Women's Participation in Tourism in Zanzibar

An Enactment Perspective

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Nelly Samson Maliva

Thesis

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List of abbreviations

BDS – Business Development Services

CBO – Community Based Organisations

DFID – British Department for International Development

EEZY – Empower and Equip Zanzibari Youths

GAD – Gender and Development

GATS – General Agreement in Trade Services

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

ILO – International Labour Organization

IMF – International Monetary Fund

MDG – Millennium Development Goals

MKUKUTA – Mkakati wa Kukuza Uchumi na Kupunguza Umaskini Tanzania, also known as The National Strategy for Growth and Poverty Reduction

MKUZA – Mkakati wa Kukuza Uchumi Zanzibar, also known as ZSGRP, The Zanzibar Strategy for Growth and Poverty Reduction

MNRT – Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism

MSWYWCD – Ministry of Social Welfare, Youths, Women and Children Development

NGO – Non-governmental Organisation

NMB – National Microfinance Bank

NSGD – National Strategy for Gender Development

OCGS – Office of Chief Government Statistician

PPT – Pro-poor Tourism

RGoZ – Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar

SACCOs – Savings and Credit Cooperatives

SDGs – Sustainable Development Goals

SME – Small and Medium Enterprises

SNV – Stichting Nederlandse Vrijwilligers

SPPT – Sustainable Pro-poor Tourism

STA – Stone Town Authority

TCT – Tanzania Confederation of Tourism

TTB – Tanzania Tourists Board

UN – United Nations

UNDP – United Nations Development Program

UNED-UK – United Nations Environment and Development-United Kingdom

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UNHD – United Nations Human Development

UNWOMEN – United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women

UNWTO – United Nations World Tourism Organization

UNWTO-STEP – United Nations World Tourism Organization – Sustainable Tourism Eliminating Poverty

URT – United Republic of Tanzania

UWAZI – Umoja wa Wazanzibari (Association of Zanzibaris)

VSO – Voluntary Services Overseas

WAD – Women and Development

WID – Women in Development

WTO – World Tourism Organisation

ZATI – Zanzibar association of Tourism Investors

ZATO – Zanzibar Association of Tour Operators

ZCT – Zanzibar Commission for Tourism

ZIPA – Zanzibar Investment Promotion Agency

ZITOD – Zanzibar Institute of Tourism development

ZSD – Zanzibar Statistics Department

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 General introduction

For many decades tourism has provided job opportunities and an income for millions of women all over the world (Ashley, et al., 2000; Fayissa, et al., 2008; Ferguson, 2010; Greenwood, 1977; Kinnaird, et al., 1994; Meyer, 2003; Sharpley, 2002). The high demand in tourism for low-skilled and domestic-type activities, the flexible working hours and the low capital requirements motivated many women to find employment in the tourism industry or start a business of their own (Ashley et al., 2001; UNWTO, 2010).

However, participation of women in tourism has been the subject of endless societal and scientific debates, and controversies with different scholars taking divergent views reaching contradictory conclusions. While some see tourism as a tool for development and gender equality (Honey & Gilpin, 2009; UNWTO & UNWomen, 2010; Zhao & Ritchie, 2007), others – including feminists – argue that tourism perpetuates gender inequality (Aitchison, 2001b; De Kadt, 1979; Swain, 1995; Thrane, 2008; Tugores, 2008). For example, although women worldwide make up around 70 per cent of the total workforce in hospitality, the percentage of women in managerial and supervisory positions in international hospitality is only 40 per cent (Baum, 2013). Only 8 per cent of corporate board members in publically quoted hospitality enterprises are women (Baum & Cheung, 2015). Although statistically the number of women working in the sector has exceeded that of men for a long time, women predominantly hold positions that do not allow them to participate in decision-making (Baum & Cheung, 2015; Peeters, 2009; Sinclair, 1997).

Whereas proponents point to the contribution of tourism in terms of empowerment of women, opponents argue that their engagement in tourism is still characterised by a number of challenges that limit their ability to benefit from the tourism industry (Apostolopoulos & Sönmez, 2001). These drawbacks are caused by their position in both society and the tourism

industry. Creighton and Omari (1995), for example, claim that women's positions are determined by the dominant patriarchal system in which women's lives are mainly defined by their household position and related institutions such as marriage. The same system enables male family members to have more privileges and access to resources, and to have more power to make decisions. The life of women is therefore governed by their household positions and marriage contracts that tend to keep them bound within the domestic sphere (Kissawike, 2008; Nchimbi, 2003; Swain, 1995). As such, in order for them to work in tourism, they have to negotiate with their male family members for permission (Tucker, 2007).

Despite these differing views, in comparison with many other sectors tourism still is an industry that offers more room for women to participate. Specialised initiatives, efforts and policies have been established to ensure that women are taking advantage of the possibilities emerging from tourism (Li, 2006). Among these initiatives was the formation of the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) taskforce for women's empowerment through tourism in 2008 (Peeters, 2009). This initiative focused on promoting empowerment by protecting women's rights through better working conditions in tourism (UNWTO & UNWomen, 2010). In doing so, UNWTO and UNWomen aimed to promote equal opportunities for women working in tourism; to inspire more women to become tourism entrepreneurs; to advance women through education and training; to encourage women to lead in tourism; and to protect vulnerable women and those working in home-based tourism enterprises. Such initiatives are argued to provide an encouraging environment for women to enter into the tourism industry through employment and the establishment of small and medium enterprises (Ashley, et al., 2001).

The UNWTO initiatives also worked in line with some earlier efforts to improve the position of women in society (Booth-Blair, 2005). Tracing back to the 1970s various policies and interventions have been launched to create greater gender equality. Essentially, these policies intended to establish a process "by which those who have been denied the ability to make choices acquire such ability" (Kabeer, 2005, p. 13). In the same period many development

interventions that were designed to alleviate poverty incorporated gender awareness (Chant, 2007; Chen et al., 2005; Singh, 2007; Tucker & Boonabaana, 2012; Whitehead, 2003; Zuckerman, 2001), based on the understanding that poverty was more prevalent among women than among men. The fact that three quarters of the 1.2 billion people who live in poverty are women statistically substantiates this understanding (Booth-Blair, 2005). This awareness also gave rise to the Women in Development (WID) programme that was mainly advocated by feminist movements (Bock, 2015; UNESCO, 2005). The WID programme was based on the connotation that women are a vulnerable group that require help, especially in accessing employment opportunities and other income-generating activities (Tucker & Boonabaana, 2012).

The WID era was preceded by the Women and Development (WAD) phase in the 1980s. Since WAD not only focused on women, it was later transformed into the Gender and Development (GAD) policy. The main emphasis was on gender equality, and gender was acknowledged to be a socio-cultural construction. Various women's empowerment programmes were established at international and local levels. The aim of these programmes was to increase women's ability to take advantage of emerging opportunities. Different economic sectors, including tourism, established special programmes designed to create an environment that would empower women (Scheyvens, 2000; UNESCO, 2005; UNDP, 2014, 2015; UNWTO & UNWomen, 2010).

This thesis is set against this background. To shed more light on the everlasting discussion about the position of women in tourism, this thesis focuses on women working in tourism in Zanzibar. The position of women in Zanzibar is seen as highly influenced by religion, marital status and levels of education (Ellis, et al., 2007; Koda, 1987; Nchimbi, 2003; Rutashobya & Nchimbi, 1999). Scholars argue that especially the Islamisation of Swahili culture in Zanzibar is of influence on labour participation of women. As a result many women have jobs in which they are not exposed in public space. For example, according to a recent household budget survey, the number of women working in agriculture exceeds that of men. Women constitute 25.9 per cent of the agriculture labour force, while men account for 17.5 per cent (OCGS, 2013a). But in

manufacturing, construction and the service industry women and men account for 8.5 per cent and 18 per cent of the labour force respectively (OCGS, 2013a). Also, a good number of women are engaged in the informal sector in micro and small enterprises, mostly in their own neighbourhoods (RGoZ, 2010). In this thesis I will examine the way women in Zanzibar have incorporated working in tourism in their daily lives by comparing those who work in tourism as entrepreneurs with employees, working in hotels and restaurants.

1.2 Theoretical debates

Scientific debates have both reflected and informed societal debates about the role of women in tourism. Although these debates started the same time tourism emerged as a distinct field of study in the 1960s (Airey, 2004; Ren, et al. 2010; Tribe, 2006), tourism was mainly regarded as a potential source of employment for women up until the 1990s. Studies presented the participation of women numerically by showing the differences between men and women and their representation in the organisational structures of tourism (Aitchison, 2005; Aitchison et al., 1999; Swain, 1995).

However, particularly since Kinnaird et al.'s seminal work in 1994, discussions on gender with a particular focus on women have become more common (see also Aitchison, 2001a, 2001b; Apostolopoulos & Sönmez, 2001; Kinnaird et al., 1994; Pritchard & Morgan, 2000a, 2000b, 2006a, 2006b). Since then tourism is argued to be characterised by gender and gendered relations (Aitchison, 2001b; Kinnaird, et al., 1994; Swain, 1995). Following the discussion on gender issues, women's ability to participate in economic activities has been said to be determined predominantly by their social position (Apostolopoulos & Sönmez, 2001; Gibson, 2001; Kinnaird, et al., 1994; Swain 1995; Tucker, 2007).

The discussions on the position of women in the tourism industry have resulted in a number of academic debates evolving over time, in terms of theoretical perspectives, approaches and methodologies. On the one hand, structuralism has positioned women as objects of the tourists' gaze and as passive victims of dominant social structures that are informed by gender relations

(Gentry, 2007; Pettman, 1997; Pritchard & Morgan, 2000a; Veijola & Valtonen, 2007). Alternatively, post-structural approaches view women not predominantly as constrained by social structures but as proactive agents who can challenge and negotiate these structures (Aitchison, 2000a, 2000b, 2001b; Ateljevic, et al., 2005; Ateljevic & Hall, 2007; Harris & Wilson, 2007). Post-structuralism, in other words, acknowledges the power of human agency; agency being, according to Harris and Wilson (2007) and Veijola and Valtonen (2007), different forms of self-knowledge, (un)conscious consent to reproduce existing practices, as well as individuals' tendency to trust their own voice and act upon it. Kabeer (2005) has defined agency as "... people's ability to make and act on their own life choices, even in the face of others' oppositions" (p. 14). Within this view, the tourism sector is recognised as an important field for studying the different ways in which women become active agents in their lives (Harris & Wilson, 2007; Tucker, 2007).

In my thesis I contribute to this debate by focusing on the agency of women. This study particularly examines how and to what extent women are capable of finding their own ways out of more structural conditions that impede them by introducing the concept of enactment as developed by Weick (1969, 1995, 1998, 2001, 2005). Enactment is scientifically recognised as a powerful analytical concept to capture individuals' ability to influence their own environments. In current debates, various concepts such as encounter and performance have been used to examine the agency of women to construct their gender identity by either retaining or challenging it in different contexts and settings (Abramovici, 2007; Ateljevic & Doorne, 2002; Crang, 1997; Crouch, 2001; Crouch, et al. 2001; Edensor, 1998, 2001; Perkins & Thorns, 2001). The concept of enactment, originating from organisation studies, has not yet been adopted to study women's agency in tourism. This is where this study makes its conceptual contribution. Enactment entails the processes by which individuals make sense of their environment and face it in order to fulfil their goals under the guidance of prescribed regulations (Weick, et al., 2005; Thurlow & Mills, 2009; Weick, 2001). In these processes, individuals enact their environment through dialogues and narratives that can help them to comprehend what they think and do and,

thus, enable them to organise their experiences as they continue to face their worlds (Abolafia, 2010; Weick, 1995). It, therefore, provides a framework that regards people as part and parcel of the production of the environments they are faced with. By taking Weicks' concept of enactment as a starting point, I position this study in the emerging critical turn in social sciences (Aitchison, 2001b), which stresses the importance of exploring the power of human agency (Ateljevic & Hall, 2007).

1.3 Problem statement

Weick's (2001, 2005) theory of enactment and sense-making provides me with a lens to examine women in Zanzibar as proactive agents. Through this approach, I will examine the position of women from their own points of views. By doing so, this study also links with the need for more customised and focused policies, especially in developing countries, to enable the tourism industry to provide meaningful support to women. This also aligns with the current UN Human Development report (2014), which put the emphasis on sustaining human progress by reducing vulnerability and building resilience. The results of this study should therefore help policy makers design programmes to build capacity and help women to exercise their freedom of choice. This is in line with the conviction that development means freedom (Sen, 2001), and that sustainable programmes enable people to choose and act according to those choices (UNDP, 2014). As the United Nations Human Development (UNHD) 2014 report asserts, we need to improve people's capacity so that they are "able to exercise their agency to live lives they value" (UNDP, 2014, p.10).

As this study examines the agency of women working in tourism in Zanzibar and the extent to which they are able to live lives they value, the main research question is:

How do women working in tourism in Zanzibar enact their environment?

To answer this question I studied women who have their own enterprises and those who are employed in hotels or restaurants in Zanzibar. I particularly focused on their experiences in

order to understand the different ways in which women are influenced by their families, societies and the tourism industry, and how they in turn influence these. Thus I looked at the ways they act and react to issues that constrain or enable them to work in tourism.

1.4 Significance of the study

This study aims to contribute to societal as well as scientific discussions on tourism and gender in general, and more specifically the relation between women and tourism.

Scientifically, this study aims to make a contribution by proposing the use of enactment theory as introduced by Weick (2001, 2005) in organisational studies. So far, enactment theory has not been introduced in tourism studies. Doing so in this thesis and consequently making use of the idea of sensemaking enabled me to gain a better understanding of the agency of women in terms of the extent to which they make their own choices and/or are influenced by their interactions with others.

This study also aims to help give a voice to African women, notably those in Zanzibar. While in recent years discussions about agency in relation to women negotiating and challenging dominant cultural structures have become mainstream in tourism studies (for example, Boonabaana, 2014; Gentry, 2007; Kwarambaa, et al., 2012; McMillan, et al., 2011; Nwosu, 2014; Tucker & Boonabaana, 2012), empirically it remains a rather scarcely researched topic, especially from a non-Western perspective. This study therefore adds to current debates on gender and tourism by giving a voice to women working in tourism in Zanzibar.

Another objective of this study is to provide information to policy makers. Despite all the interventions inspired by feminist movements in the 20th Century, as the world enters the 21st Century, women's representation in public spheres of economy and politics still remains at low levels worldwide, and particularly in developing countries (Guano, 2006; Pritchard et al., 2007). Initiatives to empower women show little success because they fail to specifically address women's feelings and needs. The present study aims to provide insights on how best to promote

Development Goals: poverty alleviation and gender empowerment. Particularly, the results should support the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) objectives for women's empowerment through tourism, by helping to create more customised and focused policies to replace the current universal ones. Since Tanzania is among the few countries aiming for 50 per cent women representation in key positions (URT, 2005a), the results of this study should also be a useful input for implementation of the Tanzanian Vision 2025 on gender equality and poverty alleviation.

1.5 Structure of this thesis

This thesis consists of eight chapters. Chapter 1 gave the scientific background of the study by introducing the study topic, its scientific and social importance, and its academic contribution to tourism and gender studies.

Chapter 2 describes the context of the study, which is Zanzibar. It gives an overview of tourism in Zanzibar, its people and the main characteristics of Zanzibar. It also provides information about the culture of Zanzibar.

Chapter 3 reviews theories and approaches that have been used to explain women's position in tourism and their ability to benefit from it. In this chapter I briefly review academic studies focused on gender and tourism, and introduce enactment theory as introduced by Weick in organisational studies. Enactment theory forms the conceptual framework of my thesis. I will introduce the seven characteristics of sensemaking, which I will use to examine the ways in which women perceive and enact their environments.

This chapter is followed by chapter 4, which explains the research methodology and discusses the approaches that underpin this research and the way research findings are presented in this thesis.

Chapter 5, 6 and 7 are the core empirical chapters. Specifically, in chapter 5, I discuss my findings from interviews with policy makers, those involved in tourism organisations, and

managers to give the context of my study from an empirical perspective. Chapter 6 focuses on female entrepreneurs who own small and medium-sized enterprises in various sectors such as tour operating, retail and trade, as well as food and accommodation. In Chapter 7, I examine how female employees in hotels and restaurants make sense of their environments.

The thesis is concluded by chapter 8, in which I present the main findings of my research. In this concluding chapter, I also discuss the theoretical implications in terms of the usefulness of the enactment concept in gaining knowledge about the position of women in the tourism industry. Finally, I offer some suggestions for improving the policies concerning women in tourism.

Chapter 2: Zanzibar

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will introduce the context of my study by focusing on different aspects of Zanzibar. To give readers a sense of the environment in which women live and work, I will discuss Zanzibar's history, its geographical/physical characteristics and how it developed into a tourist destination. In addition, I will give an overview of its social and cultural characteristics, including topics such as education and religion.

2.2 The study area

The study took place in Tanzania, the largest country in East Africa. It is located south of the equator and it borders Kenya and Uganda to the north; the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda and Burundi to the west; and Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique to the south. Its geographical and natural characteristics have resulted in some of Africa's most attractive landscapes, including the world-famous Ngorongoro Crater, Lake Tanganyika and Mount Kilimanjaro, the continent's highest mountain. This makes Tanzania one of the major tourist destinations in Africa, with a wide range of national parks, beaches and other cultural attractions. Throughout history, various ethnical groups have lived in this country, in interaction with people from different parts of the world. These ethnical groups have mainly mingled with Arab merchants who visited Tanzania about 2000 years ago and settled in Zanzibar, and with Portuguese settlers who came in the 16th century. Tanzania is a large and multi-cultural nation comprising around 130 different ethnical groups with more or less different cultural orientations, although dominated by two main religious orientations; Islam and Christianity (MNRT, 2008). This study is focused on one of its main tourist destinations, namely Zanzibar.

Zanzibar, which currently forms part of the United Republic of Tanzania, is an archipelago in the Indian Ocean that consists of several islands. The major ones are Unguja and Pemba. It is located about 40 kilometres off the Tanzanian mainland in the shallow waters of the Indian Ocean.

Politically, it is a semi-autonomous state under the Zanzibar Revolutionary Government within the United Republic of Tanzania. This autonomy means the Zanzibari government has the power to control most of its resources, and is sometimes considered as a separate and identifiable country. It is a low-lying archipelago composed of coral formation that covers a land area of about 2,654 square kilometres of which Unguja takes up 1,666 square kilometres and Pemba Island takes up the remaining 988 square kilometres (Ussi, 2012). Zanzibar has a population of 1,303,569 out of which 672,892 are women (URT, 2013). This is in accordance with the 2012 population and home census in which females account for 51.6 per cent of the total population.

2.2.1 Zanzibar as a tourist destination

Zanzibar is one of East Africa's most famous tourist hotspots, comprising of various touristic attractions including sandy beaches, historic sites, traditional sailing dhows, festivals and Swahili cultural heritage sites (Anderson, 2013; Tanzania Confederation of Tourism, 2009; Tanzania Tourists Board, 2011). The growth of Zanzibar as a tourist destination has been shaped by various factors including its geography, history, and cultural and natural heritage, as well as marketing. Its geographical location has been attracting people from various part of the world since ancient times. Importantly, the long history of Arabic settlers has resulted in a strong Arabic colonial legacy since the late 17th century, and in Zanzibar more than fifty cultural and historical remnants can be found in different districts (STA, 2008). Another important mark by the Arabic colonial regime is the introduction of clove tree cultivation on the islands in the 1820s. The cultivation of these trees gave Zanzibar economic power, and made the archipelago a popular tourist site, referred to as 'Spice Islands'.

Another historic event that left its marks in Zanzibar is the occupation by early settlers from Portugal and Persia. Their settlement prompted the growth of trade, which led to the establishment of a trade centre in East Africa. This trade centre enabled the establishment of business networks and links with the cities and people of Oman and the Persian Gulf. The affluence of trade in Zanzibar was also motivated by the monsoon season, making Zanzibar

reachable by sailboats from the East. The trade networks expanded because of the increasing number of connections between Zanzibar and the Asian settlements of Bombay, Shiraz, Muscat and Mombasa and Kilwa in East Africa.



Figure 2.1 Map of Zanzibar (Google Maps, 2016)

By the 19th century, Zanzibar had become the main commercial centre on the East African coast, not only for Arab and Indian traders but also for merchants from the United States, Britain, France and Germany. The flourishing trade activities in Zanzibar also led to the transformation of Shangani fishing village into the current commercial town that is Zanzibar City.

Zanzibar's historical development and its remnants have become important tourist attractions, including the remnants of Indian and Arabic architecture, spicy dishes, slave caves, and historical figures such as Speke, Livingston and Tipu Tipp. Moreover, Zanzibar was included on the world heritage list by UNESCO in 2000 due to its interesting history (Boswell, 2008; Gössling, 2002; UNESCO, 2010). The culture of Zanzibar also features ancient and modern arts, music festivals and religious customs, and a cosmopolitan society with a mixture of inhabitants, such as Arabs and Hindus (LaViolette, 2008). Consequently, Zanzibar has a number of traditional festivals attracting large numbers of visitors each year (Ussi, 2012). The most famous of these are MwakaKogwa, the 'Sauti ya busara' festival (music festival and annual celebratory event) and the Dhow festival. A recent tourist exit survey (TTB, 2011) reveals that the majority of respondents had visited Zanzibar because of its beautiful scenery and its rich cultural heritage. The islands have become the focus of international NGOs, and received funds to rehabilitate the towns' buildings and improve other physical infrastructure in order to meet UNESCO's standards for World Heritage.

Furthermore, Zanzibar became a favourite tourist destination because of its variety of natural features including an untouched coastline with beautiful lagoons, pristine beaches and tropical forests endowed with diverse ecosystems, as well as hundreds of unique natural features throughout the island (MNRT, 2008). These natural resources are seen as potential tourist attractions and offer significant potential for sustainable tourism development (Mlingoti, 2011). Besides these, there is an abundance of unique marine and terrestrial fauna and flora, which make Zanzibar an ideal destination for enthusiasts of tropical island ecosystems. Zanzibar used clever marketing to increase its fame, and it continues to attract increasing number of tourists.

In this marketing, Zanzibar is represented by white beaches, blue waters, green palm trees, many fishermen and a few women at work, all reflecting the liveliness and wealth of the tourists attractions in Zanzibar (for example Francorosso, 1998; Jambo tours, 1999; Migao tours, 2014).

2.2.2 Growth in tourism

The increasing inflow of tourists from different parts of the world including Europe, Asia, Africa, America and Oceania (ZCT, 2013) has made tourism to be an integral part of people's life in Zanzibar (ZCT, 2002).

Table 2.1 Tourist arrivals in Zanzibar by country of residence 2008- 2012

Country of Residence	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**
Europe					
Belgium	1,715	1,808	-	3,999	4,438
France	3,956	4,608	4,415	6,130	8,768
Germany	6,990	8,188	8,750	11,139	12,337
Italy	41,610	45,244	41,234	61,639	48,795
Russia	-	-	-	1,063	1,375
Scandinavia	8,791	8,719	7,814	8,863	8,887
Spain	-	-	-	1,622	2,156
The Netherlands	3,677	3,781	-	4,427	4,820
Turkey	-	-	-	1,230	2,447
United Kingdom	12,949	13,377	13,754	13,103	12,288
Other European countries	9,348	11,189	17,647	11,839	12,492
Subtotal	**89,038**	**96,914**	**93,617**	**125,054**	**118,803**
Asia					
China	-	-	-	1,698	1,912

Japan	727	799	718	1,137	1,645
Other Asian countries	6,326	5,477	5,708	7,428	7,872
Subtotal	**7,053**	**6,276**	**6,426**	**10,263**	**11,429**
Africa					
Kenya	4,722	4,414	5,054	6,077	6,148
South Africa	8,746	9,575	9,410	12,290	11,145
Other African countries	3,744	3,406	3,015	4,366	5,605
Subtotal	**17,212**	**17,395**	**17,497**	**22,733**	**22,898**
America					
United States and Canada	10,100	9,540	9,436	10,752	9,709
Other American countries	590	931	1,309	1,566	2,157
Subtotal	**10,690**	**10,471**	**10,745**	**12,318**	**11,866**
Oceania					
Australia/New Zealand	4,452	3,898	4,569	4,699	4,227
Subtotal	**4,452**	**3,898**	**4,569**	**4,699**	**4,227**
Grand total All countries	**128,445**	**134,954**	**132,836**	**175,067**	**169,223**
Growth rate	**-10.3**	**5.1**	**-1.6**	**31.8**	**-3.3**

(Source: Zanzibar Commission for Tourism, 2013)

According to the Zanzibar Commission for Tourism (ZCT, 2013) the tourist activities are divided over four zones. The first zone is Stone Town, the main urban area, in which tourists spend one or two nights before or after staying at the beaches on the north or east coast of the island. Tourist activities include site seeing at the historic sites and in museums including Old Fort, The Palace Museum, the Anglican Cathedral built on the site of the old slave market, the Dhow Harbor and the newly renovated Forodhani Gardens on the seafront. There are around 65 hotels representing a broad selection of 'budget' and 'boutique' style accommodations.

The second zone covers the northern peninsula and north-eastern coast, which includes Kendwa and Nungwi. These areas are among the most popular beach destinations for back-packers and young budget travellers. They go there to watch the sunsets over the sea and to go to full-moon parties. The area offers a range of budget accommodations. Investments in hostels, bungalows, restaurants, bars, and fishing and diving centres are growing. The developed northeast beaches of Matemwe, Pwani, Mchangani, Kiwengwa and Pongwe feature a variety of budget guesthouses, mid-range hotels, tourist resorts and high-end lodges and hotels. This beach stretches to the south to the relatively recently opened Uroa and Chwaka Bay area. There are over 50 hotels in this zone. These hotels are all located around the original small fishing villages on which the names of the hotels and tourist beaches are based.

