.

Social Support to the Community. Women noted the importance of social support that is associated with their careers. Participants noted that their presence in the traditionally masculine positions had enabled them to help other women as well. Hope and Jessica noted that, through small social organizations, women are investing their earnings and other supports which help other women who are in need.

So, they bring a lot of contributions [women], not only for the company but also to the area they are living because the women are the one, that brings money in some of these small associations to help each other, they call it VICOBA here. Where you can just ask for money from these small organizations and get it. Women now they are getting together, like where I am living. If there is a party or anything, women get together and say let us help the other women. So, they bring a good impact to the village, to the community and to the government. Through that, women are motivated to work harder and harder and teach others in a way. (Hope)

In our working place, we have associations like a SACCOS for women, where women invest their money and those who are in need can get assisted. (Jessica)

Participants presented that by holding these positions, they can alleviate poverty and helping their families. Naomi argued that women contribute to bringing development and fight poverty in their families. Miriam noted that women raise the living standard of their families by supporting them. They noted that:

Women help in societal progress, like building a nice environment for the homes and taking children to school. (Naomi)

Normally most women think about their family, so if you support a woman, you raise her standard, her family status, everything related to her is even changed. (Miriam)

Networking. Participants noted that networking is among the important factor in maintaining their career. Naomi noted that working in traditionally masculine employment has enabled her to expand the network because of the chances of meeting up with different people and clients. On the other hand, Hope noted that being in these careers' women can meet other women who are ready to help them in their careers. They noted the following:

It is a career that aid my exposure, I meet a lot of new people, international clients, so when you meet a new person, you can learn something new, but also it has broadened my network, I know so many people, the hoteliers, airlines, etc. (Naomi)

Like right now some women are looking for donors, they are looking to get \$40,000 so they can help me with the girls, to go for three months of nonstop training in the bush, learning about game driving techniques, game drives, walking safaris, canoeing. Those are just women (White) who came here, and they are passionate to help, so we need to put our power to empower women. (Hope)

Notably, a lot of women organizations are working as social enterprises. Participants presented that; the presence of women tourism organizations has enabled networking with other social organizations. Hope noted that she collaborates with social organizations that discuss the issues that face women and girls, and together they promote basic needs for girls.

There is one organization called Day for girls, ... They are making pads reusable pads, that can last even for ten years. I collected them when I was in the US, and they usually sent me the kits. Those kits are sent to the Maasai community.

... I distribute them to the Maasai community, and the Chagga, and the Mbulu community, and whoever that cannot afford to buy them. (Hope)

In relation to keeping their jobs, participants spoke about the role of tourism-related and non-tourism-related associations in their careers. Women noted the role of associations in funding opportunities and capacity building.

Funding opportunities. Participants acknowledged the role of non-tourism-related associations in their careers and businesses. They noted that the presence of different women associations in their community provides them with monetary support, which enables them to help one another and to solve their business problems. They noted that.

So, they bring a lot of contributions, not only for the company but also to the area they are living because the women are the one, that brings money in some of these small associations to help each other, they call it VICOBA here. (Hope)

I am also a member of SACCOS, these small organizations that provide loans for people.

So, if you need the money and other support for the business, they can provide you. (Glory)

Capacity Building. Participants presented the importance of associations in enhancing capacity building in their careers. Women noted that the presence of different women

associations had enabled them to improve their skills. These associations create a space for sharing experiences and building skills necessary for their careers. For example, they noted that:

For those who are not experts, we organize in building the experiences like photography, bird watching and built our skills in manual driving that helps our experiences to expand.
(Siaely)

We have this small organization that empowers younger female guides to pursue their dreams. It is quite young still young but that is what we are doing, so sometimes we conduct trips. These sort of associations helps to enhance our skills as guides (Mishi)

Policy Level

Presence of regulatory policies and procedure in the government and organizations facilitate women engagement in the traditional masculine employment. Policies were noted to be important in the second phase of women's employment. In this study, participants highlighted the role of supportive workplace policies in their employment. Also, they noted the role of the Ministry initiatives in promoting traditionally masculine positions for women. The following factors were noted (a) supportive policies, and (b) the tourism ministry initiatives.

Supportive Organizational/Institutional Policies

Participants presented the importance of supportive policies in their organizations and how they enable them to keep their jobs. Miriam noted the presence of the internal promotion policies in her workplace, which enables women to be promoted in better positions. On the other hand, Afsa noted the equality in promotion within her company which does not leave women back.

And a good thing about my company, if there is a new job and they know that some people within the company {internal people} can do it they announce it for internal people first. The job is first announced specifically for internal people. So, this encourages people. So, women know I can also do that, I can upgrade myself and do this. (Miriam)

In my company, there is a promotion policy. Last season I promoted more than 10 employees from a porter level to chief guides, among them five were ladies. It does not matter if it is a man or a woman so long as they qualify, they get promoted. (Afsa)

Participants added that companies with policies that support women's welfare contribute to maintaining them in their positions. There is a changing recognition that women have started working outside their homes, they are not limited only to caring for the family and staying home. Jessica noted that in her work, there are policies that give women the right to return to work after they have given birth. While Siaely noted that policies that support gender equality are likely to favor women as well, and so they help to maintain their positions.

The policy that exists is when a woman gives birth to a baby, they are permitted to take care of the kids for 6 months and come back to their jobs. (Jessica)

They have policies that speak about women. One of the policies is to have equal opportunity. For example, talking about career experiences, our company is basing on exclusive guests so if it happens there is an opportunity knock, they will be distributed equally to all people, whether it is money or chances. (Siaely)

Tourism Ministry Initiatives

Participants spoke about the role of the Tourism Ministry in promoting tourism careers for women. Aziza noted, the government, through the Ministry of Tourism, has started to recognize the presence of women in traditionally masculine employment. The presence of awards for women working in traditionally masculine positions builds awareness to the public about these positions and recognizes women's abilities. Another participant noted that the Ministry showcases the work of women in the industry, which promotes the traditional masculine careers to women.

But I think when the Ministry decided to give out the best female guide awards, they really help in advertising the career and motivate other women and girls that this career is for women too. (Aziza)

When the Ministry involves the work of women who own the companies in advertising tourism, I think it helps other women to see the changes in positions that women can occupy. (Agatha)

Structural Level

The structural level represents the broader context and includes factors that are beyond

the individuals' control, and which can facilitate or limit the women's decisions. These factors exist in the social-cultural environment and governance structures of the local destination as well as the broader global context. They can influence, and be influenced by, the functioning of other levels of the SEM (Baral et al., 2013).

The findings in this study revealed that there were structural factors that enhanced women's opportunities to engage in TME. Unlike the other factors within the social-ecological model, this level presents the factors that indicate the increased opportunities for women's engagement in the TME and the improved access to the upcoming generations. Therefore, the structural level speaks to the increased opportunities but not the necessary outcome of it. The following factors were revealed through analysis: (a) changing social norms -global role models who resist gendered norms, (b) national initiatives to increase access to education, (c) strong female leadership in government (d) Globalization-increased access to the internet and social media, global role models and access to new ideas and ways of knowing through travel and tourism, and (e) tourism industry opportunity.