The third zone, the south-eastern coast, is one of the main tourist zones that covers the beach on the eastern coast of the island from Michamvi in the north to Kizimkazi. In the south it includes the tourist areas of Bwejuu, Paje and Jambiani. There are all types of establishments here, including local guesthouses in the southern part namely Paje and Jambiani and high-end hotels in the northern part at Bwejuu and Kizimkazi. Since the late 1980s, both local guesthouses and high-end hotels have been developed in this area. Since the area is relatively poor in terms of arable land, the people depend mostly on marine resources for their livelihood. Here too, the original fishing villages still exist. Kizimkazi village, for example, is well known as the area people go to in order to see dolphins, which frequently appear offshore. The fourth zone covers Pemba Island, 50 kilometres to the north, which is 85 per cent of the size of Unguja, with only 30 per cent of the population.

Table 2.2 Tourist facilities in Zanzibar

Categories	**Operating establishments**
Accommodation (hotels and guesthouses)	378
Total number of international rooms	8,027
Tour operators/Tourist agents	102

Curio and gift shops	136
Diving centres	26
International restaurants	21
Tour guides	500

(Source: ZCT, 2014)

2.3 People

In connection with the historical development of Zanzibar, Zanzibar's population is composed of a mixture of people from different regions of the world. Today, Zanzibar is resided by people with mixed races and backgrounds who are regarded as indigenous. It is difficult to trace people who claim to originate from Zanzibar; many of them were migrants from different parts of East Africa, or from the northern Indian Ocean and the Red Sea areas; and from China and Indonesia. Moreover, there are groups of migrants from India, Pakistan and Goa, as well as small Arab and European communities that have come to Zanzibar for different reasons (Boswell, 2008). These migrant flows led to a population made up of diverse ethnicities; a mixture of people with African, Arab, Hindu and Indonesian backgrounds (Gössling, 2002) plus a small group of black Africans who are thought to originate from Zanzibar.

2.3.1 Education and literacy

Because of the influence of Arabic and Muslim culture, formal education, which is based on the British system, was not given priority for a long time. Instead, reading and reciting Islam's holy book, the Quran, was emphasised for many years. Although the British system was introduced during the colonial period, many people considered the state to be secular and unimportant (Zanzinet forum, 2013). Nevertheless, due to strategies regarding the United Nations Millennium Goals, such as poverty eradication and literary enhancement, more people entered formal schools in Zanzibar since these goals were set (RGoZ, 2005). Various programs such as Universe Education, free education, were implemented to encourage individuals to attend school (URT, 2005b). Today there is an increasing number of people who know how to read and write in

Kiswahili, English, and/or Arabic and other languages. According to the 2010 house survey, 12 per cent of the population does not know how to read and write and how to conduct simple arithmetic. Out of these people, women account for around 68 per cent (OCGS, 2010). More details are shown in tables 2.3 and 2.4 below.

Table 2.3 Literacy status, 15 years and older

Read and write	**Male**		**Female**		**Total**	**Female%**
	Number	**%**	**Number**	**%**		
Kiswahili	112,525	32.8	116,468	30.5	228,993	50.9
Kiswahili and English	189,028	55.1	177,569	46.5	366,597	48.4
Other Language	686	0.2	382	0.1	1,068	55.7
Not able	41,168	12	87,065	22.8	128,233	67.9
Total	**343,063**	**100**	**381,863**	**100**	**724,926**	

(Source: Office of the Chief Government Statistician, 2010)

Table 2.4 Education level attained, 15 years and older

Level of education achieved	**Male**		**Female**		**Total**	**Female%**
	Number	**%**	**Number**	**%**		
No education	42,197	12.3	87,828	23.0	130,025	67.5
Primary	117,328	34.2	101,957	26.7	219,285	46.5
Lower secondary	686	0.2	382	0.1	1,064	35.9
Secondary O level	163,984	47.8	179,094	46.9	343,078	52.2
Secondary A level	8,577	2.5	4,964	1.3	13,541	36.7
Tertiary non-university	9,606	2.8	6,874	1.8	16,480	41.7
Tertiary university	1,029	0.3	764	0.2	1,793	42.6
Total	**343,063**	**100**	**381,863**	**100**	**724,926**	

(Source: Office of the Chief Government Statistician, 2010)

As a result of different policies and parents' awareness of the importance of education, many children go to school nowadays. Many young people finish primary school and some join secondary school. The contact with the tourists has led many parents, especially in urban areas,

to believe that sending their children to school will help them find employment. However, families vary as to whether they believe that girls should be given the same level of education as boys do (Zanzinet forum, 2014). Statistics of child enrolment at schools are constant in the years 2002-2012, with a slight increase in the number of girls attending school. This could be due to the composition of the population, which also shows an increased number of females. Table 2.5 below shows the trend for enrolment in the first year (called standard one) of both private and public schools.

Table 2.5 Students in public and private secondary schools

Year	Male	Female	Total	Female%
2002	24,695	23,652	48,274	49.0
2003	27,192	26,622	53,814	49.5
2004	29,914	29,668	59,609	49.8
2005	32,483	33,157	65,640	50.5
2006	38,343	37,255	75,598	49.3
2007	37,035	37,987	75,022	50.6
2008	39,023	42,111	81,134	51.9
2009	37,155	36,361	78,165	52.5
2010	41,808	42,285	80,008	52.9
2011	36,031	41,640	77,671	53.6
2012	36,361	41,804	78,165	55.5

(Source: Office of the Chief Government Statistician, 2007, 2013)

However, although the number of students who enrol in school grew, the problem of school dropouts still persists in Zanzibar. Records show that many students drop out at standard three and four. The number of dropouts decreases in higher grades, possibly because of the lower overall number of students in these grades. Many of the girls, especially compared to the boys, leave school in the higher grades: standard six, seven and form I. Table 2.6 below shows the statistics in more detail.

Table 2.6 School dropout record

Class	Male		Female		Total	Female%
	Number	%	Number	%		
Standard 1	972	8.7	418	6.1	1,390	30.1
Standard 2	1,453	13.0	555	8.1	2,008	27.6
Standard 3	2,022	18.1	981	14.3	3,003	32.7
Standard 4	2,324	20.8	885	12.9	3,209	27.6
Standard 5	1,654	14.8	617	9.0	2,271	27.2
Standard 6	793	7.1	809	11.8	1,602	50.5
Standard 7	872	7.8	1,077	15.7	1,949	55.3
Form I	469	4.2	610	8.9	1,079	56.5
Form II	615	5.5	226	13.3	841	26.9
Total	**11,175**	**100**	**6,857**	**100**	**18,032**	

(Source: Office of the Chief Government Statistician, 2010)

2.3.2 Marriage

Like in many African cultures, marriage in Zanzibar is an important component of its culture. The wedding ceremony respects the Islamic principles and rules since the majority of the people in Zanzibar are Muslim. This also means that women can get married at fifteen. Since both women and men are now receiving education, the years spent in schools have become an important factor explaining the increasingly higher age at which people get married. In 2013, on average, 36 per cent of the adult population had never been married. For men this percentage is 42.4 per cent and for women 30.7 per cent, in line with the fact that men spend more years in school.

Marriage contracts are comparatively flexible in Zanzibar, shown by the number of divorced and separated individuals. As table 2.7 shows, it is more common for women to be divorced, separated or widowed than it is for men. Here polygamy may also play a role, as this offers more possibilities for men to remarry. An explanation for the growing number of single women could

also be that women now choose to stay or become single, rather than be in an undesirable marriage.

Table 2.7 Marital status for 15 years and above

Marital Status	Male		Female		Total	Female%
	Number	%	Number	%		
Never married	145,459	42.4	117,232	30.7	262,961	44.6
Married	187,312	54.6	199,714	52.3	387,026	51.6
Living together	7,204	2.1	36,659	9.6	43,863	83.6
Divorced	343	0.1	1,909	0.5	2,252	84.8
Separated	2,401	0.7	25,697	6.8	28,098	91.5
Widowed	686	0.2	764	0.2	1,450	52.7
Total	**343,063**	**100**	**381,863**	**100**	**724,926**	

(Source: Office of the Chief Government Statistician, 2010)

2.3.3 Decision-making and ownership

Commonly in Zanzibar, households are expected to be headed by males such as a husband or father. In case of absence of a father or a husband, women automatically become the heads. According to the statistics, male-headed households account for 78 per cent of the total population, while women head 22 per cent of the households.

Table 2.8 Head of household

Male		Female		Total
Number	%	Number	%	
182,986	78.7	49,525	21.3	232,511

(Source: Office of the Chief Government Statistician, 2010)

These statistics also suggest that there are differences between men and women when it comes to ownerships of the family resources and final decisions on spending household income. According to a survey conducted in 2012, few women own important economic resources such as land and livestock (OCGS, 2013b). For example, 55.5 per cent of men have full ownership of

land compared to 22.3 per cent of the women. Furthermore, 22.2 per cent of men and women are co-owners of their land (see table 2.10). Nevertheless, as table 2.10 shows, men predominantly remain the main decision-makers on how the household income is spent.

Table 2.9 Landownership

Ownership	Men	Women	Both	Total
Land for agriculture	55.5	22.3	22.2	100
Land for livestock	44.3	37.5	18.2	100

(Source: Office of the Chief Government Statistician, 2010)

Table 2.10 Decision-making on expenditure

Decision-making	Men	Women	Both	Total
Income from agriculture	48.5	18.8	32.7	100
Income from livestock	44.6	29.5	25.9	100

(Source: Office of the Chief Government Statistician, 2010)

2.3.4 Economic engagements

People's economic activities in Zanzibar are connected to its history of trade. According to statistics (OCGS, 2010), both people living in rural areas (11.5 per cent of the total population) and those living in urban areas (29 per cent of the total population) are in trade. Fishing is another common economic activity.

Moreover, 35,000 people are engaged in the tourism sector, including those working in hotels and restaurants (OCGS, 2013b). Not to mention the great number of people involved in informal tourism activities.

There is a substantial difference in the economic involvement of men and women. Many women do agriculture-related work, both in rural and urban areas. This is because in most areas women are expected to be the primary producers of food for the family. Agricultural activities are also preferred for women as these take place within the domestic boundaries and not in public areas. Fishing activities are highly restricted for women, who are not supposed to go out at sea.

Instead, they fish from the shores for sardines and other fish, and they cultivate seaweeds. A few women engaged in seaweed farming are connected to tourism through the cosmetics made from the plant.

However, the percentage of women employed in hotels and restaurants is higher than that of men in both rural and urban Zanzibar. The 2009 report of the UNWTO Taskforce Women's Empowerment in Tourism shows that 74 per cent of the employees in Zanzibar's hotels and restaurants are women (Peeters, 2009). These statistics do not include women who are engaged in informal tourism activities, such as making crafts, and those who vend products along beach areas and around big hotels.

2.3.5 Swahili culture in Zanzibar

Zanzibar culture has been influenced by the continuing migration of people from different parts of the world, and its occupancy by people from different origins (Gössling & Schulz, 2005). These migrants came to Zanzibar for different reasons, for example Portuguese and Arabs came as colonisers, Arabs came to set up clove plantations, and Indians came as merchants (Glassman, 2011; Gössling, 2002; Keshodkar, 2013). Slaves were brought in from different parts of Africa to provide labour for the plantations, and immigrants working in colonial administrations and trade formed another group of residents. Migration increased after Zanzibar became independent due to neo-liberal government policies, and the union with Tanganyika. These opened the door for people from different parts of the world, including mainland Africa, coming in search of jobs and business opportunities (Gregory, 1993). Moreover, the increased tourist activities led to an increase of immigrants from mainland Tanzania and neighbouring countries such as Kenya and Uganda who settled on the Islands (Boswell, 2008; Gössling & Schulz, 2005). As a result Zanzibar's cultural context is composed of different ethnicities and races (Ibid.).

Although social interactions and intermarriages among different groups in Zanzibar have increased, the distinctions between different races, religion and ethnicity remain pronounced (Killian, 2008). The hierarchy in Zanzibar was until the revolution in 1964 seen as a three-tiered

pyramid. Arabs occupied the top position, followed Asians who engaged in commerce and agriculture. Africans, who were mostly engaged in agriculture and manual labour, occupied the lowest tier (Keshodkar, 2013). Among the Africans there was a distinction between the Shiraz Africans and the Africans who arrived from the mainland as slaves. Also, there were indigenous Bantu-groups who identify themselves as Hadimu, Tumbatu and Pembans.

These distinctions caused a division among social classes. However, people from less influential groups used different ways to become connected to the well-off groups. For example, many people tried to establish connections with Arabs through family-ties or religion. Through marriages it became possible to establish connections that allowed some people to have multiple identities. Government regulations facilitated this mingling. For example, under British colonial rule, a Zanzibar national was defined as one who either acquired nationality by birth, descent or by naturalisation within the domain of the Sultan by decree of 1958 (Keshodkar, 2013). After the 1964 revolution, the Revolutionary Government redefined a citizen as a person with at least one African parent (Amory, 1994). This gave people from all classes and races residing in Zanzibar a right to become citizens, since most of them had been connected through intermarriages. To avoid inequalities, all inhabitants should be identified as people of Zanzibar rather than identifying them according to their original races (Keshodkar, 2013).

However, Zanzibari are also known as Swahili, which is commonly used to explain their culture. This Swahili culture has been the dominant culture in Zanzibar for many centuries regardless of race and class differences, and it still is. Although Swahili culture mostly refers to the people who live along the East African coastal areas, the term Swahili has various meanings and usages (LaViolette, 2008). As a language, Swahili is the national language of Tanzania and Kenya (Eastman, 1995). Although Swahili as a language includes all those who speak Swahili, Waswahili refers to the people who practice Swahili culture. In Tanzania, Waswahili comprises all people who live along the East African coastal line including Zanzibar Island. Two main features distinguish Waswahili from the rest of the Swahili language speakers. First, in its coastal

origin, the mixed farming/fishing economy and ocean based trade influence the Waswahili culture and lifestyle (LaViolette, 2008). The second feature is the embedding of Islamic values and norms (Harries, 1964; Pouwel, 2002; Spear, 2000). Local people commonly use these two characteristics to distinguish Swahili culture from Swahili language (LaViolette, 2008).

In this study, I distinguish five characteristics of Swahili culture that are characteristic for Zanzibari Swahili culture, and contrast with characteristics of mainland Swahili culture. The first characteristic is the tendency of people and/or groups of people to try to integrate with groups they perceive to be more superior and to differentiate themselves from inferior groups. The second characteristic is the Islamisation of the Swahili culture. The third characteristic is people's tendency to hang on to the values and norms of their culture. The fourth is the pronounced segregation between men and women, and the fifth is the attitude towards the labour market. These characteristics are explained in detail in the following sub-sections.

1. Integration and differentiation

A first characteristic of Swahili culture is a striving for civilization (Spear, 2000). Civilization, "ustaarabu" in Kiswahili language, is understood as Arabic and Islamic in many Islam-dominated areas in East and central Africa (Eastman, 1995). People use two main ways to realise ustaarabu. One way is by finding ways of connecting oneself with Arabs through marriage, genealogy and work (Keshodkar, 2013; Spear, 2000). In order to become civilised, people feel they have to divorce themselves from primitive society and then integrate in Arab culture. Another way is to differentiate themselves from their neighbours who are not civilised (Spear, 2000). This has created a distance between the people of Zanzibar and those who live in the hinterland. Swahili societies that developed along the coast became progressively more differentiated in terms of economy due to the growth of international trade. Through time, people who were involved in trade had the opportunity to connect with other societies in the Indian Ocean region: Asia, Southern Africa and many other countries (Alpers, 1975). These traders became wealthier and seemingly more civilised. This also went together with the rise of towns. As a result, people came

to associate urban culture with civilisation, and thus started to identify themselves as urbane (Eastman, 1995). This urbane identity contributed to the differentiation between inhabitants of towns and rural areas. Most urban people referred to themselves *'waungwana'* (gentlemen), which literally reflected their economic power. All of this led people to consider activities such as agricultural work as 'primitive'. This view was reinforced by the slave trade and plantation economy that positioned labourers and slaves in the lowest class.

2. Islamisation of culture

The Islam has had a significant influence on the Swahili culture. Originally, people's use of the Swahili language was the most important part of the Swahili culture on Zanzibar. Later, Islamic laws and values became the dominant cultural element. This Islamic domination in the construction of Zanzibari culture is related to the large percentage of Muslims in Zanzibar (Eastman, 1995; Gössling, 2002; Gössling & Schulz, 2005; Sindiga, 1996). Religious values and principles form people's religious and cultural orientation from childhood (Pouwel, 2002). The majority of the interviewed women had attended religious studies like Madrasas and Sunday schools prior to their formal education. Due to the internalised religious beliefs and values, religion guides people's decisions, practices and activities. Their religion plays a role in every aspect of the daily lives of the interviewed women, from the way they dress, to their attendance at daily prayer services in mosques and their fasting during Ramadan.

3. Preservation of values and norms

In Zanzibar, traditional values and norms play a central role in people's personal lives (Keshodkar, 2013). These norms and values shape people's behaviour, practices and activities (Croucher, 2006). Traditional values in the form of respect and shame are considered important when individuals display their social identities in Zanzibar, especially for women (Keshodkar, 2013; Saleh, 2004). Shame and respect are also important in the organisation of social relations among individuals due to the influence of patriarchy and religion (Cooper, 1981). Traditionally, Islamic communities are organised in a patriarchal system with male elders seeing to it that

established traditions are observed. Those who deviate from traditions in Zanzibar face serious sanctions. To preserve these values and norms, early and arranged marriages are common in Zanzibar. Preserving these values is also the reason why polygamy is legal, as a way of protecting families from the shame that immoral behaviour of young girls would cause (Sindiga, 1999).

4. Segregation between men and women

Another important aspect of Zanzibar culture is the segregation between men and women (Allen, 1981; LaViolette, 2008; Spear, 2000). Archaeologists argue that this segregation is related to the enslavement history of Zanzibar (Croucher, 2007). This implies that the way dichotomies between males and females are constructed is similar to the way in which the relationship between the master and his slaves was constructed. This segregation between men and women is visible in ancient architecture, for example in the separate spaces for men and women. The spaces for domestic activities were always located at the rear of buildings, while the spaces for men were always at the front.

5. Attitudes towards the labour market

The attitude towards the labour market in Zanzibar is influenced by different factors such as people's efforts to be part of the Arab civilisation. Because the Arabic education system in the form of Madrasas was available to them, many Muslims are not exposed to Western types of education. As a result, they lack the proper qualifications for many types of employment (Eastman, 1995). However, it is also argued that due to the civilisation versus primitive mind-set, Swahili people regard employment as a form of slavery. So not all Zanzibari have been (willing to) take advantage of the opportunities emerging industries such as tourism have to offer (Eastman, 1995; Sindiga, 1999).

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I examined the context of my study by focusing on different aspects of Zanzibar. To give a sense of the environment in which women live and work, I discussed Zanzibar's history and its geographical/physical characteristics, and described how it developed into a tourist destination. I also gave an overview of Zanzibar's social and cultural characteristics, including aspects such as education and religion. By doing so, I introduced the various institutions that play different roles in shaping people's behaviours and actions, and that enable them to participate in various economic activities, or prevent them from doing so.

As we have seen, the presence and growth of the tourism industry on Zanzibar is entangled with traditions and customs, strongly related to the Swahili culture and religious beliefs. In the remaining part of this thesis, I will study women who have started their own enterprises and those who are employed in hotels or restaurants in Zanzibar. I will focus on their experiences in order to understand the different ways in which women are influenced by their families, religion and the tourism industry, and the ways in which they influence these themselves. Thus I will look at the ways they act within their environment and react to their environment, as portrayed in this chapter, to find out how and to what extent this context influences them to work in tourism or not.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

3.1 Introduction

This thesis is about exploring the ways in which women working in the tourism industry influence their environment and are influenced by it, in this case consisting of Zanzibar society and the Zanzibar tourism industry. It concerns an understanding of how women position themselves in society, while constantly negotiating their environments. I draw from a number of concepts and perspectives emanating from the broader social sciences, especially from tourism and organisational studies, and particularly focus on the concept of agency. Agency in this thesis is understood and analysed in terms of Weick's (1969, 1995) theory of enactment, with special focus on the concept of sensemaking. Before introducing Weick's theoretical account, I will first discuss how tourism studies regarding gender have developed over the past decades, so as to discuss why I have chosen Weick's theory, and how I aim to make a contribution to tourism studies by adopting this particular theory.

In the final sections of this chapter I will elaborate on enactment theory as introduced by Weick (1969, 1995). I will give an overview of how this theory has predominantly been used in organisational studies, and explain more thoroughly why and how I will make use of this particular theory. Enactment theory in this research is used as a conceptual framework to understand how women either reinforce or resist gendered identities by constantly 'enacting' their environments. Reinforcement and resistance in this sense are understood as women either reproducing established meanings of, or assigning new meanings to, their environments. The environment is considered to be "the mirror in front of which they primp, evaluate, and adjust the self that acts, interprets, and becomes committed" (Weick, 1995, p. 21). Central in Weick's theory is the notion of sensemaking, which is understood as a process in which seven properties of sensemaking interact as people interpret events and make sense of their environment: identity construction, retrospection, enactment of sensible environments, sensemaking is social, ongoing, focused on and by extracted cues, and driven by plausibility rather than accuracy

(Weick, 1995). These seven properties "serve as rough guidelines for inquiry into sensemaking in the sense that they suggest what sensemaking is, how it works, and where it can fail" (Weick, 1995, p. 18).

3.2 Gender in tourism studies

During the 1980s, by the work of scholars as Nash (1981) and Britton (1982), it became acknowledged in tourism studies that power relations that cut across political, economic and social relations significantly govern the functioning of tourism. Following this, scholars in tourism studies mainly aimed to identify structural patterns underlying the production and consumption of tourism (Apostolopoulos & Sönmez, 2001). By doing so, the analysis shifted from applauding the economic benefits of tourism development to understanding how power relations stemming from complex economic, social and political structures influence tourism's development processes and the ways in which business is conducted (Britton, 1982; Dennison, et al., 1981; Keller, 1987; Swain, 1995; Urry, 1990). One focus point was how tourism creates unequal power relations between hosts and guests (Greenwood, 1977; Harkin, 1995; Nash, 1981; Smith, 1989; Urry, 1990; Veijola & Valtonen, 2007). Inequality in this respect became linked to North-South dependencies, the argument being that tourism reinforces the political domination of the North over the South (Britton, 1982). These inequalities were viewed to be especially problematic in developing economies, where tourism is one of the main livelihood strategies (Ashley, et al., 2000; Brohman, 1996; Gössling, 2001; Kweka, et al., 2003; Mbaiwa & Stronza, 2010). Scholars argued that the foreign monopoly of the tourism industry created enclaves that leave little space for the host community's input (Anderson, 2011; Jamieson, et al., 2004; Spenceley & Meyer, 2012). In this view, tourism is seen as one of the major sources of global capitalism, allowing some people to hold power over others (Aitchison, 2001b; Certeau, 1984). Researchers found that the activities connected to the tourism industry are experienced differently by consumers and producers; and men and women, as well as among different races and types of stakeholders (Pritchard, et al., 2007; Said, 1978; Swain, 1993, 1995). In reaction, scholars started to focus on the position of women in tourism, and how power relations and

structures within the tourism industry construct particular gendered identities (Aitchison & Reeves, 1998; Pritchard & Morgan, 2000a).

It is argued that gendered power relations have played an important role in the construction of inequality between consumers and the 'consumed' (Britton, 1982; Watson & Kopachevsky, 1994). Aitchison (2001b, p. 135) noted the unequal relation between the consumers and the consumed stems from the tendency of the tourism industry to invite "first-world western tourists" to consume "third-world places and people" as "pleasure products". Gendered relations become understood in terms of consumers and consumed, or 'gazers and the gazed upon', where the gazers are attributed masculine characteristics, while the gazed upon are feminised (Cohen, 2001; Pritchard & Morgan, 2000b). In a similar vein, the exotic nature of places is argued to hold feminine characteristics as a backdrop for (white) masculinity (Aitchison, 2001b; Noy, 2008). When women become the subject and object of 'surveillance', they find themselves confronted with ideas of what makes a woman attractive (Jordan & Aitchison, 2008). Related, it is argued that gender relations in tourism reinforce binary oppositions between men and women (Aitchison, 2001b; Pritchard & Morgan, 2000a; Swain, 1995; Tugores, 2008). In this light, Aitchison (2001b) refers to the concept of 'Othering', arguing that the Other is constructed on the bases of its binary opposite: the Same. The Same, here, is associated with power and status, while the Other is marginalised, and, when assigned a gender, feminised, so this maintains the inferior position of women within the industry (Aitchison, 2001b). These ideas are furthermore strengthened by the global marketing industry, in which advertisements of the 'exotic' are designed in line with Western norms (Pritchard and Morgan, 2000a). Ideas of femininity in relation to physical appearance are especially imposed upon those who are required to provide both *physical* and *emotional labour* (Veijola & Valtonen, 2007). While physical labour entails physical and mental work, emotional labour entails working in public, which can lead to women becoming an object to gaze at. This, as argued, leads into misconceptions and a negative image of women working in tourism and those who sell products and services to the industry (Gentry,

2007; Pritchard, et al., 2007; UNED-UK, 2002; Veijola & Valtonen, 2007). As such, it is claimed that tourism is a highly gendered industry:

> *"Unless we understand the gendered complexities of tourism, and the power relations they involve, then we fail to recognise the reinforcement and construction of new power relations that are emerging out of tourism processes. From the values and activities of the transnational tourist operator to the differential experiences of individuals participating as either hosts or guests, all parts of the tourism experience are influenced by our collective understanding of the social construction of gender."*
>
> (Kinnaird & Hall, 1996, p. 100)

This criticism of tourism industry's quest for what is attractive, bringing about norms and values on how women should behave, dress and act stems from the idea that gender is a social construction. This notion was first coined by De Beauvoir (2010), and taken further by a diverse range of scholars, including Butler (1990). Their argument is that culture and its traditions that govern individuals, households, communities and workplaces strongly inform the social construction of gender (Swain, 1995). One such cultural structure is the domination of the patriarchal system in many societies, including Zanzibar, through which women's lives are mainly defined by their household position. In patriarchal societies, institutions such as marriage lead to men having more access to resources, available privileges, and the power to make family decisions (Creighton & Omari, 1995; Kissawike, 2008; Nchimbi, 2003; Swain, 2004), while women are bound to domestic spheres (Tucker, 2007; Tugores, 2008). The domination of the patriarchal system is reflected in the tourism industry, where men are argued to have a higher status and more power than women. Thus, the power of women tends to be subsumed into male patterns (Aitchison, 2001b; Veijola & Valtonen, 2007).