Changing Social Norms

Findings in this study revealed that the changing societal norms around women and gender have increased the possibility for women to become employed in traditionally masculine roles. The world is not static, it is constantly changing together with many of the narratives about gender. In this study, participants noted the changes in the new generations regarding the perceptions of traditional masculine employment. Most people in our societies have renounced their beliefs in traditional gender roles. They start to believe that what a man can do, a woman can, and vice versa. The changing elements were linked to (a) the presence of role models who resist gendered norms and (b) increased awareness of gender roles.

Presence of Role Models Who Resist Gendered Norms. The findings of this study revealed the importance of having female role models in society and life as a help to change society's views about gender roles. Many women are aware of their positions and the chances they have in changing the perception of women and the community about traditional masculine employment. Role models were noted to be inside and outside the tourism traditional masculine careers. Role models were noted to reinforce changes in gender roles perceptions in the community. It should be noted that, unlike the other levels, there is no interaction with these

role models but rather their actions create awareness of the possibilities.

Findings suggest the presence of women role models in the traditional masculine positions in tourism contributes to changes in the society about gender roles and paves the way for more women to find traditional masculine careers in tourism. Christine noted that the presence of women in traditionally masculine roles changes the perspective of society about women's abilities. But also, their presence in the industry creates future possibilities for other women to engage in these roles as well. Mary emphasized that positions that are occupied by women enhance in raising awareness about the changing women's role in society. Women noted that:

So, women in tourism right now, who are currently holding these prominent positions opening doors for other women to join in and them seeing that ooh, it is possible - ooh - I can do this, I can be a guard, I can be a tour guide. (Christine)

There is also that saying that if you educate a woman, you educate a nation because they are closer to the children... So, the impacts of women doing these traditional masculine jobs are quite a lot because it is important, and it is necessary to come out from those roles because the role of a woman as it has been portrayed in the past needs to change. (Mary)

The fact that there are iconic women and women winning prizes and awards the situation creates awareness of possibilities in the community. Findings suggest that women that are working in traditionally masculine employment are iconic. They have confidence, and pride, which is a not likely thing for women to speak out loud in Tanzania's culture. This factor can exert structural facilitation by imparting a sense of self-worth and confidence among many other women and girls in the community. In this study, women noted that:

Last year I was the best female tour guide in Tanzania. I am proud of myself, and my achievement, and I know I inspire many. (Mishi)

I tell you I'm the best guide ever. ... there was a guide from Zimbabwe that was working for company Z he was always coming to me like Vicky, please come and work with us. (Victoria)

In this changing world, one wants to be part of the change rather than observing. Notably, the presence of women in traditional masculine employment is inspirational to other women and

girls. Women working in these positions are iconic, and they are happy with the change and the influence they have in their communities and beyond. Mishi noted that her position is important in bringing changes to society and the future of women. She believes when other women learn her path, it influences radical change on them. Eva noted that being the young lady in this career, she inspires other ladies to think of possibilities in non-traditional careers. Women noted that,

The advantage just to me is that other young women, and other young girls who are still at school seeing me and what I am doing, that is the number one achievement. Because they can see me as their role model.

... We also inspiring other women or other ladies through their lives. To me I did not reach here easily, when I share my life experience my path to where I have reached you make more women inspired and because you might find the same point of interest in their future.
(Mishi)

I am the only lady around this place that is doing this kind of job. Most of the girls normally get surprised when they see me. They ask me how I'm able to drive this land cruiser vehicle.
(Eva)

Increased Awareness on Gender Roles. The findings of this study suggest that there is a growing awareness of gender roles within the community. This is attributed to the presence of role models in the community who reinforces those non-traditional roles. Participants indicated that the growing awareness of gender roles creates a possibility for women to work in traditionally masculine careers. Agatha noted that women are currently performing the roles that used to be performed by men only. Also, Glory noted the changes in gender role perceptions and the fact that both men and women are becoming more gender aschematic than before.

I meet ladies working as Conda, the Daladala conda [People who attend the customers and collect fare in the minibusses] ... I'm really happy and I'm really impressed because they are now changing and they're doing things that they never thought of doing. (Agatha)

I see both genders performing tasks that were previously considered for the opposite gender. For example, right now even when I got to the city center, I see women working as conductors which is a position that has been always dominated by men. (Glory)

Now you can see that girls are working in careers that previously were strictly for men. But in the past, I could see that the girls would do some tasks and careers and they were different from what men were mostly doing. (Mary-6)

Other participants acknowledged that the changes are happening to men as well. Mary noted that men are now having different perspectives on gender roles and are filling positions that were previously considered for women only. On the other hand, Siaely noted that men are taking part in helping the household chores and taking care of the children at home.

So nowadays if you have a party and you hire people that can offer catering services, in those days only women were doing all the cooking and men were just sitting around. Now things have changed even in celebrations men are cooking and doing all the catering. (Mary-6)

Things have changed a lot nowadays. Sometimes when men come off from work and see their wives doing other stuff such as laundry, they will help them with the cooking, and prepare the children for the next day and for school. (Siaely)

National Initiatives to the Access to Education-

When participants spoke about the government, they spoke of the government initiatives towards expanding educational opportunities in the country. The government was named to have strong structural support. The Tanzanian government has created initiatives for supporting education for its citizen which benefits the society in urban and rural areas as well. Participants in this study noted the importance of formal education in reaching the post-secondary levels and achieve the traditionally masculine roles. Women spoke of the affordable education and presence of more schools especially in the rural areas which creates more chances for girl's education and the future possibility for formal careers

Specifically, participants noted that the presence of affordable government schools has enhanced education for girls and boys in the community. In the years before 2010, the number of secondary schools in the rural areas of Tanzania was lower and the fees were unaffordable to

many families. The government started to construct more secondary schools in rural areas and the fees are affordable compared to private schools. Previously many children from the villages did not get access to education because of the low number of schools and a failure of families to pay for school. Jessica confirmed the increase in the number of schools even in the rural areas, and Victoria added that the presence of government schools is helping because the fee is low. Another participant noted that the increase of government schools in the rural areas had increased the likelihood of many educated girls, unlike before. Examples:

And right now, even the government is doing a lot because we have schools, even in the rural areas there are more schools now. (Jessica)

Government schools there is more free or you pay just a very little, so you contribute very little for education. (Victoria).

Things are changing and the government is helping, and it is important for children's future. There are more schools in the rural areas now and they are relatively cheaper compared to private schools. More children are able to achieve education now because of these initiatives by the government. (Mary)

Participants highlighted that government initiatives in supporting education for students include loan support have enabled even women from poor families to be able to attain higher education and eventually achieve traditional masculine positions.