The position of women in public spheres has also been highly guided by gender roles stemming from social norms and expectations of how women should conduct themselves (Tucker, 2007), often reflecting the traditional dichotomy between men working in business and women

working at home (Aitchison & Jordan, 1998; Johnston, 2001). This has resulted in different perceptions of women in public places in different contexts. In some cultures, women's presence in the public domain is perceived as damaging for their position within their families and society (Tucker, 2007; Wagner & Peters, 2014).

Moreover, gender roles are reflected in employment opportunities in terms of what Swain (1995, p. 247) called 'women's work' norms. The constructed nature of gender brings about particular constraints, and women find themselves faced with these when attempting to work in the tourism industry (Aitchison & Jordan, 1998; Harris & Wilson, 2007; Tugores, 2008; Wagner & Peters, 2014). By having to conform to these gender roles, women are expected to behave according to dominant views in their social environments, ranging from the family to society as a whole. Religion and other institutions often shape these views (Tucker, 2007). An example of a constraint resulting from this is the expectation in many cultures that women should take on domestic roles, and thus are denied access to social services such as education (Thrane, 2008). Formal education, especially in Islamic and African societies, is seen as an unnecessary requirement for girls (Gentry, 2007; Kibera & Kibera, 1999). Moreover, living in poverty also constrains many people (Ashley, et al., 2000; Ahsley, et al., 2001; Sindiga, 1999). This tends to influence their qualifications for working in tourism, especially because of their low levels of education and insufficient language skills (Eastman, 1995; Sindiga, 1996). This constraint has also been seen as a way to induce local people to find alternative ways of entering the tourism industry, for instance by selling souvenirs (Watson & Kopachevsky, 1994). As a result, women miss important qualifications that enable them to enter into the mainstream tourism economy. Moreover, when women are employed in the tourism industry their domestic responsibilities tend to limit the number of hours they can work (Tugores, 2008). Due to these limitations women often hold the lowest positions, and are largely excluded from management levels (Ritcher, 1994). The inherent inequality in employment tends to make women's work invisible despite their commitment to their work and family welfare (Akpinar, et al., 2005). Consequently, their earnings are low compared to those of their male counterparts (Thrane, 2008; Tugores,

2008). Despite the fact that women form the majority of the workforce within the tourism industry (Apostolopoulos & Sönmez, 2001; Wilkinson & Pratiwi, 1995), this industry remains patriarchal in structure. This contributes to gender inequality and the position of women is generally labelled as the lowest hierarchical category (Aitchison, 2001b; Kinnaird, et al., 1994; Thrane, 2008; Tugores, 2008; Wall & Norris, 2003).

This recognition of the constructed nature of gender within tourism studies has led to great debates among researchers about how dominant norms and values on how women are supposed to behave influence women and their working possibilities. Due to the way in which the tourism industry is organised, women are often argued to be powerless and their voices are rarely being heard.

However, as Aitchison (2000a, 2000b, and 2001b) argues, women should not solely be seen as passive, innocent victims; they rather should be acknowledged to have the agency to either (re)produce or challenge these norms and values. Following this acknowledgement, the focus in tourism studies shifted to gaining an understanding of the ability of women to negotiate constraints they find themselves confronted with, using different coping strategies (Harris & Wilson, 2007). By so doing, women in tourism are given a voice, and the degree to which they hold agency over the (re)production of norms in the tourism industry is revealed. This was, fuelled by the recognition that individuals are important agents in the construction of places and spaces through their ability to negotiate and challenge existing structures. Ateljevic & Hall (2007) argued that the way the tourism industry functions is shaped by individual experiences, activities and practices. Thus, individuals are seen as proactive participants in the construction of the tourism industry through their strategies of coping with dominant structures (Crouch, 2001; Edensor, 1998, 2000, 2001; Ateljevic & Hall, 2007; Ateljevic et al., 2005; Harris & Wilson, 2007). Individuals are said to have autonomy over their activities, and can effectively resist and challenge the power emanating from dominant structures (Oksala, 2008). Human agency in this light is a key concept, and can be understood as the individual's ability to challenge and

negotiate existing structures. While structures are defined in terms of dominant social rules and norms; agency is defined in terms of different forms of self-knowledge, (un)conscious consent to (re)produce existing socially sanctioned practices, self-authorising to trust one's own voice and to act upon it, and various strategies to create a variety of new spaces in order to either cope, negotiate, resist and/or challenge dominant norms and values (Harris & Wilson, 2007; Aitchison, 2000a, 2005). Hence, tourism is seen as a practice that can be used to understand individuals' abilities and experiences, rather than just a business entity (Harris & Wilson, 2007). As such, the tourism industry is not only viewed as a type of industry, but also as a cultural space where dominant norms and rules shape social processes (Aitchison, 2000a).

While agency in relation to women negotiating and challenging dominant cultural structures has become more immanent in tourism studies over recent years (for example, Boonabaana, 2014; Gentry, 2007; Kwarambaa et al., 2012; McMillan et al., 2011; Nwosu, 2014; Tucker & Boonabaana, 2012), it remains a rather scarcely researched topic, especially from a non-Western perspective. Therefore, as an African female researcher I have chosen to focus predominantly on the question of agency of Zanzibari women working in the tourism industry. To do so, rather than working from a conceptual understanding of agency as understood within post-structuralism, I use the enactment concept as introduced by Weick (1969). The main reason for working from this particular conceptual framework is that it offers a different perspective on how their cultural and social environments influence women working in the tourism industry, and how these environments frame their choices. This perspective is new in the sense that Weick introduced his concept of enactment to understand how individuals cope with the structures they face in their work environments. In this thesis, however, I will adopt his enactment theory as a perspective that offers room to explore how women either (re)produce or challenge dominant norms and values within the tourist environment and their social and cultural environments. As such, individuals are seen as authors of their own constraints and opportunities. This study particularly examines the different ways in which women cope with the tourist environment.

3.3 Enactment theory

In this thesis, I use the concept of enactment as introduced by Weick to understand how women are agents in the (re-)creation of the environment that they encounter in their daily lives. By using the enactment concept, my aim is to recognise the power of human agency over the structures that are argued to govern women's actions (Weick, 1995, 2005, 2003) and to use this perspective to gain insight in this. Agency is understood here in terms of actions, through which women are able to construct their own environments (Weick, 1995). This is a process in which they not only adhere to the rules and norms of these environments, but also enact them: "[i]n acting, people affect their context, yet they simultaneously comply with contextual constraints" (Mahling, 1993, p.203). The concept of enactment, therefore, is used to show the inclusiveness of people in the construction of the environment they encounter in their day-to-day activities (Choo, 2001). In this context, the environment constitutes social, economic and political structures that regulate individual's practices and activities (Weick, 1995). The enactment framework assumes that people have authority over their activities and decisions when they interact with the environment around them (Weick, 1995). According to Weick, "people create their own environments and these environments then constrain their actions" (1995, p. 31). Thus, while individuals create their own environments, how they perceive these environments defines whether these are an opportunity or a constraint for their actions (Chia, 2003). So, enactment positions individuals as capable of improving their own situations, which also means they are "the authors of their own problems" (Weick, 2003, p. 186). In the next paragraphs, I will elaborate on the theory of enactment, and its related concept of sensemaking including its seven properties, all of which are used in this thesis to make 'sense' of the role of gender in tourism in Zanzibar.

3.3.1 Enactment in social sciences

Enactment in social sciences is widely used to show how people co-construct their environments within different contexts. In studies on dramaturgy, individuals participate through the roles

they play in their daily lives (Berger, 2009). Goffman's (1959) performance metaphor highlights that social life can be considered as a theatre. In this theatre different actors play their parts in accordance with the assigned roles and responsibilities in society. Enactment in this domain focuses on the ability of the actor to perform the scripts as stipulated for their assigned roles (Abolafia, 2010). Performance is also used to understand how human experiences influence the construction of social rules and norms (Goffman, 1959). The performance metaphor has also been used in tourism studies to analyse the roles of different actors in shaping the tourism industry (Edensor, 1998, 2001).

In organisational studies, enactment is used to show how people act within organisations. Central here is the notion that when people act they bring structures into action and set them in motion (Weick, 1998). The organisation is therefore understood as an environment where managers and employees (re)construct structures and systems as a result of their practices and interactions in their day-to-day activities (Weick 1969, 1988, 1995). As such, individuals and organisations are constantly in the process of self-formation (Deetz, 1982; Weick, 1988). Individuals are argued to be part and parcel of the environment they encounter, as they constantly produce and constitute it (Weick, 1969, 2001). In this thesis, I draw from the concept of enactment as deployed in organisational studies, mostly from the work of Karl Weick, which I will discuss more thoroughly in the next sections.

Weick (1969) first introduced the concept of enactment in organisational studies in his seminal work the *Social Psychology of Organizing*. He popularised the use of the concept in organisational and other social studies (Weick, 1995). Today, the concept is widely used in various disciplines such as social cognition (Di Paolo, et al., 2007; Fuchs & De Jaegher, 2009; McGann & De Jaegher, 2009) and organisational sciences (Weick, 1988, 2000, 2005). In these studies the concept is used to understand human interactions within organisational spheres, in which the concept of sensemaking plays a key role (McGann & De Jaegher, 2009; Weick, 1969, 1988, 1995). However, in its usage, enactment has hardly been distinguished from sensemaking and some authors even

use these concepts interchangeably (Jennings & Greenwood, 2003; Nicholson, 1995; Weick, 2003).

3.3.2 Enactment as a concept

Enactment, in short, refers to the idea that people (re)construct the environment that they encounter through their own actions (Pondy & Mitroff, 1979; Sætre, et al., 2007; Weick, 1995; Weick, et al., 2005). The essence of enactment is that people and environment are in constant interaction, while simultaneously influencing each other. The ways in which people as actors constantly interact with the environment is influenced by that same environment; while people's actions simultaneously become input for possible changes in that environment (Weick, 2001). The changing environment in turn is input that an individual can proactively use to (re)create ways of interacting with it (Sætre, et al., 2007). As far as enactment is concerned, this reciprocal relationship between people and their environment is explained as being a continuous and dynamic process.

In this dynamic process of enactment, adjustments to an environment occur directly and indirectly. Direct adjustments occur when an actor is able to make the environment change. Indirect adjustments are the result of individuals being able to cope with their environment (Follett, 1924). In the course of the enactment process, actors have a tendency to act in accordance with a sense of what they will do next. In doing so, they produce new and unanticipated consequences (Boudreau & Robey, 2005). This means that when they enact their environments, a new environment is created for them to make sense of. Through their interpretations of this new environment they produce structures, constraints and opportunities that were not there before the action (Mahling, 1993). In this context, the actions of individuals are shaped by the authority they have over and the trust they have in their interpretations of their new environment, plus the meanings they assign to these interpretations, that is, whether their interpretations become an opportunity or a constraint (Abolafia & Kilduff, 1988; Weick, 1995, 2003).

Thus, the concept of enactment combines *sensemaking* taking place in people's cognitive system and the *action* that takes place through their practices and activities. Sensemaking implies that the comprehension, understanding, interpretations and explanations of individuals can be understood through their actions (Starbuck & Millikinen, 1988). In this way, enactment has the role of substantiating sensemaking into something tangible while identifying acts that are the result of sensemaking (Weick, 1995). The relationship between enactment and sensemaking therefore is explained through a process in which "action precedes cognition and captures cognition" (Weick, 1988, p. 307). This means that although the aim of enactment is to capture the way in which individuals make sense of their environment and act upon it, it uses action to show what they think (Abolafia & Kilduff, 1988; Weick, 1995, 2005). Weick (1995, p. 18) explains action as "an activity of making that which is sensed". In organisational life, these actions include, for example, the (re)construction of sanctions, rules and regulations (Weick, 1995).

When explaining this process, Weick (1995) gives the example of what happens in organisational daily life: "When people enact laws, they take undefined space, time and action and draw lines, establish categories. And coin labels that create new features of the environment that did not exist before." (Weick, 1995, p. 31). Moreover, people's various positions in a particular environment and that environment itself influence how individuals enact their environment. In organisations, individuals (re)construct environments through authoritative acts (Weick, 1995). Environments can also be (re)constructed through the people's reactions to the environment they face. According to Weick (2003) individuals are free to react according to available alternative options. In explaining this, Weick (1995) gives the following example: "Two cops are driving in a squad car on patrol, and a teenager gives them the finger as they drive by. The cop can ignore the kid, stop, or, as is most common, return the gesture". Environments can also be (re)constructed by the meanings that people give to practices. Weick (1995, p. 31) describes the following example:

"The numbers 399, 400, and 401 meant nothing in particular until the Michigan legislature recently declared that Michigan Bell could charge for each telephone call above 400 that a customer made in one month. The 400th call has now become something tangible, unique, visible and symbolic as well as something that is an obstacle for someone on a budget to work around"

Although enactment involves both people and environments, people play more active roles in the process, since people are constantly complying with constraints and demands emanating from their interactions with their environment (Mahling, 1993). Thus enactment covers a wide range of activities meant to influence the environment as well as other actors, including activities as inventing new technologies, introducing different cultures and traditions, and introducing procedures and guidelines. The environment is significant in the process of enactment because it is the product of the process, which in the words of Weick "is not an accident, an afterthought, or a by-product. Instead, it is an orderly, material, social construction that is subject to multiple interpretations" (1988, p. 307).

3.3.3 Sensemaking

As stated above, the concepts of enactment and sensemaking have been used interchangeably. In this thesis I apply enactment as a concept that puts sensemaking and action together. Literally sensemaking means "the making of sense" (Weick, 1995, p.4) that is "making something sensible" (Weick, 1995, p.16). According to Di Paolo (2005), sensemaking entails two main activities. Firstly, it entails uncovering the established meaning of a situation or event, and, secondly, it entails generating new meanings. New meanings are generated by either establishing new correlations with other events or situations, or by viewing particular events or situations through new dimensions. Weber and Glynn (2006) see sensemaking as a process that includes three aspects, namely perception, interpretation and action. This means that people perceive events before they interpret those, and act upon these interpretations. Furthermore, sensemaking can be explained as the process by which people give meaning to experiences

(Abolafia & Kilduff, 1988; Weick 1995). In the context of organisations, sensemaking is defined beyond just making sense, as it is understood as an activity that individuals use to construct sensible events when they encounter changing environments (Huber & Daft, 1987). Sensemaking therefore is a concept that captures the ways in which individuals can have different interpretations of same phenomena.

Sensemaking in this thesis is conceptualised as the interplay between action and interpretation, and it occurs when an actor is in the process of searching for meaning as a way of dealing with uncertainty (Weick, et al., 2005). Since people are always aware of what is happening around them, they tend to continuously assign meanings to their activities and practices, and make sense of what is going on during their interaction with environments, through their interpretations of these (Choo, 1996, 2001). When discrepancies occur in this process, individuals are stimulated to react, and through their reactions they construct new meanings (Huber &Draft, 1987; Maitlis & Soneshein, 2010; Waterman, 1990; Weick, 1995). The meanings people assign are influenced by their perceptions, interpretations and evaluations of what they do in their organisation (Einsberg, 2006; Weick, 1969; Starbuck & Milliken, 1988).

Organisations' and individuals' expectations also shape the process of sensemaking (Weick, 1995). Because individuals in organisations are expected to act in accordance with available scripts, routines and recipes, they fulfil these through their actions. Sometimes, however, individuals assign new meanings to available scripts in order to fulfil their aspirations to achieve something else than what was stipulated by these scripts. In certain circumstances this may lead to *self-fulfilling prophecies*, as people create and find what they aim to find (Weick, 1995).

Weick (1995, 2005) understands sensemaking as a process in which seven properties of sensemaking interact as people interpret events and make sense of their environment: identity construction, retrospection, enactment of sensible environments, sensemaking is social, ongoing, focused on and by extracted cues, and driven by plausibility rather than accuracy.

1. Identity

Identity is the property that identifies a sensemaker (Albert & Whetten, 1985). As Weick (1995, p.20) argues: "the establishment and maintenance of identity is a core preoccupation in sensemaking". Identity lies at the basis of who an individual thinks he or she is, and shapes the way this person enacts and interprets events (Currie & Brown, 2003; Thurlow & Mills, 2009; Watson, 2009; Weick, et al., 2005). However, what outsiders think of someone and how they treat this person significantly influences this person's identity. These evaluations either construct a negative or positive image of the individual, or affect how individuals build their identity. Identity in this context can be explained through the question: "How can I know who I am becoming until I see what they say and do with my actions?" (Weick et al., 2005, p. 416). Identity is argued to be dynamic as it is continuously influenced through ongoing interactions with others as well as our environments. Weick explains this by saying:

> *"Depending on who I am, my definition of what is 'out there' will also change. Whenever I define self, I define 'it', but to define it is also to define self. Once I know who I am then I know what is out there. But the direction of causality flows just as often from the situation to a definition of self as it does the other way"*
>
> (Weick, 1995, p. 20).

Although sensemaking begins with a sensemaker no individual ever acts like a single sensemaker for at least two reasons. First,

> *"[i]dentities are constituted out of the process of interaction. To shift among interactions is to shift among definitions of self. Thus the sensemaker is himself or herself an ongoing puzzle undergoing continual redefinition, coincident with presenting some self to others and trying to decide which self is appropriate"*
>
> (ibid, p. 20).

Thus, each individual has multiple identities, or as Weick (1995, p. 18) states in the words of Mead, is a "a parliament of selves", and depending on the context he or she chooses which self to display to others.

Second, a sensemaker draws on shared understandings about the unique features of her organisation or society (Gioia, 1986). The individual, in this sense, is not only an individual but also a representative of a collective. The collective nature of identity implies that people represent society and are represented by it. People in society embody values and collective goals just as people in organisations do (Weick, 1995). People live in environments composed of "network[s] of intersubjectively shared meanings that are sustained through the development and use of a common language and everyday social interaction" (Walsh & Ungson, 1991, p. 60). In our social lives, a variety of social factors influence our sensemaking, because we are part of society. The daily interactions with other people in their workplaces, households and society play a role in people's interpretations of events. Identity therefore includes the way in which actors identify themselves as individuals, and the way outsiders view the actors as members of the organisation and society. Thus, identity is used to explore the way people maintain consistency of their identity in relations to their actions and the organisational and societal goals and expectations. People are always alert to the consequences of their interactions with the environment (Weick, 1995).

2. Retrospection

Retrospection reflects the importance of lived experience in sensemaking. This property has been used in organisational studies to show that people only realise what their actions are after the fact. People only realise the consequences of their actions after a certain passage of time (Weick, et al., 2005). Or as Weick (1995, p. 31) put it: "to learn what I think, I look back over what I said earlier". The retrospective action in the process of sensemaking enables people to use past experiences, and thus learn from their mistakes, meanwhile using these experiences as a basis for present action, as well as to predict future actions (Schutz, 1967; Weick, 1995).

Moreover, retrospection precedes the cognitive processes of interpretation and the assignment of meaning (Anderson, 2006). So, in daily life people act, and through retrospection have a greater sense of what they have done afterwards. In explaining what retrospective action implies on an individual level, Weick and his fellow researchers (2005) use the example of an action being labelled as a mistake. People see that an act becomes a mistake after the action, and that it is the result of their own interpretation of the act. Thus the mistake is identified after its aftermath. Weick et al. (2005) refer to the work of Paget (1988) who argues that from the individual level, the actor is not yet able to interpret the act while it is still unfolding, only after the act is completed, or in its aftermath, the individual can identify his or her action as a mistake.

Retrospection, therefore, implies that individual interpretations are of great influence on the way in which an event is labelled. An event in these terms might be labelled as either a mistake or an opportunity. However, the label given to it never captures the dynamics of what is happening. This idea of retrospection as a process after the action underscores that sensemaking is an ongoing process, since the interpretation and evaluation of past experiences shapes current and future actions. Weick et al. (2005, p. 416) refer to Paget (1988, p. 48) concluding that, "the now of mistakes collides with the then of acting with uncertain knowledge. Now represents the more exact science of hindsight, then the unknown future coming into being".

3. Enactive of sensible environments

As argued before, the concept of sensemaking binds action and cognition together, and presumes that action is a precondition of and crucial for sensemaking. However, since enactment is a continuous process, it is both started and completed through 'action'. As Weick (1995) explains, enactment is the activity of 'making' that which is sensed, and through enactment individuals generate environments that are sensible to them. Generally, sensemaking starts with the act of speaking, and therefore as Weick (1995, p. 30) argues, sensemaking follows a basic recipe composed of the question "How can I know what I think until I see what I say?". These actions, such as speaking, generate what individuals interpret, and through this they

create a sensible environment. In this respect, Weick (1995, p. 34) argues that people are both the readers and authors of their environments, or in his own words: "[p]eople create their environments as those environments create them".

Action is also described as an important stage of the process of sensemaking consisting of actors' deliberate attempts of shaping their environments (Weick, 1969). People try to influence their environment using various strategies, among which the modification of regulations, roles and functions. In explaining these strategies, Weick (1987) mentioned other examples where actors create environments, such as building inter-organisation alliances, creating new demands, altering perceptions of the organisations, and discouraging competitors.

4. Social

Sensemaking is social, since individuals' actions are shaped by and aimed towards others (Resnick, et al., 1991; Weick, 1995). As argued earlier, individuals always act, and shape their identity, in the presence of others, be it presumed or actual. In this sense, social refers to the aforementioned idea of shared meanings, which are sustained through the use of common language and daily social interactions influencing how people act, since individuals are inclined to adhere to these shared meanings.

Moreover, sensemaking is social, as justification is what makes an action become meaningful and explicable. However, what is justifiable is limited by what is socially acceptable, which forms the main characteristic of justification. In the context of this thesis it is important to understand that culture, as a social structure, plays a key role in this, as Weick and Sutcliffe (2003, p. 82) state:

> *"Justification turns a conspicuous action into a meaningful action. The resulting meaning can promote or impede improvement. Culture plays at least two roles in this transformation. First, culture supplies the meaning. Second, culture supplies the conspicuousness that influences the intensity with which the meaning is defended."*

When and how a meaning leads to improvement is thus dependent on culture, and on interactions with others. It is within these interactions that individuals can both develop their ideas and try to get these to be justified. Eventually, when these ideas become shared and established, the environment of the individual might be altered to his or her benefit (Weick, 1995).

The social property of sensemaking is also prominent when people attempt to perform a joint action. For a joint action, the meanings playing a role in it have, to a certain degree, to be shared among those participating. Thus, joint action is to a large extent dependent on the individual's ability to align with existing, shared meanings (Weick, 1995).

5. Ongoing

As Weick (2005, p. 43) argues, although paradoxically, the process of sensemaking has no starting point, "[p]eople are always in the middle of things, which become things, only when those same people focus on the past from some point beyond it". The ongoing nature of sensemaking emphasises that individuals concurrently shape and react to the environments they face. As they project themselves into this environment and observe the consequences, they learn about their identities and the accuracy of their accounts of the world (Thurlow & Mills, 2009). This is a feedback process, because individuals deduce their identity from the behaviour of others towards them, but also try to influence this behaviour. As Weick argues, "The basic idea of sensemaking is that reality is an ongoing accomplishment that emerges from efforts to create order and make retrospective sense of what occurs" (1993, p. 635).

6. Focused on and by extracted cues

People's decisions and actions are largely determined by their past experiences. From past experiences people extract particular cues, to get an easier sense of a situation, and use these to assess particular events and understand its consequences. People use these cues to estimate what is going to happen. In sensemaking, therefore, cues serve as a point of reference that

individuals use to base their decisions on. Thus, individuals tend to imagine what will happen based on what happened in the past, although what will actually happen is unpredictable because of changes in the process or differences in the environment in which the past event occurred. Weick (1995) refers to this process as noticing, in which cues are extracted from particular events to make sense of what is happening, and which cues become relevant is context-dependent. He refers to Starbuck and Milliken (1988) when explaining noticing as "activities of filtering, classifying and comparing" (Weick, 1995, p. 51).

Weick (1995) explained the extracted cue by using two points; the first one is that people use cues to base their conclusions upon, where the cue as a small part of the whole, is taken to be the equivalent of that same whole. As he states, "an extracted cue is taken as equivalent to the entire datum from which it comes" (Weick, 1995, p. 49). He uses the example that an individual may refuse to buy an offered piece of cloth because based on extracted cues from her past experiences she has concluded that 'it will fade' (ibid.). Second, an individual can also use the extracted cues to predict the consequences of an event. For example, if the cloth will fade, it obviously has a shorter lifespan. The importance of extracted cues on the level of organisations is that these can be used to establish the point of reference that may be used to direct attention of people towards the mission or visions of the organisation (Weick, 1995).

7. Plausibility rather than accuracy

"Sensemaking is driven by plausibility rather than accuracy" (Weick, 1995, p. 55). This means that people's interpretations of what happens are not always accurate. Their perception strongly influences the accuracy of their interpretations. Thus, inaccurate interpretations are not necessarily a bad thing (Mezia & Starbuck, 2003). In this perspective, people do not need to interpret the current situation or problems accurately to solve them; they can act effectively simply by making sense of circumstances. Accuracy, in Weick's (1995) perspective is not necessary for sensemaking; however what is important is that there are plausible stories that are socially acceptable and meaningful. What also matters in sensemaking is how stories feed

into what is enacted (Weick et al., 2005) because stories tend to generate new information, create opportunities for dialogue, bargaining and persuasion that enrich people's sense of what is going on (Sutcliffe, 2000). Actions enable people to assess causal beliefs that subsequently lead to new actions undertaken to test the newly asserted relationships (Choo, 1996).

3.4 Towards a conceptual framework

With this thesis, I aim to contribute to the debate on human agency in tourism studies, by positioning women as proactive agents. By doing so, women are regarded to be agents who are able to influence the environments that they encounter in their daily lives. I utilise the enactment framework as introduced by Weick (1995) to show that women continuously make sense of their environment, while simultaneously enacting these. This process of sensemaking is used to understand the situation of Zanzibari women enacting their societal and tourist environments. I adopt the concept of enactment as it is a dynamic process, and use it to show the incessant ways in which women try to cope or negotiate with, influence or change, both society and the tourist environment, in order to find positions in society and ways to work in the tourism industry. In order to examine this process, I make use of the seven properties of sensemaking. In particular, I will examine how women negotiate and challenge dominant meanings, as part of their attempts to alter their environments, so as to create job opportunities in the tourism industry. By looking at sensemaking processes, I will be able to capture the way women either adhere to or abandon societal norms and traditions, and the ways in which they establish new meanings and identities. I will examine these processes of identity construction as an ongoing and social process, in which women try to align past and current experiences. I consider these lived experiences as the input for their past and present decisions and future expectations. This study entails interviews with two groups of women working in the tourism industry: women who are entrepreneurs, and women who are employed in hotels and restaurants. This comparison provides an avenue to better understand the ways women enact and make sense of their environments.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the methodology used in this research. It starts with an explanation of the overall research approach and the different methods used, followed by my reflections on the actual fieldwork, and the chapter concludes with an explanation of how the information obtained is validated. The following section thus presents and discusses the guidelines and principles underlying the study and the way the research was conducted (Sarantakos, 2005).

4.2 Methodological approaches

4.2.1 Interpretive paradigm

Since I particularly focused on the experiences of women working in tourism in Zanzibar to understand how they enact their environments, this study was framed within the interpretive paradigm (Jennings, 2010). This paradigm enabled me to interpret the diverse experiences of women by conducting interviews. Moreover, the interpretive approach was useful in this study because it allowed me to work in those women's natural settings (Goodson & Phillimore, 2004; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Jennings, 2010), in this case the different environments in which they work and live. Additionally, the interpretive research approach provided me with the opportunity to understand the personal contexts of the research informants (Kakuru & Paradza, 2007). This enabled me to capture the different meanings people assign to their interactions with their social worlds. It also provided a lens to make sense of the concepts and the languages that the respondents use, to interpret them and place them within the enactment framework (Abolafia, 2010; Jennings, 2010). Moreover, by adhering to the interpretive approach, I was able to reveal the multiple realities of women by identifying the differences that exist among them. Adhering to the interpretive research approach, emphasising the experiences and opinions of those researched, also made it possible to see the different ways in which women willingly or

unwillingly contribute to the construction of structures through their own engagements and actions (Boal et al., 2003).

In order to examine the multiple realities of the women studied in this research, I used qualitative research approaches to gather empirical information as well as archival materials. A qualitative approach was preferable to a quantitative approach because in-depth knowledge could be obtained about women's experiences in enacting their daily environments (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Jennings, 2010; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2010). In line with the interpretive, qualitative research approach I used life history as my main method.

4.2.2 Life history

The study uses life history to capture how women engaged in the tourism industry in Zanzibar enact their environments. Since life history is defined as a chronological sequence of events (Leydesdorff, 1999; Kakuru & Paradza, 2007), it provides an appropriate approach for understanding the agency of women through their experiences. Life history as a method entails the construction of individuals' life experiences, documenting events in chronological order, and assessing the importance and meaning of those events (Kakuru & Paradza, 2007). Moreover, exploring the past in life history provides valuable information about the present and the future (Ladkin, 2004). Life histories provide an opportunity for the researcher to get close to the experiences and feelings of the respondent. This makes the approach important in women and gender studies, because life histories help to contextualise individuals' experiences within a wider web of meanings (Leydesdorff, 1999). It allows the researcher to 'see' the research participants in their own context.

As sensemaking is all about lived experience (Weick, 1995), life history is a common method in enactment research. For example, researchers using the enactment theory in organisational studies have been using the life histories of organisations to understand how these function (Abolafia, 2010; Anderson, 2006; Kjærgaard et al., 2010). The retrospective nature of sensemaking, as explained in the process of enactment, means that individuals act, and then

reflect on their actions to interpret the meaning of these. Thus in analysing enactment, the researcher uses their life history to understand how respondents acted by having them reflect on their actions. In doing so, I was able to interpret the different meanings interviewees adhere to their actions and environments, and if and how they established new meanings.

So in this study life history was used as a method to collect different narratives on how women enact their environments. Additionally, the life stories of interviewees, among which also experts and other informants, were used to get an insight in the position of women in Zanzibar and its tourism industry. I evaluated the different life histories through a thematic narrative analysis (Riessman, 1990) enabling me to compare and contrast views from various individuals and groups of women. Narrative analysis when using enactment theory is particularly useful as sensemaking, which lies at the core of enactment theory, is an inherently narrative and dialogical process through which individuals structure their experiences as they continue to encounter their worlds. Moreover, narratives are the retrospective means through which individuals adhere meaning to their lived experiences, environments, and their own actions, as well as those of others (Hydén, 1997; Kane, 2000).

4.3 Fieldwork processes

The fieldwork for this study was carried out in three distinctive phases between 2010 and 2012. The phases were sequentially arranged according to the information needed at a defined time and place. These three phases had different purposes and involved different groups of participants. In the following paragraphs I will discuss these different phases in a chronological order.

4.3.1 Phase 1: Exploration phase

The first phase was the exploration phase, which took place in June 2010 and was aimed at establishing the scope of the study. In this phase of the study, I inspected different potential areas to see where rich information for the study could be obtained. Since from the start of my research I knew I would focus on women working in tourism in Zanzibar, I looked for areas in

which I would be able to interview many women. From the literature it became clear that many women were especially engaged in the hospitality sector and small enterprises. In this phase I walked through towns and villages, to make observations and conduct some informal interviews.

In these interviews I asked the interviewees (see table 4.1) about their opinions on tourism in general, the growing investments in tourism, employment in tourism, participation of women and their opportunities and/or constraints to enter into tourism, as well as on Zanzibari society and culture.

Table 4.1 Scoping mission informants

Informant	**Male**	**Female**	**Total**
Butterfly keepers	1	2	3
Farmers	2	3	5
Fondazione ACRA (a non-governmental organisation)	2		2
Food vendors	1		1
Handicraft makers		2	2
Handicraft suppliers	2	2	4
Hotel owners	1	1	2
Labayca (a community based organisation)	4		4
Managers	2	1	3
Ministry of Community Development, Women, Children and Youths Affairs		1	1
Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism	1		1
Moto Group (a women's group)	1	2	3
Taxi driver	1		1
The Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV)	1		1
Tour guide	1		1
UWAZI (Umoja wa Zanzibar)		1	1

Voluntary Services Overseas (a development organisation)	1		1
Zanzibar Institute of Tourism Development (ZITOD)	1		1
Total	**22**	**15**	**37**

4.3.2 Phase 2: The study context

The second phase of fieldwork was carried out in March and April of 2012. The goal was to obtain information about the society and tourism industry in Zanzibar. I purposefully chose to interview different experts inside as well as outside of the tourism industry, focusing on their perceptions and knowledge about society and the tourism industry. These interviews with experts gave me a diverse range of informed empirical materials (Linstone & Turoff, 1975).

Table 4.2 Study context informants

Informant	**Male**	**Female**	**Total**
Government officials	2	2	4
Hotel managers	11	2	13
Tourism related non-profit organisation officials	3	1	4
Other informants	4	1	5
Total	**20**	**6**	**26**

I conducted individual interviews, to give the interviewees the chance to freely speak their mind, providing me with undiluted individual personal views. I wanted the interview environment to be as natural as possible; therefore I used semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions, acknowledging that my interviews were "conversations with a purpose" (Jennings, 2010, p. 162). Semi-structured interviews enabled me to prepare a list of topics to be covered during the interview, such as the background of the interviewees, their views about the traditions and culture that govern their social interactions, their economic and social engagements, and their views about the opportunities in tourism. However, I left room for the

interviewees to bring up their own topics. Beforehand, I asked the interviewees if they agreed with me recording the interviews. While most of them did, some did not agree, and during those interviews I made notes. When something was unclear to me during the interviews, I asked the interviewee to clarify those issues.

The collected data was analysed with the Atlas.ti programme (explained in detail in section 4.4). This phase, aside from providing me with useful information, also helped to prepare me for phase 3, as I gained a general understanding of the context. I made use of this experience to have a more natural flow in later conversations, thereby creating a higher degree of trust.



Figure 4.1 Interview with an entrepreneur in handicrafts, photo by Mohamed Hussein

4.3.3 Phase 3: Life experiences

Phase three of the fieldwork was carried out between June 2012 and January 2013. The main focus was to get information about how women enact their daily environments, as well as the tourist environment. With the support of the information obtained from the exploration phase, I selected women from two groups. The first group consists of female entrepreneurs who own large, medium, and small tourism enterprises, conducting business in shopping areas or in their

back yard, producing various items for tourists. By using the so-called snowball sampling method, I got into contact with a diverse group of women. The second group is comprised of women employed in hotels and restaurants whereby purposive sampling was done to select them. In general, I used convenience sampling to approach women working as employees, depending on their availability and how willing they were to talk to me. Most the women I interviewed preferred to do the interview during working hours and when they were on duty.

Since my aim is to understand how women enact their environments, which is to a high degree influenced by different factors (such as societal position and religion) I attempted to contact a diverse group of women. In order to do so I used the following selection criteria: place of origin, religious affiliation, type of engagement with the tourism industry, marital status and age. Such a diverse group of interviewees furthermore made it possible to gain insights in how various personal or social factors influence how women enact their environments, and which possibilities and constraints they experience when working in the tourism industry.

I approached the interviewees in different ways. My first approaches were based on convenience; either I contacted people who on the basis of their physical appearance and the place they were working seemed to fit the selection criteria, or I asked the employees of the hotels where I was staying. I subsequently used snowball sampling, by asking interviewees if they knew other women who would be willing to be interviewed. In total I interviewed 49 women (see table 4.3).

The interviews were unstructured in order to get an in-depth understanding of women's experiences. The interviewees were asked to tell their life histories from childhood onwards to encourage them to give a lot of information and rich descriptions (Jennings, 2010). During the interviews I used a checklist of themes to guide the conversation. The use of unstructured interviews made it possible to keep the interviews natural and interactive, whereby the interviewee controlled the conversation and could speak freely about their experiences.

Table 4.3 Interviewees

Informants	**Number**
Entrepreneurs (self-employed)	
Producers	9
Retailers	13
Distributers	9
Total entrepreneurs	***31***
Employees of hotels and restaurants	
Back Office	5
Front office	8
Managers	5
Total employees	**18**
Grand total (entrepreneurs and employees)	**49**



Figure 4.2 An attempt to build trust, photo by Mohamed Hussein

To create a basis of mutual trust I used reciprocity as a strategy (Jennings, 2010; Patton, 2002). During the interviews it became clear that especially the female interviewees were eager to listen to my own experiences as a fellow woman. They were curious to know what I would have done in similar situations, and to ensure trust I told them about my opinions or experiences. I also informed the interviewees about the potential value of this research for them.



Figure 4.3 Interviews in workplaces, photo by Mohamed Hussein

I recorded most interviews. This was because I aimed to capture their language as it is, and which they commonly use in explaining their positions. By recording the interviews, I assured myself that I had the full story. Additionally, recording created a more natural way of interviewing, as I could pay full attention to the people I interviewed, rather than having to switch between taking notes and listening to them. Nevertheless, some interviewees refused to have the interviews recorded, and on those occasions I took notes. Also, as interviewees tend to reveal important information after the actual interview ends, I also noted down these final communications. Since I asked the interviewees to tell me their life histories, the interviews took between one and three hours. There were some cases where I went back again to add and/or clarify some information.

I started my preliminary interpretation of the data during the interview phase, so as to be able to find particular patterns and general issues from the start. I compared and contrasted some issues to understand the similarities and differences among various respondents, issues and events. In doing so, it was possible to highlight some factors that influence women's choices and decisions. For example, face-to-face contact with the tourists was a crucial factor that influenced many women in their choice between working at the front office or the back office in the hospitality sector. This choice was one of the factors used to categorise women working in tourism, as shown in table 4.3.

4.4 Data analysis

In the following paragraphs, I will elaborate on how I analysed the data. The section also shows the strategy that was used in writing this thesis, especially regarding the presentation of the different narratives. Moreover, in line with the qualitative approach, the results of the analysis enabled me to identify the categories and themes that informed the empirical chapters of this thesis.

4.4.1 The data

To be able to start analysing the data, I first transcribed the recorded interviews, and combined those with the written notes and memos.

For the actual data-analysis, I made use of Atlas.ti., which is a computer-based package designed to aid researchers in managing, organising and supporting research with qualitative data. Various steps were necessary to interpret the life stories of the women interviewed and the information of the other informants. The process of analysing and interpreting information already started when I was interviewing the respondents and transcribing the interviews, during which I found that marriage, religion and education were important parts of their life histories, also explaining why they choose to work in a front or back office or as a producer or retailer. I took great care in translating the transcribed information from Kiswahili to English in order to avoid misrepresentations of the original conversation.

The following step was to organise the large amount of information transcribed and stored in the Atlas.ti programme through an open coding method. By carefully and recurrently reading the transcriptions, I tried to make sense of the information by using a variety of codes, such as for religion, marriage, family, education, childhood experiences, experience as an employee or an entrepreneur, networks, motivation and work environment. My objective was to capture their views about tourism related to opportunities and constraints, and their motivation to work in the industry. Also I aimed to understand their views about Zanzibar society and the tourism industry, and their position in terms of the freedom to make their own choices.

At this juncture, I started to discover patterns, explaining why, for example, in hotels young, single and/or divorced women choose to work in front offices, while Muslim, older and married women prefer to work in back offices. Similarly, I started to grasp why most of the producers are Muslims who combine their work with household responsibilities and attending mosque services.

During this round of analysis, I made the final decision to further organise my data and analysis by subdividing the employed and self-employed women, each in three subgroups (see table 4.3). After that, I conducted a second round of analysis, based on my conceptual framework, which I will discuss in the following paragraph.

4.4.2 Enactment theory

The second round of data analysis was mainly informed by the key ideas of enactment theory, as explained in the previous chapter. The enactment framework helped me to examine the way the six categories of women make sense of and cope with their environment in different ways. With the use of the enactment theory, I interpreted women's choices, actions and strategies as being part of their agency. Following Weick's enactment theory, women have their own authority to interpret the environment as either a constraint or an opportunity. Because the enactment framework focuses on individuals, it allows for subjectivity in terms of the way women view their environment. As such, the multiple realities resulting from individual subjectivities enabled

me to capture the differences that exist among women. Data-analysis in this phase was therefore guided by the seven characteristics of sensemaking, as in enactment theory the agency of women is explained through their ability to make sense of the environment.

4.4.3 Writing strategy

In this thesis, the collected data are presented in three empirical chapters. Generally, as I allowed 'the data to do the talking' (Jordan & Gibson, 2004) while processing the data, in all three empirical chapters I present extensive extracts from the interviews. The data clearly demonstrate what women see, think and do as a response to the environment that they work and live in. This is why in the first empirical chapter, based on the collected data; I describe how different interviewees construct the social and cultural environment of Zanzibar. In the following chapters I will let the data do the talking and give the different women involved in my research a voice, showing how they cope with their social and cultural environments, and how these influence their participation in the tourist environment. These chapters consequently describe the experiences of self-employed women and those who work as employees in the tourism industry. The names of the interviewees have been anonymised through the use of fictitious names. The details of the interviewees involved are described in Annex 1 of this thesis.

4.5 Limitations and challenges

In the following paragraphs I will discuss some of the challenges I encountered while conducting this research, and I will discuss its limitations.

4.5.1 Challenges encountered during fieldwork

In the process of data collection I encountered a number of challenges in finding research informants, improvising interviewing techniques during the conversation, taking notes during the interviews as well as moderating the interviews.

Involving interviewees

It was not always easy to involve interviewees. As a result, most interviews took place during working hours, as the interviewees found it most convenient to do so, and were not willing to meet after working hours and out of their working environments. Conducting the interviews in the workplace caused many interruptions, which at moments resulted in losing track of the interview, and getting incomplete information. In addition, it was sometimes difficult to interview women who work within their domestic premises, as there were also many interruptions due to their work or household responsibilities. However, for example international trade fairs offered an excellent opportunity to interview women. Here, women were quite willing to have a conversation.

The interviewees also had different ways of responding in meetings and interviews. Varying emotions and the position of the particular interviewee influenced the responses. One other important factor again was the environment in which the interview took place. When I conducted interviews at the workplace and the interviewee was very busy, she or he tended to give superficial and sometimes inconsistent answers. Their tight schedule meant they were rushed and less attentive to the conversation. Some of the people I interviewed, for example, had to answer the phone frequently during the interview. Conversely, other informants were highly motivated, willing and attentive; hence these interviews were rich in information and covered all themes both the interviewees and I wished to discuss. Another important factor of influence on the quality of the interviews was the interviewees' level of education and whether or not they had attended workshops, seminars and trade fairs, as these made them more confident during the interview.

Moreover, the quality of the interviews tended to differ among the different groups of interviewees. For example, front office work requires prompt attention and because of that, people working there were less willing to be involved in the interview, while managers and back officers were more willing to respond to questions. When interviewing the entrepreneurs, I

noticed that the expectations they had of me influenced their responses. For example, I observed that the producers tried to get recognition, with the expectation that they would then be considered for grants, loans and other services from governmental and non-governmental institutions. Some even thought the interview could lead to a new market for their products. In comparison, the group of retailers were less willing to be interviewed, as they argued they were independent and did not see how being interviewed would benefit them. For this reason, they were not willing to create time in their busy schedules. The group of distributers, who consider their self-esteem an important personal characteristic, were willing to be interviewed, wanting to be recognised as entrepreneurs. Moreover, these interviewees were usually well-informed and had a high level of self-confidence, which made them talkative during the interviews.

When the people I interviewed had difficulties in answering the questions, or when I had the feeling they did not tell me their story fully, I rephrased my questions to crosscheck the information obtained or gave some examples of the same situation about which I wanted to get more details. The reciprocal atmosphere I tried to create made the interviews more lively and natural. Moreover, I found out that making jokes, especially about differences in ethnic groups – as is the tradition in Tanzania – helped in creating an environment in which interviewees felt confident and gave more details. Furthermore, voice recording was a motivating factor for some respondents as they enjoyed listening to the playback, while a few others did not want their voices to be recorded.

Creating a natural atmosphere

As explained, I tried to create a natural atmosphere for the interviews. However, due to a number of reasons I was not always able to accomplish this. Interviewees sometimes provided me with answers they thought I was looking for. They gave socially desirable answers because they wanted to show their compliance to policy or to show their sympathy for female fellows. In other situations respondents did not feel confident during the interview, especially when they had the feeling the interview was formal.

One way I dealt with this was by having informal meetings after the actual interview in a restaurant with a cup of coffee. At these moments people became more open. For example, I met with a group of managers, who talked more freely about their motivation to discourage the employment of female workers in their hotel. Another example was a lunch with some other interviewees in a restaurant, in which they were openly giving their opinions about women working in the tourism industry, and how they considered this immoral. Gender issues came up especially in these kinds of meetings.

4.5.2 Reliability and validity of empirical data

Sequential phases

The research involved three phases, which enabled me to get an early familiarity with the research area, and to confirm the information collected during each preceding phase. By doing so I used multiple methods, reached a wide range of informants as well as various sources of information. During the first phase of the research, I used various methods, including in-depth interviews and observations, to capture information explaining the meanings of different practices and activities. The observation method allowed me to get an insight in the context of the research by observing body language, shops, objects such as signboards, and other things. This also enabled me to crosscheck with data obtained through other methods. In the other phases I only used in-depth interviews to gain an insight in the environments of women from a personal perspective. However, the interconnectedness between each phase of the research process ensures the credibility of data (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2010).

Trustworthiness

The trustworthiness (confer Decrop, 2004) of this research approach first comes from my intense and reflexive engagement with women in Zanzibar. Second, a systematic and transparent data analysis with concrete products (transcripts, codebook, coded transcripts) adds to the credibility of the findings. Third, two forms of triangulation for data validation

through cross verification were applied (cf. Decrop, 1999): (a) triangulation of data where different data sources (interviews, documents, observation notes) were jointly analysed in the same procedure, and (b) triangulation of methods, where my 'view from within' was compared with the 'views from others' as reflected by the other data sources. Besides detecting convergence across data, triangulation was also useful for capturing different dimensions of the phenomenon under study – elements of sensemaking – thus transcending the limits of specific methods and allowing a more in-depth and comprehensive account. Together these 'checks and balances' provided ''a confluence of evidence which breeds credibility'' (Eisner, 1991, p. 110). Fourth and final, my supervisors acted as 'auditors' reviewing analytical procedures and "adherence to sound research practices" (Decrop, 2004, p. 161). The research guidelines and portfolios were prepared beforehand, and were revised by senior supervisors to ensure the correct interpretation of the research concepts. Furthermore, they were checked in order to ensure that these enabled me to obtain the intended information from the respondents. I also discussed these with fellow PhD-researchers and during other meetings and presentations. I fine-tuned these guidelines after the different research phases and fieldwork.

Chapter 5: The Zanzibar and Tourist Environment

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will describe the environments women in Zanzibar encounter. I will show how traditional norms and values play a continuous role in shaping the cultural and societal environments in Zanzibar. Through people's daily interactions with these environments, these also structure the tourist environment. In the following sections, I will examine how these different environments are either (re)constructed through individuals' encounters with these, or negotiated and challenged through a diverse range of practices. I will do so by mainly drawing from the interviews with policymakers, those involved in tourist organisations and managers. My main focus in this chapter will be on the daily environments of women. In doing so, I will not only provide an insight in how traditional norms and values constrain women in working in the tourism industry, but also show how they deal with these in their daily lives. Moreover, in discussing this process, I will describe how people in Zanzibar construct a range of different tourist environments through their practices and interactions informed by traditional norms and values, and how these in their turn make people either reconstruct or challenge their traditional cultural environments. Therefore, this chapter serves as a background for studying Zanzibari women working in the tourism industry, as it provides an insight in how people in Zanzibar construct their social and cultural environments. In the upcoming paragraphs, I will first discuss Zanzibar's traditional cultural and social environment. The chapter will then continue with women's traditional environments, which are to a large extent constructed on the basis of Zanzibar's traditional environment. Next, I will show how the different interviewees construct and understand Zanzibar's tourist environment. This chapter ends with a preliminary conclusion.

5.2 The traditional cultural and social environment of Zanzibar

This section describes the different ways in which people in Zanzibar (re)construct their traditional environments and are governed by these. It also describes how these influence the different ways in which people interpret particular events and acts. Traditional Zanzibar environments are to a large extent (re)constructed according to norms and values emanating from institutions such as family, education and religion. In this section I will, moreover, show how these traditional environments influence the (re)construction of the environments women encounter in their daily lives, and how women are expected to behave in particular ways to remain 'respectable'.

Social and cultural environments have shown to be of significant influence in people's decisions regarding their economic and social engagements. Zanzibar's cultural environment is constructed on the basis of norms and values informed by Swahili culture (see also chapter 2). Most people living in Zanzibar comply with these values, to show respect for, and not bring shame to, their families, society and religion. Despite Zanzibar's culture being influenced by various religions, Islam has a stronger influence than Christianity has, and Islamic values and norms form the main guiding principles in daily life. As a result, also foreigners coming to Zanzibar are expected to adhere to Islamic values and norms. In brief, Zanzibar's traditional cultural environment is best characterised as Islamised. An obvious reason for Islam's dominance in Zanzibar is the high proportion of Muslims living in there. Many interviewees were of the opinion that Muslims cover between 90 and 99 per cent of the total Zanzibar population.