The tuition fee was expensive somewhat but still, my parents struggled to support me with the support from the Loan board as well. (Siaely)

You know we come from poor families and education is important to reach these positions. The government offers loans to poor students who go to the university; therefore, this makes things easier for women as well. (Anna)

Strong Female Leadership

Participants presented that leadership is the important key in raising the voices of women against inequalities. Findings suggest that having female leaders will create more opportunities for future women's success in employment. Agatha suggested that having supportive leaders is crucial to maintain the strong relationship between women and their leaders (government) and listen to women's concerns; on the other hand, Christine noted having female leaders will

enhance more women opportunities and change community perceptions on women abilities; Afsa noted that the presence of female leaders in the government would give more attention to women's concerns. They noted the following:

I think if we have the right leaders who understand the importance of women, I am sure it's gonna [going to] change it in one way or another because we've been having so many campaigns about supporting ladies or females in tourism. (Agatha)

Having female leaders is very important. Women are likely to emphasize the needs of their fellow women while in power. This will help to eliminate traditional beliefs on women's capabilities and increases women's opportunities in employment. (Christine)

The government should try to give more positions for women leaders especially in tourism that could help a lot. (Afsa)

Globalization

For the purpose of this study, Globalization refers to the growing interdependence and interconnectedness of the world's populations, economies, and cultures, accelerated by travel, tourism technology, investment, and information access (Scholte, 2002). In this study, globalization was linked with the factors such as (a) increased access to the internet and social media (b) access to new ideas and ways of knowing through travel and tourism and, (c) the presence of global role models.

Access to the Internet and social media. This factor was associated with the possibility for people to access information beyond the country. When women talked about information technology what they noted was, the presence of the internet has contributed to changing the gender roles perceptions of women in the community. The internet has enabled people to know how other people in the country and around the world are socialized in these gender roles. That growing understanding is linked to the progressive understanding of gender roles in the community. Participants noted that,

We live in the Least Developed Country, but the internet is enabling people to see everything that is happening around the world. Gender roles are prevalent in the countries like ours, but I think some other countries have different perceptions about it. We see men

through social media taking care of kids, and women working in men's jobs this has helped to open the eyes of many about the jobs they can possibly do. (Anna)

Here in some tribes, women cannot be leaders, but look at what is happening in other nations, everything is changing, and we are learning every day from the media. There is a lot of women leaders, and they are respected this is teaching us that there is a possibility for women to enter these traditionally masculine employments so long as they have commitments. (Mary)

When you open the Instagram page now you will see how people are struggling to earn good lives. People from cities like Dar-es-salaam do not care about these jobs, women drive buses, they are conductors, [people who collect fare in the buses and mini-buses] men are chefs and cooks this helps people from other regions not to choose jobs. (Siaely)

Participants added that because of the internet, children are more exposed than they were. The new generation has better chances of accepting the new ways and renouncing the traditional beliefs and the traditional gender roles through seeing what is happening to the rest of the world. Christine and Siaely said that children are learning through what is happening on the internet, and they have become more aware and exposed compared to previous times. If parents do not stay open about gender roles, children can access new perceptions in social media. They noted.

Right now, kids know everything. They probably know more than us because everyday things are changing more and more. ... kids are exposed to right now because of the internet. (Christine)

There is internet almost everywhere, so if you will tell your boys at home do not to cook or clean the house because you are men, next time they will see it in the media that men do household chores, you will look stupid. (Siaely)

Access to new ideas and ways of knowing through travel and tourism.

Participants spoke of globalization through tourism and travel how it has created opportunities for women's future. Participants added that globalization through traveling plays a role in facilitating women to engage in traditionally masculine employment. Glory said that it helps to introduce women to the new environment and see the way the world function. This enables them to expand their ways of thinking beyond the local viewpoints, expose them to a new culture, and

mostly guide them on the necessary advice in getting established in traditional masculine employment. Another participant added that exposure enhances people to learn about different cultures, understand the clients' needs which the baseline is to get established in traditionally masculine careers.

Not just traveling outside the country but also domestic travels help because this can expose you to a newer environment as well. Being abroad and learn about the culture of business operation, time management has helped me with structuring my schedule, organizing my stuff, and being systematic, so planning before the dispatch. This has enabled me to maintain time discipline at my company as well as other necessary terms for operation.
(Glory)

Exposure also, traveling is very important. If you know about the nature of the clients you receive, their culture, and expectations it is easy to satisfy them. If you satisfy them, it means your business expands and you can survive in this competitive business. (Afsa)

Meeting the visitors who have new ideas influence women perception on social norms Interaction among people with different backgrounds has enabled Tanzania women, working in the tourism industry, to learn more about gender roles. Participants highlighted the importance of new culture in understanding traditionally masculine gender roles. They presented that observing people (tourists) from different cultural backgrounds has contributed to them defying the traditional gender roles. Example:

And maybe I wouldn't behave that way if I wouldn't be in contact with other cultures maybe I would have felt, if a guy like to cook, I would've felt weird but not. (Jessica)

When you interact with clients from different places you get surprised. Imagine you might be with a family, but a husband is more responsible to take care of the children than the wife, this is a learning point for women but also men that work in the field. (Glory)

Global role models. The presence of the global role models was noted to influence Tanzania women in different ways. Findings suggest that global role models contribute to changing perceptions of the community about women's abilities and create opportunities for women's involvement in traditionally masculine careers. Elizabeth said that the presence of feminists had enabled the community to understand the rights of women and build awareness of

gender roles. On the other hand, Agatha noted the presence of global women role models influence changes regarding stereotypes about women and present more opportunities for women in formal careers.

The presence of feminists in the societies help to inform even the traditional communities about the changes happening in division of roles and gender equality in career and employment. (Elizabeth)

I think the presence of famous women like Queen Elizabeth and Vice President of the USA has contributed to open the eyes of our community about women in leadership and therefore it is the opportunity for women to be more trusted in the leading careers. (Agatha)

Tourism Industry Opportunity

The findings of this study suggest that the tourism industry presents opportunities for women to join traditional masculine careers. Participants spoke about the nature of the institutions/organizations and state of the market include the struggle for uniqueness, and low competition has created chances for women to join the positions that are traditionally masculine roles.

Women spoke about the low competition among women in traditionally masculine tourism careers. They presented that the fact that there are few women in the tourism industry while there is an ongoing demand for women that can work in traditionally masculine positions. This situation presents the opportunity for women to join these tourism careers. Women noted,

Yes, the biggest thing that motivated me to join this career is because only a few women are engaged in the industry ... so there is less competition. (Jessica)

There is less competition, this ensures job security. I was one of the first females in Tanzania, Kenya, and Uganda. The best female was a woman who is 79 years old now, she started working from 1978 until 2002 and followed by myself and another lady called Aziza who is still working for N'beyond. (Victoria)

The findings revealed the role of sustainability practices within the tourism industry in enhancing careers for women. Participants noted that the presence of women in the tourism industry creates a sense of sustainable human resources, benefit-sharing, and gender equality. Mary noted that

presence of women in the traditionally masculine roles emphasizes gender equality and influence sustainable human resource. Christine said that people that emphasize gender equality are likely to support institutions with women workers as well. Whereas Agatha noted that sustainable clients wish to support sustainability initiatives in the tourism business.

Why women are important? Remember women deserve the benefits that are coming out of tourism they take care of their families and influence development.

... but also, you know the presence of women is also important for gender equality and diversification of human resource in the industry. (Mary)

Women who dominate this industry make it possible for companies like Asilia to be able to streamline public relations very well. If you are going to invest in telling people women are doing this job, some women are the guards, and in the administration, obviously, any investor wants to see changes happening, or any investor who is the feminist, or living in the current generation want to support companies that are promoting this. So, for the company, that is their bigger strength. (Christine)

Many people here speak of sustainable tourism. Clients that understand sustainability make sustainable choices. Even supporting companies that emphasize women's right to employment is a contribution to that. So, the struggle to attain sustainability creates chances for women too. (Agatha)

Participants highlighted that the tourism market is becoming more and more diverse, unlike the previous years, currently the country is receiving visitors from other parts of the world which was uncommon before. Therefore, there is pressure to diversify the human resource to accommodate different ranges of clients. Anna noted that the presence of a different range of clients presents different service demands as well, while Flaviana noted that religion poses a demand to the market because there are religious women travelers that prefer their fellow women to be their guides in the wilderness and not men. Eva emphasized that women want to experience the work of their fellow women, and so they prefer women guides. Participants noted:

We receive people from many parts of the world. Not every client is comfortable to have male guides. So, if there are female guides in the group it is important since the clients can choose whoever they are comfortable with. (Anna)

Women especially from Indonesia and other Islamic regions when they come for a hike they take udhu [adherence to purity before doing prayers; It is a common practice in Islamic religion] before the hike every day that means they cannot be touched by a man who is not their husbands, but their fellow women can as well as helping them. Understanding the challenges that are associated with hiking, where men can touch them in an unacceptable manner these people prefer having female tour guides rather than males.

... So, these companies with women have chances of accommodating different clients' preferences. (Flaviana)

Nowadays some guests want only female guides in their safaris, so many of them are hunting that experience that to some people is new. So, companies with women are benefiting more. (Eva)

Chapter Summary

Up to this point, this study has illustrated that in Tanzania, there is progress regarding the engagement of women in traditional masculine employment in tourism. Participants presented the overall increase of women in participating in these careers and the opportunities that are available for women; however, they noted that the number is still unsatisfactory.

The findings revealed that the engagement of women in TME is facilitated through two major categories for facilitators, which are (a) the factors enabling women in getting the jobs and (b) the factors that enable women in keeping their jobs. Facilitators for women to keep their jobs are as important as the facilitators for getting them in those positions. Participants presented various factors that are important in getting/achieving and keeping their employment positions (see Table 4).

Table 4*Table Summary Showing the Factors for Getting the job and Keeping the Job.*

SEM Category	Factors	Getting the Job	Keeping the Job
Individual	Post-secondary education background	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
	Skillset	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
	Qualification/certification	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
	Work ethics	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
	Resilience	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
	Financial independence	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
	Women interests in tourism careers	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
Interpersonal	Supportive people (Family, Champions and mentors)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Organizational	Tourism Operators and Businesses	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
	Roles of schools and post-secondary institutions	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
Community	Geographical factors	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
	Tribal affiliations	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
	Associations (roles of tourism- and non-tourism-related associations)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
	Social development (Social support to families and communities and Networking)		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
	Supportive organizational/Institutional policies		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Policy	Ministry of Natural resources and Tourism initiatives	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
Structural*	Changing social norms	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
	National initiatives to increase access to education	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
	Globalization	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
	Strong female leadership in government	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	

Industry opportunity (e.g., low competition, sustainability)



* Structural factors did not appear in McLeroy et al.'s, (1988) model.

A strength-based perspective reinforced that, women perceive the traditional masculine positions as real jobs; they trigger gender equality, give voice to women, inform women resilience, and emphasize the possibilities for women in finding their dream careers in the tourism industry.

A multitude of individual, interpersonal, organizational, community, policies and structural facilitators influenced the engagement of women in traditionally masculine employment. Intrapersonal facilitators represented the direct influence on women's engagement in the NTE, where factors related to personal traits, behavior, and qualification influenced their engagement. Meanwhile, the interpersonal facilitators represented both the direct and the indirect influence on women's careers, including factors related to family, champions, friends, and mentors play a huge role in women finding and keeping their jobs. Factors related to organizations reflected the tourism workplaces and their influence on women's careers. The policy level highlighted different laws and regulations from the government and tourism organizations that influence women's employment. Structural facilitators indicated the indirect influences that enabled women to find and keep their jobs in traditionally masculine positions, including changing social norms, government initiatives, globalization through travel and tourism.

The findings of this study contribute to the understanding of the existing body of literature regarding (a) the engagement of women in traditionally masculine employment, (b) the use of the social-ecological model, (c) the use of a strength-based perspective, (d) the use of abductive reasoning, and (e) the use of qualitative descriptive design. The following chapter details the discussion on the findings. The essential part of that chapter is to explore the relationship of the findings to the research questions, the existing literature, the proposed theories, the implications of the findings, and to draw a conclusion about the study's findings.

Chapter Five: Discussion and Conclusions

The purpose of this study was to explore the factors facilitating the engagement of women in traditionally masculine employment in tourism delivery. This research was guided by the following research question and sub-questions.

- What were the facilitating factors that enabled Tanzanian women to gain employment in tourism positions that were typically reserved for men?
 - How did the lived experience of women aid their resistance to traditional gender roles?
 - How did the lived experience of women impact their resilience in gendered employment?
 - What facilitating factors within the Tanzanian social context influenced the employment of women in traditionally masculine positions?

This discussion is organized based on the contribution of the theoretical knowledge to the study and the research findings, as follows: (a) a strength-based approach (b) the value of using abductive reasoning in the analysis (c) gendered employment (c) social-ecological model and facilitating factors for employment (d) factors that led to women resistance (e) factors led to women resilience (f) sustainability through women employment. The chapter will conclude with a highlight on the limitations of the study, recommendations, and suggestions for further studies.

A Strength-Based Approach

A deficit perspective has been the dominant approach in studies that investigating women's occupation in traditionally masculine employment (Carvalho et al., 2018; Fox, 2016; Prinster, 2017; Ramchurjee, 2017; Zambelli et al., 2017), and the use of strength-based approaches remains underexplored. Therefore, it was decided to use a strength-based approach for this research so as to learn what has helped women engage rather than what has challenged their participation. Particularly, a strength-based approach was used as a design approach in this study, resulting in methods of data collection, analysis, and presentation that focused on the facilitating factors (Lassister, 2014, Ludlam et al., 2016). It was particularly important to integrate the strength-based approach in this study so as to honour the women's accomplishments without asking them to dwell on negative experiences in their past. Further, as women are typically marginalized in the formal employment sector and in much of tourism, it

was determined that women's ability to navigate their employment challenges could lead to the empower of other Tanzanian women.

Within the research, a strength-based perspective supplemented the exploration of facilitating factors (Rans & Green, 2005), within the social-ecological model framework. Understanding the engagement of women in TME from a strength's perspective, revealed factors within the social context that can facilitate women's engagement in these positions. Specifically, it was determined that women's ability to gain employment went beyond their own skills, knowledge, and attitudes and was supported by other SEM factor levels (Cooperrider & Whitney, 2005; Mathie & Cunningham, 2003). The study findings reinforced that the factors related to strengths, capacities, opportunities, and positive relationships across all the SEM levels help to facilitate women's employment (Goldman and Schmalz, 2015; Warren and Coghlan, 2016). This idea adds a new dimension to the existing literature on the barriers to women engagement in traditionally masculine employment.