The people I interviewed affirm the influence of religion. For example, Changanyikeni, a male hotel manager, said: *"Here, religion determines most of the way of life of most Zanzibaris. When I say religion, I mean the one that most Zanzibaris believe in, that is Islam".* As argued, people in Zanzibar tend to adhere to religious principles, which inform how they act and behave, and how they justify their actions and behaviour. Explaining this, Changanyikeni said: *"So long as you live*

in Zanzibar, you must abide to the Islamic principles, otherwise life here becomes difficult". This, nevertheless, is not always possible and sometimes individuals have to reject or ignore these principles to be able to perform their jobs. As Waleo, an employee of the Karibu hotel, stated*: "Despite the fact that religion does not allow me to deal with alcohol, I have to do it because it is a part of my job".* The dominance of Islamic culture has also led to the disappearance of many tribal cultures, as explained by Bimkubwa, a female tourism entrepreneur*: "In my Tumbatu tribe we have an Islamic Muslim culture, because we have lost our language and everything"*.

In line with the Islamisation of Zanzibari culture, women's social and economic endeavours have been constrained by discourses of 'respect' and 'shame'. Women are stereotyped and considered to be more 'fragile' than men; they are not free to make choices beyond boundaries that their families, and overall society, define for them. Their families and male counterparts mainly inform the choices women make in relation to, for example, marriage, education and occupation. Because of this, the division of responsibilities is mostly based on gender. As a consequence, women are always struggling to find different ways to maintain respect. Generally, respect is defined as behaving according to conventional rules and norms. Thus, going beyond these rules is perceived to tarnish a person's dignity and respect. In the following paragraphs I will describe how particular environments for women are constructed based on traditional norms and values. As became clear from the interviews, for women to remain respectable members of society, they are expected to act and behave according to these norms and values, with an emphasis on 'decency' and 'hospitality'.

5.2.1 Women's traditional environments

Zanzibar's traditional norms and values have resulted in the construction of particular environments for women, which are to a large part influenced by gender roles, prescribing which behaviour and which kind of labour is expected and acceptable for men and women. As a result, compliance to traditional norms, being restricted to the domestic space, low levels of education, and other dominant norms limit the work opportunities of women. Religious

principles often inform these limitations, for example as Muumini, a male member of a tourist organisation, affirmed:

> *"If you are a religious person believing in either Christianity or Islam, you'll see that women were created to simply please men. This is obvious in both the Quran and the Bible. The Bible says that at first God created Adam, but Adam was lonely without someone to live with. What I am saying is, that Eve was there to pleasure Adam".*

Following this interpretation of the story of Adam and Eve men are expected to be employed and earn a living, while women are expected to please them.

For women, their traditional environment is mainly bound to the domestic sphere, where they are expected to perform household roles. Within the domain of the household, women are perceived as important, and their presence at home is regarded to be necessary, although women themselves might think differently. As Muumini, a male member of a tourist organisation, said: "W*omen play a key role at home, they have to make sure the family is well fed, and they have to take care of the children; but for me, I can just leave the house and everything can go on as usual".* Thus, women gain respect from being a good housewife and their competences in housekeeping. These competences are often also the selection criteria on the basis of which a man selects his wife. As a result, families raise their daughters to become 'good' housewives, while they are often denied access to education. This binds women to the domestic sphere of the household, and women might not be allowed to leave the house without the permission of their husband or male head of the family. Another consequence is that income-generating activities are considered to be less important for women than for men. Many Zanzibari think that this role for women is defined by religious norms. As Mkombozi, a male member of a tourist organisation, declared:

> *"A woman in Islamic religion is urged to take care of her husband and children, and to decorate the house. A good woman would be recognised through the cleanliness of the*

house and the availability of cooked food at home, as well as the ability to entertain the guests".

However, not everybody agrees with this view. Some think women should be able to work following the legacy of one of the wives of the Prophet Muhammad. As Mwema, a male hotel manager, explained: *"Because even we who believe in the Islamic religion know that one of Muhammad's wives was a successful business woman in the Middle East in those times, so women are encouraged to work"*. Thus, although women's traditional environments are often limited to the domestic sphere, other interpretations of religious principles allow women to cross these boundaries and find work opportunities beyond the space of the household. So some women find themselves forced to stay at home as they are forbidden to engage in paid jobs, while other women choose to stay at home themselves, and yet other women might challenge being confined to the domestic sphere by searching for paid jobs. One reason to engage in paid activities is the obligation to fulfil domestic responsibilities, which sometimes includes breadwinning, as a flourishing household gains women respect.

When women do look for job opportunities they are often perceived as rebels, who break with the rules, since their jobs often involve being out in public. These women are thought to take part in 'unacceptable practices' that subject them to 'immoral behaviour'. Muumini explained: *"If a woman has an income, there is more chance of her meeting different men; she may not even respect her husband because of her financial power"*. Thus, women are not trusted to go into public independently, and therefore they are not allowed to have a job, as this might affect the roles they are supposed to play, tarnish their dignity, and they might be subjected to immoral behaviour. Hence, it is thought to be unrespectable for women to start working in what are considered unacceptable fields of work. In order to keep their respectability women have to balance paid activities with maintaining decency, as emphasised by Swaladini, a male hotel manager:

"Our religion does not forbid a woman to work, but it is better for her to have work that maintains her dignity. Women are not expected to be put to work in a crowded place, this humiliates her. There are so many jobs that women can take, but those should be within moral limits".

This quote shows how some jobs are perceived as acceptable for women, while others are not. Jobs in the hospitality sector, such as in hotels and restaurants are viewed as unrespectable; women working in these particular fields are sometimes even regarded as prostitutes.

The emphasis on women having to remain respectable through their work has implications. In most families, women have worked hard to gain respect by performing all responsibilities in the household, as a consequence men are given a lot of leeway, and in some cases men even use their power over their wives to abuse them. This was explained by Swaladini, a male hotel manager, who said that:

"From childhood, women have been taught to make a house better place by ensuring that it is clean and every member of family has been taken care of, especially a husband. It is very rude for a woman to argue with her husband".

Some men feel threatened by strong women, and to cope with this some men, for example, have polygamous marriages. As Swaladini explained:

"*Now having only one wife, there will not be trust or a healthy relationship, because when the wife sees another man who is richer than her husband she will have no eyes for her husband anymore and this is not healthy. But if a man is a polygamist, if one wife leaves, it will not be a shock for him".*

Within these polygamous relationships women compete with each other, and thus are motivated to work even harder, while on the other hand they also have greater freedom within the relationship. For some women polygamy is reason to divorce their husbands, resulting in households led by women solely.

Women living in rural areas are mostly engaged in traditional economic activities such as farm work and seaweed cultivation. These activities are viewed as women's work, as these are mostly not done for commercial but for domestic purposes. According to Mhamasishaji, a female governmental official,

> *"In the agricultural sector, it is the woman who works. But men do not work on farms; if you go there now, you will find them playing bao*[1] *while the woman works in farms, the sun on her back. So, the women do all the farm work, from ploughing to harvesting, sometimes a man does not even know the location of the farm. Women here have a very big responsibility compared to men".*

While women became the providers for their families, men became unemployed because they do not take part in 'women's' activities. Men are mostly interested in paid jobs, such as labouring jobs, as Shukuru, a female entrepreneur, said: *"These days men are employed as labourers in the quarries or as lorry drivers, transporting sand to the areas where they construct hotels"*.

Thus, women's traditional environments in Zanzibar are shaped according to traditional values and norms, often limiting women to the domestic sphere. By acting in accordance with these expectations, these women reconstruct their environments continuously. As the results of this study show, when women engage in economic activities, for instance as entrepreneurs in tourism, those activities tend to be related to their domestic activities. They thus reproduce their domestic responsibilities in public. This reproduction is strengthened when men affirm their authoritative role in the family, using various strategies such as overloading women with activities. Explaining this Mhamasishaji, a female governmental official, said:

> *"Even if a man is unemployed he will never help a woman with anything. He will just wait for his wife to do everything at home. The women will go to the field, gather firewood, fetch water, and look after the children, while the men do not do anything".*

[1] A kind of board game like chess that is common in Zanzibar.

As such, the ways in which work is organised and practiced in Zanzibar contributes to the reconstruction of the patriarchal system.

Generally, women's environments tend to be reconstructed on the basis of values and norms prescribing what is respectable behaviour for women, and through their compliance they (re)construct these very same environments that constrain them. Moreover, the results have shown that women are overloaded with responsibilities. The public/domestic dichotomy defines which workplaces are appropriate for women and men, where women are mostly bound to the domestic sphere dealing with non-commercial activities. However, as my research shows, some women are able to, or have to, negotiate and challenge this for diverse reasons. When women do engage in economic activities they often use their homemaking experiences for business purposes. This might be related to the notion that particular economic activities are perceived as unacceptable for women. Women who have been able to obtain jobs outside of the domestic sphere challenge the traditional values and norms within Zanzibar's society, and this has helped them to become more independent, which in some cases has led to female-headed households.

5.2.2 Decency

As explained in the previous paragraph it is considered important for women in Zanzibar to remain respectable. One important related expectation for women is that they have to be decent. Decency refers to the ability of individuals to perform their roles within what is considered to be acceptable. In Zanzibar's society, decency is achieved by behaving according to traditional norms and values; social changes coming from new practices in society are thought to be a sign of moral decay (Lindsey, 2011). Thus, local people's involvement in tourism is regarded as moral decay; their practices are perceived as unacceptable. However, the main issues concerning decency mentioned in the interviews are unplanned pregnancies and/or single parenting, and women's exposure in public places.

Decency in Zanzibar is best defined as preventing oneself from engaging in practices and activities that are believed to bring shame, not only to an individual woman, but also to the clan.

Parents are blamed for indecent behaviour, having failed to properly raise their daughter. Thus, many parents ensure that their children get married by following all the required traditional procedures. Within this perspective, girls are regarded as *"perishable products that could rot if they are not disposed of on time", said Makini*. To avoid disrespect, parents use different strategies, such including finding husbands for their daughters. Explaining this, Mhamasishaji, a female governmental official, reported that:

> *"Many girls are forced to drop out of school when they reach adolescence because they are then thought be ready for marriage. All they can do is find husbands and get married soon. Also many girls drop out of school before their final exams. Out of twenty, only ten girls graduate, whereas all boys do."*

This reinforces the situation of women being confined to the domestic sphere. Their low level of education adds to women not being trusted to go into public independently. Msongo, a female governmental official, emphasised that: *"Marriage has a substantial role in women's lives, since a woman cannot go anywhere without her husband's permission, notably Muslim women".* The importance of marriage in Zanzibar has led to early marriages for some women: "*Some girls are married at a very young age: under eighteen"*, said Mhamasishaji. Arranged marriages, however, are a problem for both girls and boys, which is confirmed by Shukuru, a female entrepreneur, when talking about her son:

> "*He is now a married man; he was forced to marry by the girl's parents. After finding out that their daughter had an affair with him, they set up a trap. If they would see them together, that would be evidence that their daughter was compromised, so they had to get married. That's how he got into marriage. It was not because of his consent; he was trapped".*

The importance of marriage in Zanzibar makes some women think of themselves as being dependent. This is also influenced by the tendency that parents are responsible for finding partners for their children, to ensure that the proposed marriage is respectable, limiting women

in their freedom to choose their partner. Bimkubwa, a female entrepreneur, recounted her experience:

> *"No, I did not like getting married, but I was forced. You know, it is the parents who choose a husband whom they feel will be good for their daughter; we normally are not consulted. You see your husband for first time on the wedding day. Normally, parents even decide that the time for their daughter to be married is as early as class seven or six"*.

Some parents, however, do give priority to education, as the parents of some women said: *"I'd better pickle you to preserve you, so that you can be able to get the highest level of education"*.

This tradition of early marriages has led to divorces, as Mhamasishaji explained: "When they get married at this age, they are still immature; they don't know what they are doing. That's why many young women from the age of eighteen to twenty have at least two children, and they are already divorced". Divorces are regarded as a failure to comply with social and cultural norms, and thus as unacceptable. Women are therefore motivated to either persevere in their marriage despite problems, or to remarry. In most cases, divorces and remarriages mean women have to work extra hard to sustain themselves and their children, especially since men are reluctant to take responsibility for their stepchildren after marrying divorced women.

In Zanzibari society, men set the criteria for what makes a woman attractive, which forces women to act and behave according to these criteria. Explaining this, Muumini, a male member of a tourist organisation, narrated:

> *"It is all about the potential. Because there are no ugly women, people mostly look at behaviour and not appearances. When a woman is well-behaved, her husband is very satisfied with her and the services he gets at home. There are also many beautiful women, but their behaviour is not proper, such beautiful women with nice figures cannot tie the knot".*

As a result of these criteria, there is a tendency to discriminate between appropriate and inappropriate women. Muumini clarified this as follows:

> *"There are women for marriage and women for love, those are quite different. Even with the birds, there are crows and pigeons. You can tame a pigeon, but you can never tame a crow. Now the same applies to women; there are women who are pigeons and others are crows".*

Thus, women have to respect prevailing norms, and act according to these to find a partner. One of these norms is, as the quotes show, modesty.

Modest behaviour for women is perceived as decent behaviour through which they keep their respectability. Modest behaviour, for example, confines women to the domestic sphere, since they are only allowed to go into public with the permission of men. As a result, as Mkombozi, a male member of a tourist organisation, explained:

> "*People were not looking at a woman economically, no, it was shameful for a woman to get out of her house, or to participate in meetings like these. Even in public meetings, it was shameful for women to participate by contributing their ideas or saying something in a meeting. Now this is decreasing because there are women who can talk in public meetings, they argue, they contest in leadership competitions."*

Msongo, a female governmental official, said: *"Some women have quit their job because of their husbands. Some decided to respect and value their marriage, more than the work they do, because they are not assured by those jobs. You know, marriage is a valuable thing".* Thus, social relationships are more valuable than economic relations when it comes to the individual's struggle for respect.

As the former quote shows, women have started to challenge traditional perceptions of what is 'appropriate' and 'respectable' behaviour, for example out of economic hardship or because of education. Explaining this, Mkombozi said: *"Families that never allowed women to work are now*

allowing them, and a couple may support each other in paying the bills". Mtanashati, a female hotel manager, also testified how the position of women in relation to labour is slowly changing:

> "*Today you will find women in construction, carrying 'makarai'*[2]*. So these days at least they do not stay at home as we used to see them. There are also some organisations that help women to enter into business. Even if I have never followed them to see how they perform, they are there, doing business".*

Women are also encouraged to rethink their positions, and challenge traditional norms and values, through new developments and policies that emphasise gender-mainstreaming programmes. According to Mhamasishaji: *"There are many programmes conducted by the Ministry of Gender, Women and Youths as well as Trade that aim to create environments for women to engage in economic activities".* The programmes have resulted in some women perceiving their roles differently, and adhering other meanings to these. Some of them commercialise their homemaking competencies by establishing enterprises such as home-based curio shops, vending food and handcrafts (see chapter 6). Through these governmental measures an environment is created that facilitates business opportunities for women. *"The availability of services such as financial services and training has motivated many women. They have established their own cooperative unions, SACCOs, they keep money boxes, they join pay-as-you-earn programmes, they do so many activities",* reported Msongo.

5.2.3 Hospitality

Next to decency, hospitality is another way to gain respect in Zanzibar society. Hospitality in this respect is explained in different ways. It includes providing necessities for the needy. But hospitality is also explained in the context of attending all social events and ceremonies, such as weddings and funerals. Going to these occasions is compulsory for everyone, and people have to justify themselves when they miss an event. Attending these occasions is related to a person's

[2] Basins used in construction sites to carry cement.

level of esteem, as Mamaa, a housewife, explained: "*There are many ceremonies to attend, such as marriage, 'girls' day out', funerals and others. One is expected to attend all of these, otherwise you might be rejected by the other clan members".* Mjasiriamali, a female entrepreneur, confirmed this: *"There are special tasks that you have to perform; if you always fulfil the assigned tasks the community honours you".* As a consequence, some people might prioritise attending these social events over their economic obligations. This has also led to a divide between Zanzibari employees and those coming from mainland Tanzania. As the first live close to their relatives they have to attend ceremonies et cetera, while the latter sometimes are not able to do so. This has also contributed to the perception that Zanzibaris are lazy and not able to meet the requirements for employment, as explained by Mjasiriamali:

> *"If I give a task to a girl from Shinyanga or Tabora, she will do it promptly, but not our children. They always have excuses; they do not see the importance of the contract they signed. It is true that they are lazy even if I try to push them... They always complain... Mainland people take over our jobs".*

Moreover, some social events, such as the death of her spouse, mean a woman has to meet conditions that affect her employment. Showing this Mjasiriamali continued: *"According to religion, the woman has to stay inside for four months just to make sure that she is not pregnant, and if she is pregnant the husband's relatives will recognise the child as theirs".* However, some see this priority of social events as a sign of irresponsibility and, as Mjaji, a male hotel manager, said, are of the opinion that "*sometimes people use religion to protect their laziness*".

Nevertheless, different people have different ideas of what being hospitable means, and people fulfil this in diverse ways. For example, those who perceive of their commitments in the workplace as more important than attending these social events, might financially contribute to these, and attend other social activities when they have time off from work. Some people have taken this idea of hospitality to the tourism business. For some women this opened possibilities

to enter the tourism industry, as illustrated by Mkombozi, a male member of a tourist organisation:

> *"People have not studied the Islamic religion well; if they had studied it, they would have realised that it emphasises tourism. I cannot quote the exact verse, but the Quran says that we should be hospitable to any guests, regardless of their religious affiliation. It is enough to say that Islamic religion encourages tourism. Regardless of their religion, we should still be hospitable to guests. By being hospitable to the guest will also make the guest value you."*

The emphasis in Zanzibari society and culture on being hospitable, next to economic motives, led to increasing numbers of women engaging in the tourism industry, either through employment or by establishing their own ventures, as chapters 6 and 7 will show.

However, working in the tourism industry asks them to negotiate certain religious principles, as Mjasiriamali, a female entrepreneur, explained:

> *"We know that tourists would like to drink alcohol as a part of their meal. So although I am a Muslim, I have to serve beer in the hotel. As a matter of fact, one cannot open a hotel that does not serve alcohol. Others come to relax and they can't relax without beer. The French do not drink water, they only drink wine, out of thirty Frenchmen, only three drink water"*.

5.3 The tourist environment

In the following paragraphs I will describe how the interviewees construct Zanzibar's tourist environment. To a degree, their construction is influenced by the information they retrieve from social media, available statistics, as well as information given by leaders on how tourism contributes to the economy. On the basis of these, some interviewees argue that tourism is an important tool for economic development. As Mtanashati, a male hotel manager, claimed: *"I can say that about 75 per cent of Zanzibar's economy depends on tourism. And since the tourism industry is growing in Zanzibar, the more it expands the more people engage in the industry"*. In

this perception tourism is argued to create opportunities for local and non-local people. This perception confirms other findings in tourism studies, which claim that tourism increasingly provides additional livelihood strategies for local people, including those who are marginalised in mainstream economy, such as women (Ashley, et al., 2000, 2001). Mtanashati confirmed this, saying: "*I can say that tourism is like a redeemer for women, because many of them engage in various activities in tourism".*

The increasing number of tourists and investments in tourism has direct and indirect economic consequences for people. For example, the higher number of employees in tourism enterprises increased the number of potential customers for local enterprises in both urban and rural areas. Explaining this, Waleo, an employee of the Karibu Hotel, said: *"Most of us here are fishermen, we mainly depend on selling our fish and sardines to the hotel employees"*. This motivated local people to make a greater effort to meet the demands of their customers. Where men used to spend much of their time playing "*bao games*", they now engage in economic activities, such as fishing and handcrafting, which they started to see as a form of social security. Waleo confirmed: *"The work gives them security, even when they borrow money somewhere they know that they will be able to pay it back".*

Tourism therefore contributes to the development of other sectors, as Mtalii, a male governmental official, reported:

> *"I can say that tourism is the mother or the catalyst of all the other sectors because it promotes those. For example, it enhances the agricultural sector because when more tourists come in, more food is needed and therefore the agricultural sector is obliged to produce more food".*

Furthermore, it boosts local people's traditional activities, such as fishing. Mtalii explained this by saying:

> *"The fishing sector is very much dependent on the tourism sector. When people come to Zanzibar they know that they are coming to an island, they do not expect to come and eat beef here, they want to eat sea food. And if they expect to find sea food it means that the fishermen will benefit a lot from this"*.

Furthermore, all interviewees consider tourism as an important economic sector, as Mkombozi said:

> *"I do not think it is the leading sector. I cannot know for sure, but I don't even think it is the second sector. I don't deny that it contributes to our economy. Of course it does, but I do not even think it is the second. Though the market for cloves has fallen, I still think that agriculture is the leading sector, or business, but not tourism"*.

However, other people comment that tourism can be important if the government makes a deliberate effort to manage it. Mkombozi commented that:

> *"The government should be blamed because it takes a lot of money from the investors. The investors are the ones who are killing tourism. They do not have good intentions. For example, these hotels; let me tell you a secret: we have our own breweries here, and our own food processing industries here, but when, for example, Italians come to a hotel, they come already equipped with all the beverages from where he came from. Now how is that going to benefit us? It is like I come to my hotel, for example, and eat octopus and some other stuff and I am charged through another account, how is that going to benefit me?"*

Thus, although tourism has the potential to positively affect the lives of people in Zanzibar, some argue that the government should take steps to make sure it does, and to stimulate tourism even more.

In addition, increased tourist activities attract people from different sectors to come and invest in various activities, as Mtalii explained: "*If you go around the city you can find many sculptors and statues displayed in the shops. These people are not Zanzibaris but they sell commodities*

amounting up to 200,000 to 400,000 shillings (80-160 euro) *depending on what the tourists will buy".* Likewise, Matarajio, a male potter, affirmed that:

> *"Tourism is like a factory; Zanzibar does not have private factories like in mainland Tanzania, like manufacturers of mattresses and other things where people get employed. In farms and hotels, people benefit, they benefit in the villages when they get compensated, the young people also benefit by working as tour guides; the government benefits by collecting taxes for the hotels. Even here in town, tourists come into hotels and find people like me who help them with their luggage if they accept the help. So everyone works in his or her own section. Those who have cars also benefit, even those who have farms can sell them at a price agreed between him and the buyer."*

So, as these quotes confirm, the development of tourism creates a diverse range of economic opportunities for the people of Zanzibar.

Over the years, the growing number of tourists visiting Zanzibar has become part of everyday life. According to Mdadisi, a male free-lancer in the tourism industry: "*There are more tourists than Zanzibaris, there are six thousand tourists per week and there are five to six hotels that can accommodate tourists from one whole plane, so there are more tourists than citizens".* To some people, the increased number of tourists is an opportunity to learn about foreign culture on site. Giving his opinion Zawadi, an employee of Mnarani Cottage, said:

> *"I have never travelled that far abroad, maybe just to Kenya but not to Europe, yet I know the different types of Europeans for example I know what the Greek look like. It has also given me good ideas. For example, there is a certain plant that is used in the streets as a traditional medicine, but for us here in the hotel we use it as one of the ingredients of the foreign dishes. So there is a man whom I gave the idea of selling it to hotels and now he is benefitting from it, rather than just letting it grow at his compound and wither without being used. So if he hadn't known, he wouldn't have benefitted from it."*

Through tourism people get a chance to learn about other cultures, develop new ideas, and as Mdadisi explained, learn other languages:

> *"I try to speak the languages that tourists speak whenever I meet and work with them. As a result, language is not a problem, because I can speak good English, my children can speak English and Italian. Many people in my neighbourhood speak foreign languages".*

Contrary to these positive views on tourism, there are some who think it forces people to participate in unacceptable behaviour.

> "*Many people in Zanzibar perceive hotels as places where all kinds of bad things take place, such as prostitution and drunkenness. So, many parents forbid their children to work in hotels to prevent them from doing bad things. That's why one will find that there are few Zanzibaris working in this industry, especially women. So, people from the mainland and even other countries like Kenya and Uganda take advantage of the opportunities here. Women who are willing to work in hotels, claim to face sexual harassment from their bosses. Because of this, they sacrifice their jobs",*

Amani, a female front office employee, revealed.