Previous research acknowledges that despite taking a strength-based approach there is a prevalence of deficit responses in research (O'Keefe, 2015; Rashid, 2015). The deficit perspectives used in this study to describe women's experiences were rooted in the participants' lived experiences. In these circumstances, it was recognized that the entrenched challenges (traditional stereotypes) and other systemic barriers that are part of a woman's experience ultimately impact how they approach life. Like Ludlam (2016) and O'Keefe, (2015) this study did not ignore the deficit responses of participants but rather they were used to probe for data related to the ways that women overcame the challenges to being engaged TME in tourism.

The strength-based approach in this study adds further support to those who contend that taking a deficits or constraints approach limits the full understanding of behaviours and the context (Ludlam, 2016; Raymore, 2002). Further, this approach can provide context-specific solutions and more understanding of the phenomenon (Lassister, 2014). This study confirmed that constraints exist alongside the facilitators for the engagement of women in traditionally masculine roles. For example, participants in this study spoke of challenges associated with their engagement in the traditional masculine careers including poverty, lack of social services, lack of financial support, and domestic abuse. Using a strength-based approach this research found evidence that women who overcame these challenges demonstrated personal resilience,

resistance to social norms, and an entrepreneurial outlook, which provided a path to reach their careers. Similar to Shogan (2010), the results of this study reinforced that a constraint can be a limiting factor but at the same time it can also facilitate a response. This study justifies that using a strength-based approach is not only appropriate but is also important when seeking to understand the experiences of marginalized populations.

The Value of Using Abductive Reasoning in The Analysis.

As prescribed by Lipscomb (2012), the ultimate goal of an investigation is to provide the most logical explanations. Abductive reasoning was a worthwhile approach in this study. Being an active and honest reasoning approach, the analysis process was open to new explanations instead of having a sole focus on the proposed framework (the social-ecological model). Through abductive analysis, the findings of this study revealed insights like the presence of structural factors, which were not part of the original framework, other thematic areas apart of the facilitating factors for women employment; and the employment phases which were (a) getting the job and, (b) keeping the job.

This research aimed to explore the facilitating factors for women's engagement in TME. However, due to the emergent nature of the abductive analysis, other thematic areas were noted which were; (a) the gendered nature of the Tanzanian society and, (b) perceptions and gendered nature of tourism in Tanzania.

The analysis procedure was iterative and not linear (Bradshaw et al., 2017). It started with consideration of the theoretical prepositions which involved the straightforward analysis in which a researcher relied on theoretical knowledge (social-ecological model) and then stepping away from the Theoretical framework (Rinehart, 2020; Timmermans & Tavory 2014). This approach invited a more emergent analysis and the possibility for new explanations. Both, the research data, and the researcher's knowledge regarding the context contributed to confirming the presence of structural factors within the data set. Due to the iterative nature of qualitative data analysis, the themes and codes were frequently reviewed. The third thematic area which was the "Factors Facilitating Women's Employment in TME" was noted to have two sets of factors that informed two employment phases (a) getting the jobs and, (b) keeping the jobs.

Gendered Employment

The engagement of women in non-traditional tourism employment was conceptualized as working in positions that were usually filled by men, such as managerial, administrative, and supervisory positions as well as tour guiding and business ownership. This study revealed that the engagement of women in traditional masculine employment (TME) involved two main phases: (a) getting the jobs, and (b) keeping the jobs. Previous studies that assessed women's employment in tourism have not noted a distinction between these phases (Carvalho et al., 2018; Kimbu and Ngoasong, 2016).

The challenges faced by women in gaining work in non-traditional employment in tourism are well documented (Carvalho et al., 2018; Chugh, 2001; Domenico, & Jones, 2006; Linehan and Scullion, 2008; Masadeh et al., 2018; Ramchurjee, 2017; UNWTO, (2019)). It has also been noted that the stereotypes about women's capabilities (Prinster, 2017) necessitate that they go the extra mile and must be better than men to keep their jobs. The experiences of the women in this study support the previous research. Further, it revealed that the women in this study felt that to be fully engaged required not only attaining a position but maintain that employment as well.

The research in this thesis determined that women viewed tourism workplaces as; (a) male-dominated and androcentric, (b) requiring responses to dynamic market demands, and (c) being vulnerable to crises. Therefore, to successfully engaged in non-traditional tourism employment the women needed to be able to draw on the multiple factors that facilitated their employment as these factors helped the women be adaptable and resilient in the face of challenges. Ungar et al. (2013) and O'Connor et al. (2012) would argue that this process showcased the interaction between proximal and distal factors, within the social-ecological model, that influence behavior.

This study reinforces that a myriad of intrapersonal, interpersonal, organizational, community factors (McLeroy et al., 1988), and structural factors (Baral et al., 2013; Latkin & Knowlton, 2005) play a big role in helping women to attain, and keep, their jobs in TME. These facilitators will be discussed in detail in the following section.

Social-Ecological Model and Facilitating Factors

The use of a social-ecological model for understanding facilitating factors of employment draws from McLeroy et al.'s (1988) ecological model for health promotion which acknowledged the role of both individual and social environmental factors. The ecological model by McLeroy et al. (1988), depicts the individual and the social environment as an interdependent system and suggests that a potential change in one level might affect that level and others. More specifically, when behavior is affected and it can also affect a social context (McLeroy et al., 1998; Stokols, 1996).

Within McLeroy et al.'s (1988) model, the facilitation of actions or behaviors was categorized into the following categories: intrapersonal, interpersonal, community, institutional, and public policy. These five levels signify the range of the facilitators of a behavior. The findings of this study, support a variation from McLeroy's work, which was used as the conceptual framework of this research. Specifically, the inclusion of a level that speaks to the broader societal structures that influence the social context but are also influenced by the behaviours, attitudes, and values of a community. This variation of McLeroy et al.'s (1988) model is supported by the many other researchers who have used SEM (Baral et al., 2013; Coleman and Alonso 2016; Chynoweh et al., 2020; de la Torre-Castro et al., 2017; Essiet et al., 2017; Fleury and Lee, 2006; Kimbu and Ngoasong, 2016; Latkin and Knowlton, 2005; Linehan and Scullion, 2008; O'Connor et al., 2012; Sanga et al., 2019; Stokolos, 1996).

The social-ecological model for the engagement of Tanzanian women in traditional masculine positions in tourism had six levels, including individual, interpersonal, organizational, community, policies, and structural levels. This study adopted structural facilitators to describe the broad external influences on an action or behavior (Coleman and Alonso, 2016). According to Baral et al. (2013), broader factors are embedded within the social contexts and determine or limit individuals' actions. Some of the big picture factors revealed in this study included globalization through tourism and travel, access to information technology, government initiatives, and changing social norms. These factors were noted to influence behaviours within different levels of the model. For example, a factor like access to information technology can have significant impacts on an individual's knowledge base but can also result in changes to how people relate to each other (interpersonal), community values and beliefs, and even on the

information that is learned or shared within schools. The findings of this study are supported by Laisser et al.'s (2011) research in Tanzania and by Coleman and Alonso's (2016) research in Kenya which both found that structural factors impact all other levels of the SEM.