More so, tourism is thought to have a negative impact on the local people of Zanzibar. For example, due to tourism developments, people are separated from their traditional homes, as most building activities take place along the coastline of Zanzibar. This also affects their fishing activities. Although some local people sold the land to the investors willingly, they have only restricted access to other parts of land, especially around beach areas. Reason for this is that hotel and landowners tend to secure the beaches to ensure the safety of tourists. Explaining this, Mkombozi lamented: *"People's land has been taken; this forced them to move to unfertile coral-reef areas. Also, they cannot fish around those areas because their access has been restricted by the landlords and hotel owners".* Thus, due to tourism development, some local people have been

restricted in their economic activities, while, as the following quote shows, they also struggle to get employed in the industry. Zawadi said:

> *"When our elders sold the land, they expected to gain benefits through employment but to my surprise, it is difficult for local people to get jobs in the hotels. All investors give priority to Kenyans and people from the mainland, not Zanzibaris".*

Likewise, growing investments in tourism in Zanzibar gave local people the feeling that the industry belongs to foreigners rather than to natives. Foreigners and Tanzania mainlanders own most of the suitable areas for tourist activities. Because of tourism, land prices went up and many local people can no longer afford to buy land. Mtalii, a male governmental official, explained this by saying:

> "*Foreigners come here, buy huge plots of land, fence them and are the cause of inflated land prices, so the citizens no longer own land. So foreigners have a large impact, because they buy all the strips of land in the coastal area at very high prices (TZS. 500 million to 1 billion (200,000 – 410,000 euro's). Now will the poor fisherman in the village ever be able to buy land again?"*

Furthermore, local people have the feeling that the investors are stigmatising them, and that there is no relation between locals and investors. Mtalii, a male employee of Mnarani Cottage, illustrated this:

> *"The investors stay away from us, they do not even want to employ us. The problem is that these foreign investors are given the wrong impression about Zanzibaris, that Zanzibaris are not capable, that they are arrogant, that they are Islamic fundamentalists, that the Zanzibaris do not want hotels in their area. So the Zanzibaris have a bad reputation".*

5.3.1 Women's participation in tourism

The construction of the tourist environment is shaped by people's ability to participate in it, and it simultaneously shapes people's ability to participate. As argued before, local people

experience limitations in entering the tourism industry. The barriers for local people to participate in tourism include, for example, huge initial costs if they want to start their own business and the difficulties they experience when they try to join the already established business networks. Emphasising these barriers, Mkombozi, a male member of a tourist organisation, listed:

> *"The first one is education; the second one is lack of a network (this means knowing each other). If a Zanzibari seeks employment at the Kempiski hotel where the manager is a Kenyan, he will not be employed, the manager would rather employ a fellow Kenyan. Zanzibaris do not have a network".*

Although the growing tourism industry does include education and training facilities, it is difficult for some local people to access these. Explaining education costs, Mamaa, a housewife, said: "*I want to send my children to Maruhubi but it is also expensive, it costs TZS 700,000 to 800,000 (280 – 330 euros) for a single child depending on the type of course. However, it is difficult for me to raise such a sum of money".* Another related barrier interviewees mentioned is the competition in finding a job. As Mamaa, a housewife, continued: *"Even when they go to school, it takes a long time for them to find work and as a result their certificates lie idle at home. Like my wife, she has been looking for a job and has been unsuccessful".*

Local people argue the segregation between Zanzibaris and non-Zanzibaris is the result of favouritism in the sector. This was concluded from people's opinions based on experiences of their relatives. According to Mamaa, for example: *"Unlike Tanzania mainlanders and Kenyans who work in the same hotel all seasons. It is difficult for Zanzibaris to work in a hotel for two consecutive seasons."* Most local people, like Mdadisi, blame this on the management: *"When someone goes to seek employment, they will first look at his or her culture".* Also rules and norms defined by employers create barriers for local people to be employed in the tourism industry, as Muumini, a male member of a tourism organisation, explained: *"I am also an employer, so I know*

this; we prefer it if the ladies wear short dresses and for a Zanzibari woman, even if you pay her ten million, it will not be possible for her to dress like that".

As the last quote shows, Zanzibari moral values and norms create barriers for women to participate in the tourism industry, confirming what was argued before. In most cases, women are not allowed to work in tourism, especially not in hotels and in entertainment. However, people have different feelings about this. Niponipo, a male governmental official, explained how he felt: *"For me working in a hotel for women and men is okay, there is no point in ignoring these possibilities while we are suffering from poverty".* Msongo on the other hand had a different opinion and said: "*Many men who work in tourism own a hotel, and owning a hotel asks a lot of things. Women should look for other ways, which also asks of them to think and know what they should do in order to be in line with tourism".*

Although there are local people engaged in tourism, some, especially young people, are still reluctant to do so. According to Waleo, a male employee of the Karibu Hotel, *"many young people perceive hotels as a dirty industry. They would rather beg for money than engage in the industry that will make them be seen as rebels."* Mkombozi explained one of the reasons for this: *"To be honest, negative perceptions are still in people's mind. The general community understands that those who are working in this sector are prostitutes. Moreover, they know that workers handle alcohol and pork, which has been forbidden to all Muslims".* So, working in the tourism industry has negative connotations for some people in Zanzibar, especially when women are concerned. One reason is the association with prostitution, as Muumini said:

> "*If you hear the stories of most women working in the hotels, it makes you cry. They even become prostitutes because of working in that industry. They start slowly, then they get used to it, then they become prostitutes, sleeping with men for money. So even when they get kicked out of the hotel they can simply become commercial sex workers".*

These negative connotations strengthen the perception that it is unacceptable for women to work in the tourism industry. As a result, working in a hotel might cause women to be rejected

by their families and other institutions, while also affecting their possibilities for a respectable marriage. Mfadhili, a male member of a tourist organisation, revealed that:

> "*For young unmarried girls to go inside a room when they do not know who is staying there and if it is done behind closed doors, that is not really sensible. Even housekeeping is an issue. This may jeopardise her possibilities of getting married".*

On top of this, as Amani said: *"In many hotels, the selection of employees includes a lot of sexual harassment from some managers, demanding to be bribed".* However, the idea is that these kinds of bribes are met by non-Zanzibaris more often than by Zanzibaris.

As said, the opportunities for women to enter the tourism industry are also limited due to family politics concerning respect and dignity, combined with the fact that many women are not allowed to make their own decisions. According to Msongo, a female governmental official, "*The big challenge for women is that sometimes their husbands do not allow them to work, simply out of jealousy. This is because people still think that tourism has a lot of prostitutes and drunkards".* The negative perception of tourism also leads to some parents becoming protective of their children, forbidding them to work in hotels and restaurants. Mhamasishaji, a female governmental official, emphasised this: "*Parents forbid their children to work in hotels for the purpose of preventing them from doing bad things".* Furthermore, the perceptions on tourism as explained here combined with the prevailing norms and values, make people hesitant to enter into the industry, even when they have acquired some qualifications. As Mkombozi, a male member of a tourist organisation, explained:

> *"There are some students who studied here, but refused to be interns at hotels simply because they were not allowed to. I had to talk to their parents but they did not understand me. They said they don't want their children to work in a hotel, not even to take one step inside a hotel. So these are some of the restrictions".*

Thus, while tourism brings about opportunities for local people to engage in economic activities, cultural constraints, negative perceptions of the tourism industry, and the powerful position of foreign investors, limit them in taking advantage of these opportunities.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has shown how in Zanzibar dominant norms and values prescribing how women should behave have led to diverse (re)constructions of the traditional environments of Zanzibar, which is mainly informed by Islam. In this environment discourses on 'respect', 'shame', 'decency' and 'hospitality' play a key role.

To remain respectful women are expected to stay within their traditional environments, which mostly involves the domestic sphere, restricting them from working in public environments. However, while some women are forced by their partners and/or families to remain within the boundaries of the domestic sphere, other women have themselves chosen to do so to keep their respectability, while yet others challenge this. Nevertheless, when women decide to resist the idea that they should remain within the domestic domain, they are seen as involving themselves in unacceptable practices and immoral behaviour. Yet, this is nuanced by results showing that there are different perceptions of what 'acceptable behaviour' is, and what Islam allows and disallows in this light.

This is closely related to decency, described here as behaviour that is acceptable and does not bring shame to the individual or the family/clan. Also in relation to decency the public/domestic dichotomy plays an important role, since it is thought to be indecent for a woman to enter the public sphere, while this is necessary to benefit from tourism. The dichotomy is reinforced by the importance of marriage in Zanzibar's society, which is often arranged by the families, and men are in the position to set the criteria to which a woman has to comply. Important criteria, as the results have shown, are modesty and housekeeping skills, both confining women to the boundaries of their homes. Women not being encouraged or even allowed to get an education reinforces this, as it limits them in breaking with traditional roles. Nevertheless, some women

are able to challenge the norms and values that restrict them in developing economic activities, and engage in public activities to gain an income. This is encouraged through governmental programmes focused on creating more equality between men and women.

Additionally, the interviews have shown the importance of hospitality as an aspect of respectable behaviour. Hospitality in Zanzibar predominantly means attending all kinds of social events, which as we have seen brings about some limitations in job opportunities. Nevertheless, hospitality as a key value within Zanzibari culture opened up possibilities for women to enter the tourism industry, as working in this particular sector can be seen as hospitable behaviour, granting them respect from society. They still have to negotiate norms and values while working.

While tourism does provide opportunities for women to join in economic activities, the interviews have shown that people have different ideas about the importance of tourism for economic development in Zanzibar. Clearly, different interviewees construct the tourist environment and what it can offer local people differently. While some interviewees argue that tourism has led to a whole range of economic opportunities, others doubt this. Additionally, some interviewees argued that being in contact with tourists provides them with an opportunity to learn about other cultures and get into contact with new ideas, while others argue that working in tourism means being involved in unacceptable behaviour. Furthermore, negative perceptions of tourism are based on locals becoming restricted in their work, because land is being bought for tourism developments, while they also struggle to become employed in the tourism sector. This struggle to participate in tourism is caused by high initial costs, limited access to necessary networks, low levels of education, and fierce competition on the labour market. Moreover, some of the people I interviewed argued that foreigners are favoured over locals when it comes to getting a job. And as the results have shown, especially women are limited in participating in the tourism industry due to the reasons mentioned above, but also because of negative connotations associated with working in this sector, such as prostitution.

Chapter 6: Female Entrepreneurs in Zanzibar

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will focus on women who started a business in tourism. I will show how women enact their daily environments as female tourism entrepreneurs, and how they deal with the norms and values as described in the previous chapter. Based on my results, I will discuss three different groups of female entrepreneurs: women who are engaged in tourism as manufacturers of various tourist products (producers); women who sell products and services in their shops and salons (retailers); and women owning larger tourism enterprises (distributers).

6.2 Women's motivation to work in tourism as entrepreneurs

Female entrepreneurs deploy various strategies to enter into the tourism industry depending on their position within the family, as well as their skills and level of formal education. Whether they go into tourism is also influenced by their place of residence in relation to tourist sites; chances are higher if they live in the city, along beaches or along the roads that tourists use to travel to hotels and attractions. *"Initially, our group was dealing with a spice farm, but after we realised that we were located along a road that goes to the hotels and beaches, we decided to make soap, using spices and seaweeds, and sell these to the tourists"*, explained the chair of the Kidoti Women's Group.

Obviously economic factors play a role in women becoming tourism entrepreneurs. For many of the women interviewed a reason to become an entrepreneur was the desire to meet the financial needs of their family, either complementing or assisted by their male counterparts. Explaining this, Taji, a retailer, said: *"We have sent our children to private schools, so I have to make sure that I sell products and earn enough money, and that I can also contribute in paying fees and other bills at home"*. So feeling responsible for supporting their extended family members pushes the majority of women to enter into tourism, as explained by Dhahabu, a retailer: *"I am helping my*

younger siblings with their education and I also help my parents, because they are growing old and weak".

Few women, like Mwali, a retailer, were driven by the need to be independent from their parents and husbands, as well as getting autonomy over household resources:

> "*If I stay at home I'll just sleep in and expect to be given everything. If I need anything I will have to ask someone who might be having his own plans with the money, but if I have my own business like this, I become independent and am able to get anything I want*".

Other women started a business in the tourism industry in order to become economically independent after divorcing their husbands, as illustrated by Choka, a retailer:

> *"There were so many problems in our marriage… my children and I were starving, and still my husband would not allow me to go out and find something for our family. But after the divorce, I was able to work at Forodhani beach"*.

During this study, I found that divorce is quite common among Zanzibari women engaged in various tourism enterprises, as Bimkubwa, a producer, explained: "*According to Muslim tradition, women may be married and divorced several times"*. After a divorce, the women have to take full responsibility for their children, even after they get married again. Explaining this situation, Mkejina, a distributer, said: *"Even if you get married to another husband after a divorce, that man will not take on responsibility for his stepchildren. So I have to make an effort myself to provide for my children when I marry another man"*. Moreover, irresponsible behaviour of male counterparts motivated the majority of women to become a tourism entrepreneur, as explained by Upendo, a producer: *"As for my husband, he just gave me a lot of children, but he never provided us with anything at home"*.

Three of the women interviewed entered into business after having been employed in other tourist enterprises, which made them aware of the potentials of the tourism industry. Through experiences, knowledge and networks acquired at their jobs, they obtained enough knowledge,

skills and social capital to enable them to start their own businesses. Mchana, a distributer, affirmed this by saying:

> *"I was ticketing and working at the reception desk in big hotels where met many people and made new friends. Apart from that, I learnt to be confident, to be creative and also to be a leader, because they gave me a position of leadership at a very young age"*.

6.3 The ways women enter the tourism industry

In the upcoming sections I will discuss three different groups of entrepreneurs: producers, retailers and distributers. One third of these women are members of women's groups that are established for different purposes and in different forms. Some groups are set up through governmental organisations aiming for collaboration between women, and supporting them by providing business management skills. Examples of these groups include the Kidoti Women's Group and the Tupendane Women, both located in rural Zanzibar. Other groups are established for the purpose of getting resources for handicraft production. The roles of these groups is to give product specifications to the group members, buy directly from the members or find markets and agree on the payment terms with members. It is, thus, important to distinguish strategies for three different groups of female entrepreneurs: producers, retailers and distributers.

6.3.1 Producers

The first group I will discuss are the producers. These women do not deal with tourists personally and directly, but they use their groups or intermediaries (retailers and distributers) to sell their products to the end users. This group is dominated by Zanzibaris, often married, who use their knowledge of Swahili art to produce a variety of handicrafts and cosmetic items. To make handicrafts is a traditional leisure activity for native Zanzibari women. Zanzibari women furnish and decorate their homes by producing décor items using available raw materials such as raffia palms and herbal colours. This tradition helped many Zanzibari women to enter into tourism as producers. Bimkubwa explained:

"I used to make mats, baskets for my own use at home, but because I wanted to earn some household money, I started displaying them at home and got some customers. However, after seeing other women joining groups, I also joined and now we are making various items."

While some women started selling products with traditional designs that are normally used in their own households, their interactions with tourists made them change the design of their products in line with the preferences of tourists, so as to sell more products. Other women completely transformed their former businesses, and opted to make products that they think are better suited to meet the demands of tourist markets. For example, Gift changed from a food processing business to handcrafting: *"Since I could not get customers to buy my cookies in the streets I decided to learn handcrafting from this group".*

Moreover, due to the increased number of producers, women had to become more competitive, and developed various strategies to get more customers. One of the strategies is to find more information about the customers in order to improve their products. As Maendeleo explained:

"We had a certain order from England, and the customer wanted 3000 pieces of soap. But before we processed, we sought some information about what they would like the packaging to look like. So this packaging that you see here was designed for this group of customers. We always try to find out what tourists prefer and make products that will suit their interests".

Since many producers work within their household premises, one of the strategies is to get connected with other women working in the industry by joining women's groups. Many women argued that joining these groups not only enables them to sell their products more easily, but participation in these groups also makes them more competitive as they combine their efforts. This can be illustrated through the case of the Kidoti women's group: *"We sat together in order to discuss and find a solution that would make us sell more of our products than others".* Some

women joined already established groups while others decided to establish their own group within their neighbourhoods. As Mkemwema explained:

> *"We thought that we should form a group, because as they say 'kidole kimoja hakivunji chawa'* (a proverb which can be literally translated as *one finger cannot kill lice*)*. This is because together we can share our ideas and be able to produce many more products that can enable us to get the distributers to market our goods."*



Figure 6.1 Tusife Moyo Women's group, photo by Nelly Maliva

The establishment of these women's groups is partly the result of the government policy to support women's efforts in income-generating activities. Established groups are eligible for governmental support, such as loans and training. These provisions are also a motivation for the majority women to join and take advantage of these groups, *"I joined a group because the government promised to assist us with training, loans and places to sell our products"*, affirmed Maendeleo. Depending on the type of group, some women had to undergo some training in order to be qualified and accepted as members of the groups. Joining these groups guaranteed them a regular income, mainly because distributers who have access to a wide range of market

networks own some of the groups. Mkemwema insisted that: *"I am really proud of this group, because I get my money immediately after handing over my products to the manager"*.

Moreover, nearly all women felt that joining a group exposed them to an environment that broadens their knowledge of tourism and its benefits. Hazina, for example, said: *"Yes, for me it pays to join groups because it gives you the chance to exchange views. If you do not know something, you will find someone in the group who does know. In this way you can easily help each other"*. The groups have also helped the women to advance in terms of their skills in producing various items. As Maendeleo stated: *"It is through working here that I learned how to package our products, take care of customers and speak with people. These helped me to put more meaning into whatever I do now, otherwise, I would have been the same"*. Women also receive other direct and indirect benefits, including personal fulfilment from the skills they learn and the products they produce. As Maendeleo explained: *"By working in the group, my desire to be employed, which I was striving for for many years, has also been quenched*".

Furthermore, established groups have helped producers to start using other available materials to develop different products for tourists. Since women traditionally engage in farming activities, like seaweed harvesting, producers within the same group have access to products like seaweeds, spices and cloves. Their ability to access these kinds of materials enabled them to diversify their use of materials to make other products such as cosmetics during off-seasons on the farms. Confirming this Umoja said: *"We are using spices such as cloves, lemon grass, and cinnamon from our farms to make bars of soap, creams, medicine and oils that are used in spas. We sell our products during the tourist seasons in Zanzibar."*



Figure 6.2 Upendo Women's Group, female producers of bags and dresses in Stone Town City, photo by Maria Hanson

Even though women use various strategies to work in the tourism industry, they also make sure they can fulfil their domestic obligations. Joining groups as a strategy allows them to work only a few days a week at these groups, leaving them with sufficient time to take care of their household responsibilities. In the Kidoti group, as Hazina explains, *"it is two days per week* […] *So I can do other home activities before I go to the group"*. Likewise, Umoja was motivated to join the group because of the schedules that do not interfere with her domestic obligations: *"It is because I attend to the group's activities only twice a week, on Thursdays and Sundays"*.



Figure 6.3 Sasik Women's Group in Stone Town, photo by Nelly Maliva

The interviews have shown that domestic obligations in some cases constrain female producers. Women cope with these constraints by working extra hard, so that they are able to fulfil their role as housewives. As a result, they partially commit their time to the tourism industry and earn a minimum income. They only interact with their fellow women, who are members of the same group. These women, although part of the tourism industry, stay within the premises of their home. They hand over their products to others to be taken to the tourist markets. Despite their backstage position, their indirect interaction with tourism has enabled them to change from being fulltime housewives into female entrepreneurs. Their participation demonstrates their agency to take advantage of existing systems such as established women's groups, retailers and distributers, as well as supportive government agencies. To a certain extent, these women have been able to negotiate traditional gender roles, while at the same time these are reproduced by women still fulfilling their domestic responsibilities and staying within their domestic premises.

6.3.2 Retailers

Retailers are women who deal directly with customers at the markets. Compared to the producers I interviewed, the retailers were more often divorced or single and from the mainland

(Tanzania and Kenya) than from Zanzibar. Their activities include approaching customers, informing them about the products, and convincing them to buy these. Their work places are located in the busy tourist sites in the city of Stone Town and along the beaches. Due to their activities these women frequent public areas, where they "*display their faces*". Retailers in tourist markets spend most of their time finding customers, although they sometimes travel out of the city for the purpose of selling products, and finding other products for their shops. At the same time, they are required to look after their children and husbands. In the upcoming paragraphs I will discuss how retailers use diverse strategies to deal with the expectations from the tourism industry, as well as the implications their work has for their personal lives.

One strategy in dealing with the tourism industry is gaining an understanding of the market and the customers in order to develop strategies to get more clients than others. Explaining the sales strategies in the Zanzibari market, generally based on bargaining, Taji narrated:

> *"In order to win customers we have to understand them. We meet customers with different behaviours, some insult us, but we have to stay humble because all we need is their money. We can bargain: if he or she does not agree with the price... I will calmly ask 'How much do you have?', and then we reach consensus. The strategy is, I suggest a price for that particular item and ask the customer to also choose other items regardless of the loss that I may have to take on the first item. Because I have understood what she or he is willing to offer me, I can get a higher price that will allow me to bargain without having a loss."*

Another important strategy for retailers is to find a strategic place, a place where they can get to customers before other competitors do. This means finding places that are more open, and that enable them to see customers from a distance. When there is much competition, some women are forced to leave their shops and join the vendors to follow tourists along the beach. Taji emphasised that: *"With this business...if I don't get out of my shop and follow the customers, I might not sell anything the entire day".*

Vending is perceived to be the most cumbersome way of selling souvenirs. It is given the name *juicily*, which can literally be translated as direct exposure to the (tropical) heat of the sun. Nevertheless all sellers sometimes do it, including those who own shops and kiosks. According to Chiriku: *"If other people follow customers in the heavy sunshine why not me? Maasai run after clients in the sun, I and a few of us do it too and we sell our products"*.

Moreover, due to increased competition, few retailers find alternative markets by displaying their products in various international trade fairs, exhibitions and conferences in different places in and outside of Zanzibar. Mwali explained her exhibition experience: *"Going to the exhibitions helps us to get more customers for our products. We also get into contact with some customers who buy by orders. In this way we sell our products even during the low tourist seasons"*. Although this strategy helps them to get in contact with customers, sometimes they are required to travel further distances spending more than one night away from their family. This can be problematic if a husband is not willing to take over the domestic responsibilities of his wife during her absence, as Chakachua mentioned: *"My husband never allowed me to travel, he does not believe that I will be safe there... He is also not willing to help take care of our children when I am away"*.

The fierce competition forces few women to change from selling handicrafts, clothes and cosmetics, which are perceived to be suitable for women, to other activities such as selling paintings and sculptures, which are associated with men. Wahi explained that: "*I sell very few handicraft products here because we are with many*. *But at the moment, many tourists do want to buy paintings. This made me want to learn how to paint by looking at how others did it, and now I can make my own paintings as you see here"*. Apart from painting being viewed as a business for men, it is also a business done by people from the mainland. This is due to the Islamic norms in which working on paintings and sculptures is perceived to be encouraging idolatry.

Retailers are not only confronted with business challenges, but they also have to negotiate particular values and norms. For example, due to the fact that their work involves direct contact

with tourists, nearly all local people think they are involved in 'immoral' activities. Tourism is perceived as an industry that puts women are at risk due to the nature of their business, such as mingling with different people. Asante, for example, said: *"People in my neighbourhood don't understand me at all. Just imagine, one of my neighbours asked me: 'why do you want to display your face in town? Don't you know that it is tarnishing your dignity?'"*. Moreover, when women engage in income-generating activities, they are thought to be greedy, and to not acknowledge their husband's efforts to provide daily bread for their family.

Responding to these negative perceptions, few retailers get their husbands involved in their businesses. Dhahabu, for instance, involves her husband, a civil servant supporting trade in Zanzibar, by asking him to obtain information about, for example, trade fairs. Involving her husband as a business advisor helps her to negotiate her role as a wife, and in doing so she is able to spend more time on her business. Few retailers have partnerships with their husbands and share their business responsibilities, as well as their responsibilities at home. Chakachua stated that: *"My husband takes over the business when I go home to see the children. Moreover, we agreed that he should deal with all issues that require travelling. This enables me to be close to our young children"*. Thus, by working together with their husbands, these women are able to balance their working lives with their household responsibilities. However, not all women agree on this, and two of divorced women think that being divorced from their husbands gives them greater freedom in their work. Choka, for instance, stated that: *"Now that I am divorced, I can conduct business without the disturbances I used to get from my ex-husband"*.

Women in this group also face challenges due to the long time they spend in their workplaces, as not all husbands are equally supportive of their wives having a job. One of these challenges is the reluctance of their husbands to allow them to work in public spaces. By divorcing their husbands, and when possible remarrying men who accept their work, women face up to these challenges. Asante reported: *"I am now enjoying my work, because my second husband works in the tourism sector too"*. Other women complained that their tendency to be away from home for

a long time created space for their husbands to marry a second wife. As mentioned by Taji: *"As you know, men are sometimes not tolerant. My husband has broken with the Christian principles and married another woman. I have decided just to take my time in this business now"*.

Relying on their own decisions and perceptions is also a strategy that retailers use to deal with the socio-cultural barriers that forbid women to work in public spaces. Understanding the potentials of the tourism industry has enabled them to transform their negative perceptions of being in public spaces into seeing these as a place where they earn their income and advance their knowledge. According to Zawadi: *"People in the streets keep saying that we are displaying our faces in town. I personally don't care, what matters for me is to make ends meet"*. Few other women also feel that working in tourism keeps them busy rather than just being at home all day. As testified by Mbele: *"When I work, I return home at 6 p.m. tired, so I do not have the time to go and do other useless activities"*. Besides, by meeting people from different regions and countries, tourism gives them an opportunity to learn about other cultures and broaden their horizon. Two women changed their lifestyles by imitating the ways in which other people live. For example, Mbele admired the way tourists plan their activities in advance. She said: *"I admire the tourists because they plan everything that they do beforehand. When we see some tourists who are as young as we are come here we know that they are financially well-off. But this is because they plan and they reserve money to fulfil their plans"*.

Retailers perceive tourism as a space where they can manage their own lives rather than having to comply with the norms, values and rules enforced by their environments. In other words, it increases the ability of women to make their own choices in terms of marriage and work. So their working status helps them to choose whom they wish to marry, instead of other people choosing for them or forcing them. According to Chiriku:

> *"I think marriage is not that important before one reaches a certain age. One must first manage one's own life before thinking about getting married. This is because one has to*

choose a man that wants to be her husband. Also these days men look for women who have their own job, so that they can economically support each other in life."