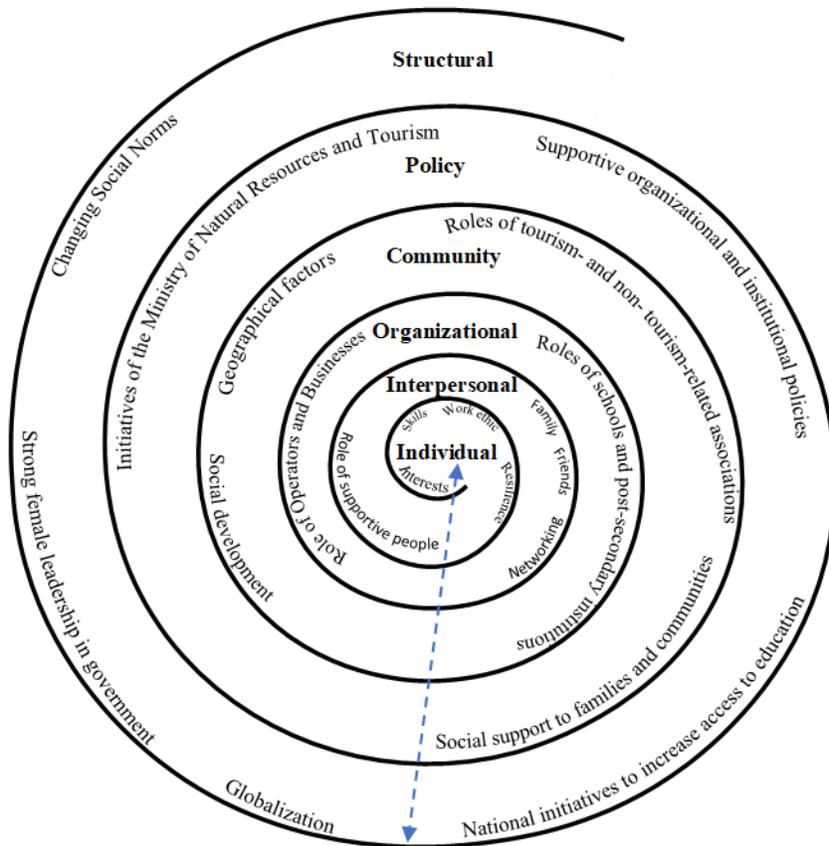
Due to the nature of their research, McLeroy et al. (1988) focused only on public policy, which was found to be a facilitating factor in this research. However, like Golden (2015) and Fleury and Lee (2006), the findings of this study also provide evidence for the need to support institutional policies.

In McLeroy's model, the individual sits at the core of the social context while enveloped by the four concentric layers of the social environment (McLeroy et al., 1988). I would like to propose an alternative social-ecological model, inspired by O'Connor et al. (2012), as a better illustration of the facilitating factors for women's employment in traditionally masculine positions (see Figure 3). The use of a spiral model is appropriate because actual social context is not static but rather it keeps on changing together with its attributes (O'Connor et al., 2012).

The spiral framework reinforces that the categories are not distinct but rather there is a connection between them. Different scholars have given their explanation on such social-ecological models. Fleury and Lee (2006) addressed the cross-level effect in intervention within a social-ecological model, where they justified that interventions on one level may address problems on another level. This explanation supports the conclusion that the layers are not concentric and independent from one another. Thus, the model illustrates the multi-faceted influences upon one's career and depicts the relationship between getting the job and keeping the job. The conclusions of this study and the use of a spiral within the SEM are supported by others who also noted the 'proximal' and 'distal' influences within the social context (O'Connor et al., 2012; Stokolos, 1996; Ungar et al., 2013).

Figure 3

A Social-Ecological Model for Tanzanian Women's Employment in Tourism



As noted, factors within the SEM have interactional effects, one of which is changing social norms. Research that has explored women's gendered realities has determined that in some instances women are empowered to resist limiting traditional norms (Al Mazro'ei, 2010; Weighill, 2001). The findings of this study clearly illustrated that the experiences that women had throughout their lives aided them in resisting being limited to traditional roles in their employment. These findings are further explored in the next section which connects the facilitating factors to the concepts of resilience and resistance.

Factors That Led to Women's Resilience

Resilience was clearly demonstrated among women who are engaged in traditionally masculine employment in tourism. In this study, resilience was viewed as the ability to overcome challenges (Mohaupt, 2008) regarding the participants' engagement in traditionally masculine careers. Being resilient, viewed as a dynamic process (Luthar, 2000), was required in both phases

of employment. For example, in getting the jobs resilience is related to overcoming life's challenges such as lack of parental care, financial demands, injustice in the households, and community beliefs. These barriers have broken many women and remain undermined in Tanzanian society (Brain, 2014; Mkuchu, 2004; Prinster, 2017); however, in this study two women who have achieved the TME in tourism delivery proved to be resilient. Their resilience resulted from a sense of optimism, positive attitudes, self-esteem, and problem-solving skills, combined with access to external supportive factors that allowed them to overcome the challenges.

Likewise in keeping the jobs, women in this study were inherently resilient. The women's resilience was linked to their past experiences and the fact that they grew up within an environment where they needed to challenge systemic barriers often. Women in this study acknowledged that they were working in male-dominated workplaces and noted the androcentric nature of their workplaces. These ideas about the tourism sector are supported by previous research (Carvalho et al. 2018; Prinster, 2017; Stevens, 2014). Other issues they overcome are related to a challenging business environment due to factors like the pandemic, gender stereotypes, and being overworked. The idea of women's resilience in TME was supported by Carvalho et al. (2018), who noted that women are confronted by gender issues even “above the glass ceiling,”. The statement implies that the presence of women in traditionally masculine positions does not free them from the gender challenges which they still need to navigate in order to prevail. In fact, the women in this study noted that they needed to do better than their male counterparts to maintain their positions.

Another aspect of resilience that was noted in this research was that of resisting gendered norms. The women clearly faced barriers within the lived experiences that were directly related to being female; however, they developed the skills, attitudes, and knowledge necessary to resist being limited by gendered roles when it came to seeking employment in the tourism industry.

Women Resisting Gendered Norms

Women's resistance to social norms has been addressed in tourism studies in different cultural contexts (Doran, 2016; Al Mazro'ei, 2010; Badstue, 2020; Prinster, 2017; Stevens, 2014). As with previous research, the participants of this study demonstrated perspectives, attitudes, and behaviors that reflected their resistance to traditional norms. One of the most

dominant gendered areas of life are those of domestic labour including caregiving (Masadeh et al., 2018) and the participants of this study spoke their resistance in this realm.

Participants noted that women were culturally regarded as household caretakers and as being responsible for reproductive responsibilities. This finding is supported by Masadeh et al. (2018), who also found that women were stereotyped as the principal caregivers in the households and that those stereotypes can impact women seeking tourism employment. Like those in Freysinger and Flannery's (1992) research, the women in this study noted that they were nurturers and mothers, but they resisted the traditional norms which limited them to household spaces only. In this study, the women indicated the importance of working informal jobs so as to achieve financial benefits and freedom.

The research presented in this thesis supports the idea that simply seeking employment in the positions that have typically been reserved for males, is an act of gender resistance. This perspective is supported by Al Mazro'ei (2010), where she indicated women's employment within tourism is a form of resistance. Further, Badstue (2020) argued that the identity of being a man, or a woman, is challenged by new livelihood opportunities. It is possible to conclude that these acts of resistance may ultimately result in the changing of social norms regarding women's employment in tourism. Generally, women's resistance might be fostered by influences like globalization and access to information technology. According to women in this study, they noted that these factors exposed them to how new perspectives on gender and to the opportunities that women from other countries enjoyed.

This study also noted the presence of organizational/institutional resistance. In the countries like Tanzania where there is a strong background of patriarchy, male supremacy, male dominance, and gender inequality in the workforce (Brain, 2014; Idris, 2018), the tourism sector has created a space for women's resistance against traditional gender roles (Doran, 2016). This study revealed that some institutions have new policies where they have shifted to wholly female operated so as to empower more women to seek traditionally masculine careers. Likewise, a few women noted that they have opened new companies so that they can employ women who face gendered employment challenges. Also, other tourism organizations in Tanzania have enacted different gender equality policies which provide equal opportunities amongst employees.

Moreover, women noted the presence of supportive policies, like maternity leave, which enables them to keep their positions.

Sustainability Through Women's Employment

As supported by previous literature, the findings of this study revealed social and economic sustainability through women's employment (Favre, 2017; Kimbu & Ngoasong, 2016; Stevens, 2014; Tucker & Boonabaana, 2012). Concerning economic sustainability, this study revealed how women had overcome poverty dimensions through their employment. Through their earnings, they have fought poverty by solving their financial needs. Furthermore, they were gaining power by obtaining control of their income and resource ownership. Through their careers, women are empowered, and they have gained productive sources of income through the roles they can occupy in the tourism workforce (Khatiwada and Silva, 2015). Socially women have gained power and freedom through financial independence. Within the Tanzanian context, financial freedom enhances leisure pursuits due to women's financial independence and ability to pay their bills. Zambeli et al., (2017) noted women's engagement in paid work strengthens their economy and lessen dependency and responsibility pressure on men.

Both economically and socially, women's employment has enhanced sustainable livelihood in the families and the community as well. The involvement of women in the paid works is accounted important to create more sustained households (Perrone et al., 2009). This was possible through the flow of their income to their immediate families and the communities. Women noted that through their earnings from tourism employment they can support their families. The perspective is supported by Zambeli et al.'s (2017) study in Tanzania, where they noted that women's involvement in paying jobs is important to help serve the family financial needs and support the children.

Within the community, as it was noted by Kimbu and Ngoasong, (2016), this study supports the idea that women who owned enterprises are associated with social goals apart from economic goals. Through their businesses and associations, they have supported the community's livelihood by increasing employment chances for fellow women, financial support, and charity support to different needy groups. Women in this study were noted to be the role models in the community and through their resistance to social norms, they have gone far in establishing the organizations which support and provide employment to their fellow women in the community.

Therefore, women's engagement in traditional masculine employment in tourism reflected the potential role of tourism in contributing to sustainable development through enhancing gender equality, participation, and sustainable livelihood.

Limitations of the Study

This study was conducted only in the Northern Tourism Circuit of Tanzania; however, there are other tourism circuits in the and the gendered nature of employment might be experienced differently. Based on the varying level of tourism development and tribal cultures between the tourism circuits, other women might have different perspectives regarding the engagement of women in traditional masculine employment in the tourism industry.

In the analysis two sets of facilitating factors for women employment emerged, which were: (a) getting the job, and (b) keeping the jobs. Therefore, it is likely, the factors which were mentioned to enhance women to keep their jobs might only be the subset of the available factors; so, there can be many others which were not presented in this study.

Recommendation

This study highlights the importance of education for girls in attaining traditionally masculine tourism careers. The government should maintain the current regulation that necessitates education for girls; however, further supports for tertiary education may be required.

This study recommends the learning materials and education system be revisited. Findings revealed the need for role models for young women from their educational backgrounds. Learning materials such as books that emphasize gender roles and stereotypes, situate women in inferior positions. If these concerns can be addressed, it might help to introduce different mindsets concerning gender roles and gendered employment opportunities.

Badstue et al. (2020) have noted the existence of strategies to attain gender equality and to minimize the gender gap but there is poor implementation of the policies. The women in this study also pointed out that there are equality policies about the workforce that are poorly implemented/enforced. Therefore, it is recommended that the Government of Tanzania ensures the proper implementation of gender equality policies through the main institutions of Tanzania (i.e., schools, governments, and employment contexts).

Areas for Future Research

This thesis presented a detailed exploration of the facilitators for the engagement of women in the traditional masculine employment in tourism delivery in the Northern Tourism Circuit of Tanzania. Future research can be directed on the other tourism circuits to determine how perceptions, experiences, and facilitators for their engagement relate or differs between the geographical locations.

Considering the impacts of the pandemic, women's employment has been impacted way more than men's employment, and tourism is amongst the most highly impacted sectors (Al-Ali, 2020; Collins et al., 2021). It has been noted that women have faced greater family responsibilities and caretaking roles within the pandemic and that their jobs are at risk (Johnston et al., 2020; Power, 2020). It will be worthwhile to explore the strategies that women used to overcome the tourism employment challenges faced in the pandemic.

This study employed a strength-based approach (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993) that focuses on potential solutions rather than barriers. It is suggested that future research should explore tourism and gender studies using this approach so as to reduce the emphasis on deficits that currently dominate Tanzanian research.

A revised version of McLeroy et al.'s (1988) social-ecological model was used as a better illustration of the interactions between factors organized with the original model. Future research exploring facilitating factors within gendered environments, such as the tourism industry, should consider this model and verify its fit.

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APPENDIX A

Interview Guide

Factors influencing the engagement of women in non-traditional employment in tourism delivery.

(Note: The sub-questions are probes that will only be used if participants do not volunteer that information while answering the main question).

OPENING Statement (after consent process)

Hello, thank you for agreeing to this interview today.

The purpose of this study is to build an understanding regarding women's ability to achieve positions often filled by men, such as managerial, administrative, and tour-guiding. I would like to remind you if you wish to skip any question or terminate this interview you may do so at any time. Your response is confidential and at no time will your name be attached to the study unless you agree. This interview will take approximately one and a half hours and will be audio-recorded and noted in my research book. Do you have any questions before we begin?

Participant profile and early influences:

1. Can you tell me a little bit about what your childhood and family life was like?
 - a) Did you live with your mom and dad?
 - b) What did your parents/siblings do for work?
 - c) Did your mom or sisters work outside the home?
 - d) Did you and your sisters (possible brothers too) attend school?
 - e) What school(s) did you attend?
 - a. How did school life look like?
2. What was the experience of growing up as a girl in your community?
 - a) Did it impact on access or the importance of going to school?
 - b) Were there specific roles or tasks given to girls?
 - c) How was it different from boys?
 - d) Have things changed for girls in your community today?

Career Path and Employment:

3. Can you please describe your current position and the tasks that you do?
4. What are the possible positive impacts of being a woman with the ability to do this job?
5. What has been the reaction of others to you holding this position?
 - a. What are your (Family/ friends/ coworkers/ other operators') reactions to your role?
 - b. Do you feel that clients act differently because you are a woman? Can you describe in what ways they are different?