As the results show, female retailers negotiate their socio-cultural environments, and try to create spaces that allow them to spend the required time at their workplaces. They do this by involving their husbands in their businesses, by marrying men who support their work and are willing to help take care of the household, by divorcing their unsupportive husbands, or by getting their families or a domestic help to take over their domestic responsibilities. This in contrast to most producers, who are still bound to their domestic roles, and because of this are limited in their work activities.

6.3.3 Distributers

The group of distributers consists of female entrepreneurs who operate in mainstream tourism businesses by owning (large-scale) enterprises such as tour operating companies, hotels and curio shops. The distributors I interviewed were all from Zanzibar, but their marital status clearly differed from that of producers. Their role in the tourism industry is mainly to indirectly provide products and services to tourists, and to link producers to tourist markets. Their customers are organisations that provide services to tourists, such as hotels, and therefore they rarely deal directly with individual tourists. As explained by Maua: *"We almost completely depend on hotels and tourists apart from our foreign market. Additionally, we sell products to the guests through our shops in Stone Town"*. They deal with the complex tourist environment where they need to negotiate with foreign companies and organisations. This work exposes them to people from different countries and with different statuses.



Figure 6.4 A female owner of a tour operating company in Kilindi and Nungwi in rural Zanzibar, photo by Nelly Maliva

Many distributers started a long way back, in the sense that they gained experience in almost all types of entrepreneurship identified in this study. Next to this, few women have had jobs in both tourism and non-tourism businesses. The women in this group decided to start their own enterprises for various reasons. Two of them were motivated to start their businesses by making use of the opportunities that presented themselves during earlier employments, such as networks and the necessary information to start up their ventures. Other women were frustrated with their work's tight schedules and long days in the office. Establishing their own companies was perceived as a way to negotiate their work and household obligations. They felt that owning a business would give them more freedom, since they could delegate some responsibilities to their subordinates, and sometimes use technologies such as the internet to work from home. Mchana, for example, said:

"I was able to continue with my work when I was in bed during my maternity leave because of the internet and telephone facilities. It was also possible to do this because it is my own company".

In order to be able to survive in a competitive tourist environment, distributers use various strategies, including networking, making alliances with other companies and joining industry organisations such as the Zanzibar Association of Tourism Investors (ZATI). This part of their work involves attending meetings, having conversations and participation in workshops. These activities also mean that they are in direct contact with other men. For example, out of 110 ZATI members, there were only three women, as mentioned by Mchana: *"I was the only woman when this started in 2003, but at least now two other women have joined the association"*. Taking traditions into consideration that restrict direct contact between men and women who are not related, these contacts create challenges in their families as well as in society at large. *"It was difficult for my husband to accept my participation in our association, since it involves meetings with other men"*, said Mchana.

This position offers them an opportunity to gain more income, and to broaden their horizon. Thus, these women become more independent and confident, and they have a stronger sense of autonomy over their lives and families. Society and their social environment can either acknowledge or challenge their stronger position in their family and society. The majority of entrepreneurs experienced challenges, like getting divorced from their husbands, who were reluctant to allow their wives to work. According to Juhudi, "*There was no peace at all with my first ex-husband, it was a disaster when I came home late from my job, and he could not understand it"*. Moreover, distributers also face challenges in balancing their business responsibilities with their domestic obligations. As Mapinduzi explained: *"We work long hours during the tourist high seasons, but for me, if I do not go home earlier, I will not find my husband at home. He will come back at a time that I do not even want to mention"*. Others experience challenges from the business society. For example, Mjasiriamali said: *"I always find my office doors are pinned in the*

morning. After investigating, I found out that my business neighbour does this because he does not want to see a woman working".

Furthermore, women also face challenges in the tourist market, such as competition. The increased number of tourist businesses has resulted in the emergence of new forms of business, including informal micro-entrepreneurs, who provide similar services, although they are not formally registered with the local authorities and professional organisations. Mjasiriamali complained: *"There are a number of beach boys who guide tours. They offer their services at cheap prices compared to ours. This is because they do not incur running costs such as rent, taxes and licenses".*

In response to these challenges in the market, women use different strategies including joining investors' associations such as the Zanzibar Association of Tourism Investors (ZATI), as stated above. In such organisations, which are mostly dominated by men, women are often selected as one of the few female representatives among many men. This is mostly done in order to be in line with the government policy that streamlines women's participation in economic activities. As Mchana explained: *"Because I was the only woman in ZATI, I was selected to be an association secretary"*. Several women also joined different worldwide tourist market networks in order to get a diverse range of tourists, including all-inclusive package tourists. Other women diversify their businesses by making their own products, like Mkejina: *"I do not depend on products from other sources, because I also have a manufacturing workshop"*. Again others changed their businesses, for example Mchana, owner of tour operating company in Stone town. She diversified her business by introducing an eco-tourism component in her company, *"The introduction of ecotourism in my company attracted many more tourists than before"*.

Contrary to retailers, nearly all distributers who are married involve their husbands or other family members in their businesses as a way of negotiating their gender roles. Mkejina said: "*He plays the role of a husband and a business partner, I really feel supported*". Other women use their income to pay for the daily needs of their households. In this way, their husbands feel supported

in carrying the burden of providing resources for their families. For example Maua told me that: *"I always pay for the children's school fees and buy most of the things we need at home. Sometimes I buy some presents for my husband"*. Moreover, distributers are able to employ qualified staff, which enables them to delegate some of their responsibilities and thus create time for their household responsibilities. Mchana claimed that: *"I always come to my office around ten o'clock after washing and feeding my children"*. Staying single is a strategy for some women to create more space to work independently in tourism. Twende said: *"I did not want to remarry after I lost my husband, because I wanted to make my dreams come true by doing business in tourism without being constrained by a man"*.

Thus, distributers' interactions with the tourist environment enabled them to be more autonomous and independent. They managed to challenge traditional norms and values, to financially contribute to the household, and take part in decision-making. Thus, instead of public space, and more specifically tourism in public space, being perceived as a space of 'displaying faces', distributers perceive it as a space they can benefit from in becoming more independent and autonomous.

6.4 Conclusion

As the results in this chapter have shown, women have different motivations to become entrepreneurs. They start working as an entrepreneur to contribute to the family finances; providing financial support to their extended families; or because they wish to become financially independent from their husbands and families. Few women were motivated to become entrepreneurs through their former jobs, which provided them with the necessary skills, knowledge and social capital to start their own enterprises. I have distinguished three groups of entrepreneurs: producers, retailers, and distributers.

Producers mostly make handicrafts, they sell their products to retailers to prevent coming into direct contact with tourists. Due to the high competition in this market, most of the producers have joined women's groups, which enable them to sell their products, combine their efforts,

gain more understanding of the tourism industry, and learn new skills, like how to use other materials. The government often facilitates these women's groups, providing them with loans and training. By working behind the scenes or at home, these women are able to combine their entrepreneurial activities with their household responsibilities. This could be argued as reinforcing traditional norms and values confining women to the space of the household. Nevertheless, by becoming an entrepreneur they have been able to challenge their domestic roles to a certain extent, showing how women have the agency to face up to traditional norms and values.

Other women became retailers, selling items to tourists. They have face-to-face contact with tourists, or 'display their faces' in public, and rather than perceiving the public domain as a restricted area, they understand it as a space full of opportunities. This shows, in line with Weick's enactment theory, how the cultural environment of Zanzibar is subject to multiple interpretations, and how these are either perceived as an opportunity or a constraint. Nonetheless, this resistance is not without consequences, and their social environment often perceives the behaviour of these female retailers as unrespectable. Thus, although retailers try to change their individual environments, they still feel constrained by their social environments. Moreover, retailers frequently have to travel for their work, which is often not accepted by their husbands. Women deal with this in two ways: either they divorce their husbands (which is allowed following Islamic principles), or they get their husbands involved in their work activities. In doing this, female retailers firmly take agency over their lives by resisting existing gender roles, and challenging the domestic/public dichotomy and its related classifications of acceptable behaviour for women.

The last group of female entrepreneurs are distributers, who own enterprises. While they are not in direct contact with tourists, they have to deal with members of other (foreign) companies or industry organisations, which involves contact with other men. They thereby challenge the traditional norms and values restricting women in having contact with men other than their

male partners. Through their work these women are able to earn a decent income, are exposed to the wider world, and experience greater independence, confidence and autonomy. However, as the results have shown, their husbands are not always supportive of their entrepreneurial activities, and in a similar way as retailers do, they either divorce their husbands or involve them in their businesses.

To sum up, by examining how women enact their environment as entrepreneurs, I gained a better understanding of the agency of female entrepreneurs in tourism in Zanzibar. I have shown the extent to which women make their own choices and/or are influenced by their interactions with other environments. Past experiences clearly form the basis for their current decisions. Many women in this research explained the way their experiences with marriage, family or work shaped their current choices. Indeed, sensemaking is, as Weick et al. (2005, p. 431) summarise, and this chapter underscores, answering the question 'what is the story?' emerging from retrospection, past experiences and dialogue with people who represent or act on behalf of larger social units as family, education, tourism or religion.

Chapter 7: Women Employed in Tourism

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will focus on women who are employed in the tourism industry, more specifically hotels plus affiliated bars and restaurants. On the basis of the interviews, I will describe how they enact their daily environments. I will first discuss women's motivations for becoming employees. Next, I will describe how these women managed to get jobs in hotels or restaurants. I do so by discussing front office and back office employees and managers. Since the qualifications of women play an important role in becoming employed, this will be discussed in the following section. Finally, I will show what challenges women face when they are employed in the tourism industry, and how they deal with these. This chapter ends with a preliminary conclusion.

7.2 Women's motivation to work in tourism

Women who work in hotels have diverse reasons to get employed. One motive to work in the hospitality sector is the desire to work, and the idea that working in a hotel is a satisfying job. Explaining her motivation, Angalia said:

> *"It was something that came into my heart; I just loved it although I did not know what the environment was like. Everybody was talking about hotel management, I just found myself loving it. I had a teaching post but I didn't like it, instead I chose to go for hotel management. I told my parents that I did not feel like being a teacher. I was happy because they gave me the freedom to choose the option that I wanted."*

Mwenzangu, who works as a cashier and waitress in a restaurant, said: *"It was my hobby, ever since I was a young girl. I used to admire this kind of work, when I saw air hostesses or advertisements on posters, I used to admire them a lot."*

Women were also motivated to work in tourism to improve themselves. Mwenzangu said:

> "*I loved debating since I was in class one. My interest was in English debates, because I liked to speak English. My interest in languages stimulated me to work in a hotel, since it involves speaking English with tourists, and by taking this job I would not only be able to talk to tourists, but also to improve my skills. Taking into consideration that I like to speak in public and that I was a Head Girl when I was in secondary school, it was logical for me to be interested in a job in a hotel, with the purpose of getting closer to the Mzungu* (white people)*."*

Most women, especially young women between 21 and 35 years, see their employment in hotels and restaurants as a stepping-stone that will enable them to fulfil their dreams. Nadhifu, a young lady who is working as a cashier, confirmed this: *"I do not plan to work here forever. Though it is very early to say this, but I want to work here for some time and then establish my own business".* Mtanashati, a young woman who is a front office manager, also said:

> *"I am not satisfied with my current position, but I take it into consideration that I am still young and I have all the time in the world. I still want to pursue further education in a different field, preferably accounting. I am planning to quit this job soon".*

Another young lady, Pendeza, added: *"To be honest, I do not like this job. I am here because I want to earn money to pay for the fees for my evening class"*.

Another woman, Sijali said:

> *"I work here because I just want to develop myself individually to the level of owning my own business, and employing myself instead of being employed. Hospitality, as a result, attracts women who like their job and those who dislike it. I never liked this job, what attracted me the most is that it is easy, and the fact that people who go for this sector can easily get a job compared to any other field of employment."*

Other women came into the tourism sector by chance, for example because of the many vacancies. As Natafuta, a front office worker, said: "*I finished training and got a job instantly"*.

Moreover, the work requirements in most cases fit with the educational profile of the majority of women, whose education is limited to primary and secondary school. As Natafuta explained: "*First of all, what attracted me were the courses on hospitality, they are less difficult*". In this respect, many of them perceive working in the tourism industry as a 'simple job' they can easily perform.

Economic factors also motivate women to work in hotels and restaurants. Sitakishari, working in the back office, explained that: "*My husband is not employed, worse still: we live in town and have to buy almost everything. We buy food, water and even firewood. This forced me to find a job in a hotel"*. Here too, the importance of women's household responsibilities came up. Borakazi, for example, said: *"It is the mother who takes care of the home, whether one likes it or not. A mother must cook food for the family, ensure that children go to school; she has to decorate the house and the like. She therefore has to find some money; she should not wait for her husband to do so"*. Few of the women are also motivated to work because their husbands are not able to completely provide for their family, which is especially the case in large families where the husband has more than one wife. It is common in Zanzibar for women in polygamous marriages to assume financial responsibilities. Explaining this, Natafuta said: "*Husbands will always come up with excuses, that their salary is not enough et cetera. Sometimes they have three or four wives. So it is a mother who would do anything to support her family*".

Other motivations to start working in the tourism industry are related to women's marital status. Divorce, for example, is one of the factors mentioned influencing women's motivation to work in hotels and restaurants. To explain this, Makini, a human resource manager in a hotel, said:

> *"Women in Zanzibar have really big problems, you may find a woman and her child abandoned and helpless. Even when she has not been abandoned, one may find that she lives with a husband who does not take any responsibility. He will go out to drink beer, enjoy himself and is preoccupied with his personal things..."*

While other women, who remained childless in their marriage, are motivated to get employed out of a sense of guilt. As Mwenzangu explained: "*Yes. That is a challenge; especially if you have no children with your husband, he feels like he is giving you money while you haven't done anything for him"*.

7.3 Entering the tourism industry

In this section, I will discuss three groups of employees: front office staff, back office staff, and managers. I will provide an insight in how women in these different groups enact the environments that belong to their particular position. It will become clear that these three groups have different ways of making sense of their environments. One important difference is the extent to which they are exposed to customers. Moreover, for each position there are different expectations that employees have to meet.

7.3.1 Front office staff

Front office workers include those who deal with tourists directly; they occupy positions such as receptionists, waitresses and bartenders. Most of the front office staff members I interviewed were relatively young, single and Christian women from mainland Tanzania. Front office workers have to provide services to the guests while the management watches them to ensure that these guests are satisfied. Their performance is assessed by the number of products they sell, and their management makes the general evaluation. The management pays them on the basis of the profits they make. Moreover, the performance of front office staff is also evaluated on the basis of the number of complaints they get. This is challenging, as the guests come from different places and behave differently. As Mtanashati reported:

> "*We receive people from different countries and everyone has their own behaviour and intentions. I have had some customers who ordered some drinks and then refused to pay, some tried to pay with debit cards, but had no money in their accounts. There are others who even use abusive language. But they are all our customers; it does not matter if they are stubborn, polite or whatever."*

It is difficult for front office workers to attune their services to their customers. Angalia, a waitress, explained:

> *"Some of the customers have problems; I may speak to them slowly, but feel that I have scolded them. 'Why do you speak to me using harsh words?' Sometimes they ask me to bring them something, and when I bring it over, they deny ordering it. They can say 'Is this way your boss taught you to do it?' even when I say 'Excuse me', that is the way it works here."*

Sometimes, the guests report the conflict to the manager, and in return a waitress is reprimanded and misses tips.

Front office work is especially attractive because of the tips that workers get by serving tourists directly. Explaining what it takes to work as a bartender, Natafuta explained: *"Normally I get a monthly salary of TZS 30,000 (equivalent of 18 Euros) from my employer. But with the tips from the guests, I may earn a total of 453 Euros per day during the high season"*. These rewards make front office work financially more beneficial than back office work. Mtanashati emphasised that:

> *"Financially, a teacher or any worker who waits until the end of the month to get his or her money cannot compare to me. Apart from that, some guests give me other precious items like cameras and other things, and if they decide to give money, they give me euros or dollars, so even if you get 10 euros or dollars per day, at the end of the month I may earn like 300 euros in addition to my salary."*

Apart from economic benefits, front office workers believe that their jobs provide them with opportunities to advance themselves. Meeting different people, for example, enables them to exchange ideas and take advantage of the diversity of customers they meet. Other women have succeeded to start their own business by establishing a network with hotel guests. Mshindi, for example, said:

> *"I can get in touch with people from different countries and facilitate them with full services such as ticketing, booking flights and accommodations. In short, I can facilitate*

tourists' journey from their home country to here. I also sell Precision Air[3] tickets. These are small things, but they help. So I get sufficient income from my salary and also from my company through profit, though it is seasonal."

Front office staff faces a number of challenges during their encounters with customers. Sometimes women face harassment from the customers, who think they are 'prostitutes'. Natakiwa narrates: *"I am really embarrassed by some customers, who think we are prostitutes, so they just harass us"*. Nevertheless, women continue to be polite to these customers to keep their job. However, few women use their working experience to avoid embarrassments, as Mtanashati said:

"I have received different kinds of people. An experience that has enabled me to even predict customer behaviour by knowing where he is coming from. If he is from Italy, India, South Africa, I easily know how to handle them. I see a hotel as a place of hospitality, and we workers, we are not very different from the nurses in the hospital. This way, I learned to endure the different attitudes of guests and find polite ways of pleasing them."

Sijali, who works as a bartender, said: *"I always tell them to make a distinction between the time I am on duty and my free time. If they want to talk to me, I tell them to meet me when I am off duty."*

Other challenges workers face emanate from customers' behaviour when they serve them. Cashiers, for example, may have to deal with untrustworthy customers who try to steal from the hotel. Mwenzangu, a cashier/receptionist in a five-star hotel in Kilindi said: *"I remember being challenged when one of the visitors paid using a fake bankcard"*. Sometimes, they also face challenges due to their fellow workers. Natakiwa mentioned an incident from the time when she was working in a five-star hotel: *"I was accused of making mistakes that I did not make. But I found out that it was a set-up from my fellow workers".*

[3] Tanzanian airline

7.3.2 Back office staff

Back office work includes both professional jobs, such as housekeeping and accountancy, and non-professional jobs, such as gardening and storekeeping. Also some (assistant) management functions are included in back office work. This is the category of employees who are not in direct contact with the guests. Contrary to the front office staff, most on the interviewees working in the back office are married. They make preparations enabling the front officer workers to do their work. Explaining her position, Changamkia, a housekeeper in a hotel in Stone Town, said: *"In my line of work, I do not meet a lot of people. Since I just work inside, I don't get the opportunity to see or meet most of the guests"*. Similar to front office workers, those working in the back office are accountable to the management. When they perform well they may get extra income from the management, as Furaha related: "*We do get tips, mostly from our employers, since we are the ones who make the environment clean for the guests".* In rare cases, they get tips from the guests, as explained by the front office managers: "*I tell you, everyone who works in a hotel gets tips: waiters, housekeepers and even cooks, if they prepare delicious food, they get some tips"*.

Although those working in the back office are limited in their contact with guests, this does sometimes occur, and these encounters with guests pose both opportunities and challenges. According to Changamkia, a housekeeper: "Hotels are the places where the guests stay long enough to get into contact with other people. So here I meet many wazungu (wazungu means Europeans and also implies white people) and see the way they organise their things. I really learn from them".



Figure 7.1 Female gardeners at a hotel in Nungwi village, photo by Nelly Maliva

The women I spoke to working in the back office believe that their encounters with people from different parts of the world have helped them to build confidence and self-understanding. Also, it enabled them to learn how to plan their activities, rather than doing things spontaneously. Explaining this Changamkia continued:

> "*We sometimes imitate their lifestyles. For example, seeing the way a husband and wife work together has helped me to understand that it is possible for men to do some of the activities that are perceived to be for women. I can now confidently ask my husband to help me out and it works*".

But there are also challenges. Cleaning, for instance, subjects women to unhealthy amounts of dust. Explaining this Tafuta said:

> *"Yes, that's what it is about. But sometimes one may find that the hotel is very far and I have to travel long distances to get supplies, since the hotels do not have a supplier. There is also the washing, plus the beds need to be cleaned and a lot of other things have to be done. The hotel management should ensure that we are provided with milk, because there is a lot*

of dust in the air when we are cleaning. So we need the milk to reduce the effects on our lungs. One person died because of chest problems. It seemed she did not get milk to counter the effects. Sometimes we have to take care of ourselves because if we keep on depending on the employer, it might be too late for us."

7.3.3 Managers

Managers have direct contact with the staff and are responsible for the business undertakings. It is their duty to make sure the performance of their staff complies with the hotel's mission: making profit. The performance of managers is measured according to the profit that the organisation makes, the more profit they make the higher their pay. Someone who makes the hotel a lot of profit is in a competitive position, because many hotels might like to hire her.

Sipo, a front office manager in one of the five-star hotels in Kiwengwa, explained what it takes to be a manager in the hotel:

"You have to understand the behaviour of your subordinates, like if they are hard-working or lazy. I work with around seven front office workers. Most of the time, I have to deal with workers who do not take their duties seriously; they come in late or sometimes do not show up for work at all. Sometimes these workers are good with the customers, but the problem is that they are not disciplined. […] This is a challenge; sometimes I am forced to plan double shifts in order to cover for the absentees. There are many challenges; the ability to face challenges is part of my work. Failing to deal with challenges means I am not able to perform well."

Managers also face challenges from having to comply with the standards set by the general hotel directorate. As Sipo explained:

"The standard that we have been given by the hotel forces us to be strict with our subordinates. I just face problems with the local women employed here. They are really not serious about their duties. When they get their salaries, they relax and forget to come to

work. The most prominent problem is that they are not willing to miss social activities and events even when they are scheduled to work at that time. They'd rather be fired."

In this situation, the managers who are also local, face challenges from their fellow local people, as Mshindi explained:

"The management cannot allow their staff to go whenever they want. Due to new contracts, we normally use attendance as the main criterion when evaluating the staff; by counting the number of permissions granted, sickness and other excuses. Generally, the attendance-related issues make up about 90 per cent of all criteria".

Another challenge female managers experience is the degree to which their subordinates accept to be managed by female managers. As Mtanashati explained:

"*However, I face many challenges, such as the older staff's envy. They don't want me to be their boss, since I am younger than they are.* (...) *Other staff members also opposed of me getting this position. We were with two girls at the front office, and I was picked. This caused a debate, and many questioned why they would employ someone from outside rather than promoting a staff member from within the organisation? But thank God, my boss stood firm and defended his choice. That is how I got this promotion."*

Sometimes the challenges managers face are perceived as supernatural. Mtanashati told me:

"There are more challenges than I can imagine. I have been subjected to many tests, including 'Swahili things'. For example, when my manager left for his holiday, he delegated the office responsibilities to me. To my surprise, I wake up in the morning with many cuts in my lap. The following day, I wake up and find my body is dirty, like someone who has worked in the field. But I concentrated on my prayers. You know that things were very bad for me; I thought they would rather kill me rather than let me be in charge. This happened just last year."



Figure 7.2 Female manager at a hotel in Bwejuu Village, photo by Edgar Shekania

7.4 Qualifications

As explained in the previous section women hold different positions in the tourism industry, partly as a result of their qualifications. One such qualification is education, and it became clear that many women are not able to compete because of their low level of education. Because of this, they find themselves limited in the kind of jobs or positions they can get, and they usually work in the lowest cadres of the organisation. Many women do low-skilled work, such as sweeping and cleaning. Mtanashati, a front office manager, emphasised that: *"A large number of women employed here work in the garden, cleaning the yard, because that is the kind of work that they do at home".* The women interviewed argued that especially skills and knowledge in hotel management and communication are important qualifications for working in the tourism industry. Moreover, they argued that to work in hotels they have to be able to provide services to tourists, in which they belief physical appearance plays a role. *"I studied food and beverages in college, so I applied for a job in the kitchen, but because I have a 'smiling face', the management advised me to work as a bartender",* said Natakiwa.

The majority of women have been employed because of their educational achievements, which are evidenced by their certificates. Explaining how she got a job, Tafuta, a back office employee,

said: "*I got employed as a housekeeper in this hotel because of my hotel management certificate; otherwise they would not have accepted me*". However, although hotels employ people with a minimum level of education, few women have been pursuing on-the-job and college training that enabled them to advance their careers. Educational qualifications and skills are understood as not only enabling an individual to get the posts they want, but also to maintain their employment. Tafuta explained that she was told: *"You are likely to get permanent employment, because many of the other employees have not acquired the required skills"*.

However, women's choices are limited due to employers classifying particular jobs as male and female. In general, positions in which on-time delivery, sometimes involving direct contact with customers, is required, are argued to be men's jobs. The same goes for work involving intense physical labour. As a result, women might find themselves excluded from these positions.

One reason that women might be excluded is, as the interviews showed, that they are perceived to be unreliable. Sipo explained this by saying: "We have many excuses, because our days are not the same. Besides, if a child falls sick, you cannot come to work because you have to be with the child until she gets better". On the other hand, other women tend to exclude themselves from these positions, as they do not wish to do work that they associate with masculine characteristics, like commitment, being up-to-date and innovativeness. As a result, many women change their profession. For example Natakiwa, who specialised in food, beverage and cooking in her studies, started to work in the front office. She explained her decision by saying: "Cooking is a tough job, it is like an art, and one has to come up with new things every day. Becoming a chef is not easy. To be a good chef, you have to always dream and come up with a new menu, you have to think of something that will be acceptable to all customers". What this quote also reveals is that from the perspective of the household, cooking is seen as a women's job, but in the hospitality sector it is said to be a men's job. The work itself does not only involve physical labour; the kitchen environment also discourages women. As Tafuta said: "Cooking is not a good job for women because of the heat in the kitchen. The temperature is high for women, especially

when it reaches the chest level. Gas is also not good for women, especially when one comes into contact with it every day". Moreover, showing how women are often perceived within Zanzibari culture, Badilika, who also changed her cooking profession, said:

> "*Women are delicate; they cannot do what it takes to cook in a hotel. They may need breaks and cause inconveniences to customers. Women can easily fall sick and fail to be at the workplace on time. In general, women cannot be entrusted to do such work*".