6. Can you tell me about the path that you followed to attain your current position?
 - a. Which courses did you study to be able to attain this position?
 - b. Did your previous work experience relate to your current position or inspire you to take on this position?
 - c. Did you have prior experience working with someone in the field?
 - d. Have you been part of any organization different from your workplace? Please describe how this organization has contributed to your career.
7. Can you speak to some of the ways that you have overcome the challenges that you face in achieving your current employment status?
8. This research is focused on the factors that help women get positions in tourism that have typically held by men. Is there anything else that you would like to share about your own journey that may be important for others to know?

I would like to ask you a few questions about gender equity in society and about your company/organization.

9. What are some of the challenges still facing Tanzanian women in achieving gender equity in employment in the tourism industry?
 - a. How does community perceptions about women affect their ability to find the desired employment?
 - b. How does poor access to education impact the opportunities for women to achieve non-traditional positions in tourism?
10. What do you think are the positive impacts of having more women involved in non-traditional positions in the tourism industry?
 - a. How do women working in non-traditional positions contribute to company success?
 - b. How do women working in non-traditional employment improve community perception over gendered employment?
 - c. Is there a necessity for women in the workplace in order to change society's perception?
 - d. How does the non-traditional employment positions change living condition for women?
11. Thinking about your current position, how does *INSERT NAME of YOUR COMPANY HERE* contribute to supporting women working in non-traditional positions?
 - a. Does *INSERT NAME OF YOUR COMPANY HERE* have any formal policies that speak to women in the workforce or gender equality?

12. What do you think needs to be improved or changed in the workforce and the recruitment procedures so that more women can work in the non-traditional employment roles for women?

13. Within the position that you are holding right now, can you tell me what you have done to support other women who would like to work in non-traditional employment positions?

This concludes the questions I have prepared for this interview. Is there anything else you would like to add?

Thank you again for participating in this interview. As I said at the beginning, I will be sending you a written transcription of this interview, and I would encourage you to review the transcript and provide any edits, additions, or changes. You will have 3 weeks to review the transcript and send me any changes, you can also choose to withdraw from the study until that time.

APPENDIX B

Factors influencing the engagement of women in non-traditional employment in tourism delivery.

Recruitment Email

[Date here]

Dear (Insert name here)

My name is Witness Humphrey Lyimo, and I am pursuing a Master of Arts in Sustainable Leisure Management at Vancouver Island University in Nanaimo, Canada. I am also Tanzanian and a graduate of the College of African Wildlife Management, Mweka.

As part of my current degree, I am doing a study focused on women who are Tanzanian nationals, working in the tourism industry, and who hold positions that have traditionally been filled by males (e.g., managers, tour operators, and tour guides). Specifically, my research will explore the factors that helped women achieved such positions in Tanzania. It is hoped that the results of the study will provide insights to help other women pursuing careers in tourism.

You have been identified as a potential study participant, so I am writing to request a telephone interview to discuss what influenced your career development in tourism. I have attached a research consent form that includes more details about the study and your potential involvement.

If you agree to being part of my study, I will ask that you participate in a WhatsApp or phone interview that will take about one hour and that you later review the written transcript of that interview (20-30 minutes). I will be calling from Canada, and I will send you a voucher to cover the cost of your interview (mobile expense) and light refreshment. Dr. Rehema Shoo (College of African Wildlife Management, Mweka) will assist me with this transfer. If you would like to participate, please confirm the phone number you would like the voucher sent to and be called on.

Please contact me to indicate YES or NO, to this request. If you agree to the interview, we will schedule a date and time convenient for you during the next few weeks.

If you feel like you may not be the best candidate for this interview or do not wish to participate, I would ask that you please suggest someone else that I can contact.

Thank you for considering this request.

Best regards, Witness Humphrey Lyimo.

Email: whitneylimm00@gmail.com

WhatsApp contact number: +1 (250) 619-5932

APPENDIX C

Interview Consent Form

Factors influencing the engagement of women in non-traditional employment in tourism delivery.

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I am a student in the Master of Art in Sustainable Leisure Management at Vancouver Island University (VIU), in Canada. My research, entitled “*Factors facilitating the engagement of women in non-traditional employment in tourism in Tanzania*”, aims to identify enabling factors that allow women to achieve employment in tourism in positions typically held by men. My hope is that my research will contribute to the future success of women who have dreams of pursuing careers in the tourism industry.

Research participants are asked to participate in an interview using WhatsApp or a similar platform of their choice. Information about WhatsApp security can be found at: www.whatsapp.com/security/. If you agree, you would be asked questions concerning your personal experiences, your childhood, the path you followed to your current position in the tourism industry in Tanzania, and recruitment policy in your company. Emphasis will be on the factors that made your journey possible and or influenced your decisions to pursue a career in tourism. With your permission, the interview will be audio recorded. Your participation would require approximately 1 – 1 ½ hours of your time; a 1-hour interview and 20-30 minutes to review your interview transcript. You have the option of participating anonymously.

The information collected during the interview is likely to be uncontroversial, and thus the research poses little risk of harm to participants. If you feel that there is a possibility that the

information you provide might cause social embarrassment to you or your company, you may choose not to answer any of the questions asked, or to participate anonymously. However, you may also choose to be identified, directly or indirectly (by your name, pseudonym, or your workplace).

If you choose to participate anonymously, all records of your participation would be confidential. Only my supervisory committee members and I will have access to the information in which you are identified. With your permission, the interview would be audio recorded and later transcribed into writing. You will be provided a copy of the transcript and invited to make changes to the transcript as you wish (e.g. if you would like to withdraw a particular statement you made during an interview). Electronic data will be stored on password-protected computers that only myself or my supervisor committee have access to. Verbal consent will be recorded in my research journal and on the audio recording, and paper copies of interview transcripts will be stored in a locked file cabinet in my home. Audio recordings will be deleted after transcripts have been verified and all other data will be deleted or shredded one year after the project ends, approximately June 30, 2022.

The results obtained from this study will be published in my master's thesis, and may also be used for conference presentations, and published in peer-reviewed journals. It is my intention to provide a summary report to a) participants, b) the Association of Women in Tourism Tanzania, and c) the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may withdraw from the study until the period for transcript review ends, for any reason, and without explanation. You will be provided an opportunity to review and make changes to the transcript of the interview. You may withdraw up to three weeks from the time of being provided an electronic copy of the transcript. If I do not hear from you, I will assume that you have no changes to make, and your data will be included for analysis. If you choose to withdraw from the study, all information you provided during the interview will be removed from the study and destroyed.

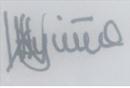
I have read and understood the information provided above, and hereby consent to participate in this research under the following conditions: Please note: You will be asked to provide verbal consent at the beginning of the interview. If you consent to being audio recorded it will be after the recording starts, if you do not consent to the audio recording, I will make note of your answers in my research journal.

I consent to the interview being audio recorded. Yes No

I consent to have my personal identity disclosed in the products of the research. Yes No

I consent to being quoted in the products of the research. Yes No

I, Witness Humphrey, promise to adhere to the procedures described in this consent form.

Student Researcher Signature  Date: 22. 04. 2020

If you have any concerns about your treatment as a research participant in this study, please contact the VIU Research Ethics Board by telephone at +1 250-740-6631 or by email at reb@viu.ca.