Another factor that is argued to be important in obtaining a job in the tourism sector is women's physical appearance. Nearly all women suggest that physical appearance matters in both recruitment and job allocation for female employees. Sitakishari, who went from storekeeping to a front office position, explained how physical appearance played a role in this switch:

> "*They employed me as a receptionist because they liked that I am charming and welcoming. They promised to pay me more than what I would be paid if I worked in the storekeeping section. I was hesitant at first, but after they convinced me I accepted*".

As the results discussed above show, the positions women can obtain in the tourism sector are governed by education and gender. Although skills and knowledge, obtained through education, are universally accepted qualifications for employment, gender is a socio-cultural characteristic that influences women's job opportunities. Moreover, the positions women can obtain are largely influenced by gender-based constructions of what is considered work for men and women. Men, for example, can more easily become a manager than women, since decision-making is associated with masculinity and not femininity. As a consequence, the high number of male managers in the tourism industry has (re)produced the dominance of patriarchy in the sector. Moreover, because the tourism industry in Zanzibar, as well as its general cultural environment, is based on patriarchal structures, women are only able to obtain certain positions. One such position is becoming a front office worker, and as I have argued above, this subjects women to gazes from the tourists, whereby yet again dominant norms and values of what is expected from men and women are (re)constructed. Thus, through enacting the tourist

environment, as described in chapter 5, guided by dominant norms and values, these very same environments are re-established, and in their turn these enactments reproduce Zanzibar's traditional social and cultural environments.

7.5 Challenges and expectations

Women working in the tourism industry, as also became clear in chapter 6, face different challenges from their social-cultural environments as well as tourist environments. In this section I will discuss some of the challenges and expectations that were often mentioned during the interviews, and show how women deal with these in their daily lives.

7.5.1 Household responsibilities

As discussed in chapter 5 and 6, most women in Zanzibar are expected to take full responsibility for their households, which limits them in their work opportunities. This also applies to women employed in hotels. For example, Pendeza explained how her job requires her to make long days and nights, leaving her with little time for her domestic chores:

> *"We spend many hours working in the hotels, especially when you work night shifts. Transport makes this worse because one may spend another twelve hours waiting for the scheduled hotel bus to return you to your home".*

Additionally, travel distances to the workplace are inconvenient, because in general hotels and other workplaces are located along the beaches, far away from the towns where the women live with their families. Especially for mothers this is a constraint. Explaining her experience, Angalia told me:

> "*It is difficult, if I start at 3 p.m. I work until the next day in the evening at 5 p.m. For the shift that starts at 6 a.m. I have to go in the evening before and sleep there, because it is difficult to make it in time if you are coming from home. This shift ends at 3 p.m. but then I cannot leave because I have to wait for transportation, which comes at 4:30. So I arrive back home at 5:30 or 6 p.m. and have limited time to see our children and take care them."*

It is difficult for women with young children to spend more than 24 hours without seeing their children. Since being a mother can be a constraint in performing the responsibilities in a hotel or restaurant, employers try to make sure that they do not employ mothers. As Mwenzangu said: *"They always ask if you have a baby or children during the recruitment interviews"*. In this context, it is difficult for pregnant women to keep their jobs. Explaining this, Natafuta said: "W*hen one becomes pregnant in this job, one is likely to be fired. Most of the time, they give us a leave without pay or, if we are lucky, they transfer us to the back office positions".* According to the interviewees, some employers are not willing to pay for maternity leave; instead they let some employees work fewer hours because they focus on maximising profits for their hotels. Women who breastfeed are also not likely to remain employed, as Mwenzangu said: *"The hoteliers won't let their employees work less than eight hours, because the hotel wants to gain more from them."*

However, women use different strategies to cope with the constraints of motherhood. One of the strategies that women with children use is finding employment in restaurants. This helps them in different ways, most importantly because it saves them time: shorter working hours and a shorter commute from home. Most of the restaurants are located in Stone town, where many workers live. Explaining this Pendeza said: *"Working in those big hotels is good and fun, but the problem is that they are located too far away. I have to take a bus almost every day to and from my workplace"*. It also helps to settle unnecessary quarrels and suspicions between couples. Emphasising this, Nadhifu said: "*It is much easier to work at a restaurant than in a hotel, because at a restaurant you don't have to sleep over, but in a hotel sometimes you do and this may cause your husband to ask a lot of questions"*.

Women may be able to find alternatives for taking care of the children, such as hiring someone to help at home or using extended family members. Nevertheless, their husbands influence their decisions. Similar to the description in chapter 6 of female entrepreneurs, the husbands' position plays a substantial role in either enabling their wives to succeed or making them fail in their work. Many women experience challenges because of this. For example, the majority of the

husbands are reluctant to allow their wives to stay in the hotels for many hours because of the direct contact with tourists and the night shifts. As a result, many husbands intervene, they exercise their authority at home and talk to the hotel management about their wives. Natafuta recalled: *"I remember the day my husband forced my manager to cross out my name from the night shift. I always quarrel with my husband, he always asks me: 'Why didn't you sleep at home?' As if he does not know what job I do".* Nadhifu also expressed her concerns: *"Even if it is good and fun to work in big hotels my husband could not tolerate it; thus I decided to switch and work in a restaurant"*. The opinions of some husbands were also reported as a challenge for managers, as Makini explained: *"Employing a married woman in hotel requires extra energy, because you have to negotiate with a husband before you allocate a job to his wife"*.

Although the majority of husbands do not support their wives in being employed in the tourism industry, few women I interviewed did receive support from their husbands, which opened up more opportunities to work in the sector. Explaining this Mshindi, a manager in a five-star hotel in Kilindi in the southern part of Zanzibar, said: *"It is my husband who asked me to apply for a job in hotel. He, therefore, allowed me to go to college, where I got my certificate in hotel management"*. Few women share their experiences with their husbands, and tell them about the rewards and challenges of their work. This helps husbands to be les hesitant to support their wives. As Angalia, who works as a waitress and cashier in a hotel, said: *"My husband is willing to let me work night shifts because I always tell him about everything that I face in my employment"*.

Children can also be a motivating factor for women to work hard and perform well. This depends on the position of a woman in her family, whether she is married or single. As Mwenzangu, a store keeper, argued: *"Since I am a single mother, I have to work hard in order to ensure that I keep my job, because it is my only hope"*. The majority of women are even willing to deceive employers telling them that they do not have children in order to get a job. A woman that uses this trick has to work full time. As Mwenzangu explained: *"I was fired from one hotel*

and I felt it was because I asked for a leave when my baby fell sick. So I had to deny that I have children when I went to find a job in another hotel".

Thus, like female entrepreneurs, women working in hotels (and restaurants) face similar challenges emerging from their household responsibilities. These challenges can be argued to be the consequence of dominant norms and values prescribing what is expected from men and women. By complying with these, women reinforce their traditional cultural environments. Only when women are able to challenge their environments, and break with prevailing ideas about appropriate behaviour for women, they are able to change their environments and gain agency.

7.5.2 Tourist environment

The women interviewed said the tourist environment is not an easy one to be part of. One of the difficulties is the seasonality in the sector and the related temporary nature of jobs. As Sijali, a woman working as a waitress in a five-star hotel in the northern part of Zanzibar, explained:

> "*There are advantages and disadvantages, because sometimes the hotels are closed. During those periods, one uses up all the money one has saved. But like now, when we have many guests, we can do some of the things we want"*.

Nadhifu confirmed this:

> "*You know, in big hotels they are low seasons. When there are many guests they employ many workers too. But when only a few guests arrive they also reduce the number of staff. They normally fire those without contracts. And I too have never had a contract. Sometimes they may give you a week of unpaid leave, which also has an impact on your salary. I normally get a monthly salary of only TZS 90,000 (37 euros). If you don't work for a week, it means seven days will be deducted from your salary, for TZS 2,500 per day (one euro), so little remains."*

Because of this, women think working in a hotel is about 'hire and fire': "*We are not assured of our future here, we always keep our fingers crossed that we will be recruited when high season comes again*", concluded Sijali.

Women also talked about the working conditions, which do not guarantee the continuation of their job. Sijali mentioned: *"There is a likelihood of getting fired when a hotel employee falls sick"*. Natafuta emphasised that:

> "*The worst thing about working in a hotel is that these jobs have no future, if they get tired of you they just get rid of you immediately and pay you three months' salary. So after the three months, you'll have to start looking for a new job and it doesn't mean that you'll get one immediately, it can take you three months or even a year to be able to get a new job. Now how will you survive all that time?"*

Women were also concerned about the lack of worker associations to support them. According to Mtanashati:

> "*This is because workers do not have rights and there is nowhere they can go to present their claims. Investors are people who have money and are able to do anything they want. What does a poor worker have to offer? Like labourers? Nothing... and we continue to be discriminated and have our rights denied. So far the government has not done anything to protect employees... maybe they do not know what they want... nothing has been done... zero. Although there are trade unions, there is nothing to protect the interests of workers. The investors are free to do anything. Workers can be fired anytime. So it is work that does not offer any job security. You may go into the office in the morning and the boss can fire you from the job right away. He may or may not pay you depending on the way he feels that day. We do not have a place to complain*."

As the interviews have shown, the tourist environment is a challenging environment for women. Working conditions, like temporary contracts, or working without a contract, are such that

managers can take advantage of employees. Because of this vulnerability and dependency, few women comply with whatever is asked from them in order to get a job or to keep the one they have. This is extra difficult because the managers are mostly men, so patriarchal structures are reproduced.

7.5.3 Acceptability of employment

Similar to the entrepreneurs discussed in chapter 6, women employed in the tourism sector are constrained by the degree to which working in the sector is thought to be acceptable. Taking into consideration that traditionally women are not commonly seen in public, the tourist environment is not only perceived as exposing women to the public, but also as an environment where women are vulnerable.

In Zanzibar, moreover, it is a violation of norms to interact with foreigners who have a different religion and culture. As a result, those who work in the tourism industry, regardless of their position in a hotel or restaurant, are often regarded as prostitutes. Explaining this experience, Changamkia, who works in a hotel as a storekeeper, said: *"Working here is not as easy as you think. Our relatives do not accept even being around the hotel premises. People think we are prostitutes. They do not know what we gain from working here"*. In this respect, women working in hotels encounter a number of challenges, including being rejected by their family members. Borakazi, a woman working as a cleaner in a hotel, said: *"My family did not like my idea of working in a hotel. When I decided to start working here, everyone was mad at me. Some of them even refused to greet me"*.

Working in hotels (and restaurants) in Zanzibar also affects a woman's chances of marriage. Explaining this situation, Natakiwa, a bartender in the hotel in Stone Town, said: *"Working in a hotel is despised by society thinking that it is a job for prostitutes. Thus, many people call us prostitutes"*. Reflecting on the negative perception of working in the tourism sector, Angalia added that "*most of the people in Zanzibar do not want their children to work in the tourism sector*

in general". Natafuta, who works in a hotel as a waitress, testified: "*We are despised in society, in workplaces, in hotels, and nobody respects us"*.

Therefore, some of the women started to work in a back office position, believing that by doing so they both maintain their respectability in society and benefit from working. Borakazi, a housekeeping assistant in a five-star hotel in the northeast of Zanzibar, for example, said: *"My husband is happy for me to work here, because all I do is clean the rooms"*.

While local women working in hotels and restaurants struggle to keep their respectability, non-Zanzibaris have difficulties in becoming accepted by society, as they are regarded as intruders. As stated by Mtanashati from mainland Tanzania:

> *"Here, mainlanders are regarded as foreigners and many employees in hotels come from the mainland, Kenya, Uganda and other countries. Because of this, it is difficult for foreigners to mingle and really become part of society"*.

In the streets, non-local people experience marginalisation, like Angalia:

> *"I experience difficulties in mixing with local people in the neighbourhood that I live in. They always call me names like 'Mnyamwezi'[4], they definitely don't think of me as one of them. Even though I have lived here for a long time, they hardly greet me, they can pass me in the street without greeting me and leave me astonished! There is a certain stigma; they do not accept us at all. This situation makes me uncomfortable."*

Few women adopt local behaviour to try and look similar to local people. For example Mtanashati said: *"I am a Christian but I tend to follow whatever is required, especially during the Ramadan period. During this time I wear Buibui as usual, and I do not feel bad because I know what I want from this society. I know for sure that putting on a Buibui cloak will not change me; I*

[4] This is the name of a tribe in the uplands (mainland Tanzania), which is perceived as a very remote area. So if someone calls you Mnyamwezi it means you behave like rural people.

will still be a Christian. Because I know what they like, I just follow. In this way, they like me and I live with them in society".

Also for Zanzibaris working in the tourism sector, their way of dressing is an important aspect of being accepted by society. Generally they choose to comply with both the employers' requirements and those of society. A common way to comply is to change clothes when entering and leaving work. Borakazi explained:

> *"For me this was not an issue at all. I would wear shorts at the workplace but when I got out of work I would cover myself. That is what I have been doing, and my husband accepted it and even my parents accepted this"*.

Few women see marriage as a way of avoiding misperceptions. For example, Babilika told me:

> "*This motivated me to think about finding a husband so that I can stop getting threats from other local women"* (...) "*Due to the continuous accusations from some women that I try to take their husbands from them, I decided to find my own husband. I accepted a Zanzibari's proposal. Even if it was difficult for me to convince my parents and also to be accepted in the Muslim community, eventually they agreed. My mother agreed because of the threats from the women who accused me. Otherwise, it would have been impossible for my parents to agree with my decision to be converted to Islam."*

Women employed in the tourism industry are expected to behave like Zanzibaris regardless of their place of origin. They are ascribed with the status of daughters, wives and mothers, and are expected to behave in accordance with these positions to remain respectable. However, respect can also be gained through engagement in other activities, such as education and work. As Furaha said: "*Educated women are very respected in the household. This is because they can contribute financially and are able to fill the gaps in their husband's pockets*". Therefore, employment and education are regarded as assets for women because these give them the opportunity to obtain a respectable status.

7.5.4 Punctuality

An important aspect of working in the tourism sector is being punctual. Punctuality by the interviewees is understood as performing their duties in the allocated time. However, for women the issue of punctuality causes challenges when it interferes with other obligations from their family and society.

Both managers and employees consider punctuality to be one of the important parts of having a job in the tourism industry. However, the need for punctuality is argued to be different for different employees. For example, punctuality has a direct impact on those who are in direct contact with customers, whereas there is a certain degree of tolerance for a delay at the back office.

Although punctuality is argued to be an important aspect of working in the tourism sector, it is not always easy to live up to the expectations. One reason for this is that women's obligations at home and in society, as discussed in chapter 5, affect their punctuality. For example, people are expected to attend certain occasions such as weddings and funerals. They are also expected to offer their support when relatives are ill, both by making a physical appearance and contributing in cash. As described, it is important to meet these expectations for reasons of respectability. However, having to attend these occasions poses problems at work, since hotels require an employee to work full time. In this context, individuals have to decide whether to attend work or to fulfil their social obligations. Mshindi, a manager, describes this: *"This job separates me from my relatives. My grandfather is sick and he is in the hospital, but I cannot assist in taking care of him. I have to make sure that everything is in order here in the hotel".*

Punctuality has been a challenge especially for Zanzibaris who live close to their families and are bound by traditions and customs. Nevertheless, in hotels and restaurants, like in other private sectors, punctuality has been an important criterion to evaluate workers' performance. Thus, attendance sheets are important in performance appraisals, as Mshindii said: "*The attendance-related issues take up 90 per cent when we evaluate women's performance*". This becomes

especially important when hotels have to fire employees due to the aforementioned seasonal character of the work. Although it is said that punctuality is a problem for all Zanzibari's, it is more prominent for women. For women, making an appearance at special events is more important than for men, because the former are expected to perform all social responsibilities, such as cooking, taking care and entertaining (dancing and singing). Men are mostly expected to attend by paying cash, providing transport and other materials, as well as making decisions, which can also be done from a distance.

7.5.5 Serving the tourists

Especially when working at the front office, women do jobs that are referred to as 'hospitable', and this requires them to be in direct contact with customers. Barmaids, for example, serve beverages to tourists. In these types of jobs, women are often asked to dress in a certain way. Many of the hotels have dress codes, which are often in contradiction with the customs of local people, who normally cover their entire body. Adhering to the dress codes of hotels might have a negative effect on women, as particular ways of dressing are seen as indecent, and society and their family may disown them. Women deal with this by complying with the dress code during working hours, and change their clothes after work. Borakazi, explained this: "*Since the hotel forces us to wear short dresses, I normally wear one and after work, I cover my body with a hijab*".

Besides having to comply with particular dress codes, women are also expected to control their emotions and appear ' welcoming'. For many women it is hard to keep smiling the whole day. Nadhifu, a front office receptionist, admitted:

> *"The days are not the same every day. Our job requires outgoing behaviour, like smiling to welcome the guests. But we face many problems here; sometimes you may come in late because the car did not pick you up in time. If I am late, the manager will scold me. Imagine this situation, how can I smile to customers and convince them to give tips?"*

Pendeza, a bartender in a hotel in northern Zanzibar, related:

> *"We spend many hours at work and we have to be here every day. It is fine if everything is okay, but if my child is sick and I am not allowed to go home, I am telling you, the day may become a total disaster, I cannot keep up with the customers' orders, I may break glasses and annoy the guests."* (...) "*Sometimes our manager comes and scolds me unreasonably. This can really ruin my mood and makes it hard to attend to my customers properly.*"

In general, serving customers, and how managers act, pose a great deal of challenges for women employed in hotels. Sometimes a woman's efforts to please a customer may be misperceived and the customer might think that she is ' available'. Natakiwa confirms this:

> *"Although we are required to show respect to our guests, sometimes it becomes difficult. For example last week, I welcomed a customer and carried his bag as usual, giving him a smile. But in return he thought that I was available. When I told him that I was on duty, he started to insult me by saying 'women in hotels are just available for guests'. This behaviour of some people really discourages us. Sometimes they report us to the management, saying that we insulted them."*

Women have developed different ways to deal with these kinds of situations. Natakiwa, for example, has her own style: *"I normally tell them that I am here to provide accommodation and solve all problems associated with the hotel service and nothing else"*.

Furthermore, despite the education and qualifications required for hotel employees, their performance is evaluated by their ability to comply with management and with the customers. Compliance with management pose challenges, especially when managers use their power to sexually harass women. This is commonly reported and women use different strategies to cope with it, including reporting to the management or quitting the job. Mshindi told me: *"I quit my job at the hotel, because my manager tried to sexually harass me"*.

Thus, when being in direct contact with customers, women face particular challenges. They have to comply with certain expectations informed by what customers are thought to appreciate. So

women working in the hospitality industry have to be 'feminine', especially when they are in direct contact with customers. This means that when these women comply with what is expected by their managers and customers, they in this case do not (re)construct their traditional environments, but rather challenge these, although this is not without problems or consequences.

7.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I discussed, on the basis of the interviews, women working in hotels and restaurants. What became clear is that these women either start working by choice or by chance. When it is by choice, this is often because they have a passion for working, and gain satisfaction from having a job. Moreover, they experience their job as an opportunity for personal advancement through learning other languages, or see it as a stepping-stone for their further careers. Women working in the industry by chance are in it because it is relatively easy to get a job in the tourism industry. Most often they find jobs that fit their educational profile. Economic benefits are an important reason to start working in the tourism industry, especially when women have sole responsibility for their households, or when their husbands are not able to fully support their families.

I divided women who work in hotels and restaurants in three groups: front office workers, back office workers and managers, each facing their own challenges, and having different reasons for working in these positions. Front office workers, for example, especially chose this particular position because of the tips they receive, and the opportunities for networking. However, being in direct contact with customers is difficult for the majority of women. Back office workers often benefit extra from getting additional salary when they perform well. They also build confidence and self-understanding from working in the back office. Manager positions are mainly occupied by men. This is not only due to women's lower level of education, but also because managerial functions are mainly thought of as male. The dominance of male managers reproduces the

already existing patriarchal social and cultural environments, limiting women in their opportunities.

Like entrepreneurs, women employed in the tourism industry face several challenges. However, there is one important difference. Female employees not only face challenges from their traditional environments, but also from the tourist environment, as they have to deal intensively with managers and to a lesser extent with customers. Furthermore, to be employed in this sector implies that women always have to leave home to work, which makes their jobs less acceptable for their families and society at large. Again, the interviews show that women especially have to find a balance between domestic responsibilities and their jobs. When being employed in hotels and restaurants, long workdays and having to travel long distances to the workplace are seen as constraints for women, making it harder to fulfil their domestic responsibilities, as well as to attend the necessary social events. This, moreover, may also lead to problems with husbands who are unsupportive of their wives being away from home for many hours or even overnight, as we have also seen in chapter 6 where I discussed distributors. Similar to the results in chapter 6, for those working in hotels and restaurants, being in direct contact with customers is argued to bring shame to the family, and tarnish their dignity. Especially women in the front office are thought to be vulnerable in this respect.

As mentioned an important difference between entrepreneurs and those employed in the tourism industry is that women who are employed, especially those working in the front office, have to comply with what is expected from them by their managers. To satisfy their customers, they are asked to behave friendly and welcoming, dress in a particular way et cetera, making them subject to objectification, more so than entrepreneurs, for example by being associated with prostitutes. Next to this, their dependency and vulnerability in this sense means they have fewer opportunities to gain agency over their lives.

The results have shown that this is a reason for many women to work in the back office, while this enables them to remain respectable and maintain their decency, as chapter 5 showed to be

important assets for women. Nevertheless, often women do not have a choice and because of their educational level, they do not have the competences to work in the front office. However, women working in the back office agree that they are protected from what is considered the 'vulnerable environment of tourism', or the front office. But the seasonality of tourism affects them more, and they often work on a temporary contract or without any contract at all, while they usually earn less than front office staff.

In comparison to back and front office staff, managers are less vulnerable; they are not objectified, while they face challenges, they have more opportunities for personal advancement, and thus to take more agency over their lives. In this respect, managers are largely comparable to entrepreneurs. Moreover, by being a manager they have access to business networks and in-depth knowledge of the industry, enabling some of them to start their own business. They also have a higher income than women working in the back or front office. All of this means they are respected by their families and by society. The position of manager has also led few people to change their understanding of the tourism industry, regarding it as a workplace like any other.

Generally, women who are employed in tourism strive to find balance between the advantages and disadvantages of working in this industry. This puts women in the difficult position of having to make a choice between complying with what is required by the tourist environment, with all possible consequences for their position in their families and society, or challenging these requirements, which could lead to difficulties in getting job or keeping the one they have.

Chapter 8: Discussion and Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

While in recent years discussions about agency of women have become mainstream in tourism studies, empirically it remains a rather scarcely researched topic, especially from a non-Western perspective. This study has therefore contributed to current debates on gender and tourism by giving a voice to women working in tourism in Zanzibar.

I particularly looked at the different ways women in Zanzibar deal with the challenges resulting from (people's perceptions of) the tourism industry and their position in society, as well as the different strategies they use to enter and work in the tourism industry. I focused on human agency and showed that women are not only 'passive victims' having to deal with all kinds of constraints. I made use of the enactment concept as introduced by Weick (1969, 1995, 2001, 2005) to study the way women make sense of and enact their environment. To apply the enactment theory to the tourism industry, I particularly looked at two main groups: female entrepreneurs and female employees of hotels and restaurants. By comparing these two groups, I aimed to get a better insight in the ways these women make sense of their environment and cope with it, and to answer my main research question:

How do women working in tourism in Zanzibar enact their environment?

8.2 Working in tourism

For this study, I first interviewed women who work in tourism as entrepreneurs, producing handicrafts and food products or working in retail. My research revealed three categories of entrepreneurs: producers, retailers and distributors. I also interviewed women employed in hotels and restaurants. Here I discerned women working in the back office, in the front office and as managers.

I focused on these two main groups (entrepreneurs and employees) in order to study the different ways in which they make sense of and enact their environment. The environment for them includes factors that either constrain or enable them to work in the industry. These factors are predominantly religion, family and marriage, and education. Although women often mentioned the same factors when they were describing their ability to work in the industry, they differ in their perceptions of these factors. While some women described something as a constraint, others saw it as an opportunity. As a consequence, I found that women engage in the tourism industry either by *chance* or by *choice*.

The interviews revealed that many women started working in the tourism industry by chance, simply because it is their only option to earn an income. They have to find a balance between finding a job that complies with the expectations of their husband, family members and society, mainly constructed around religion, and having to earn an income, at the same time fulfilling industry requirements (such as spending long days at their place of work, being exposed to the public). The results have shown how Islamic principles of 'respect' and 'decency' play a particularly important role.

Other women joined the industry out of their own interest. Most of them were motivated to work in tourism as they considered it an opportunity to advance their careers. Some women, especially young and single ones, have joined the industry as a stepping-stone, as they took a temporary job to be able to pay for their education and training. Women also tend to flexibly change from one kind of employment to the other, depending on the way they interpret their situation or the way circumstances have changed. Depending on their situation, they move from back to front office or from producer to retailer or vice versa.

I will now first discuss the six categories of women working in the tourism sector. After that, I will discuss the way especially religion, family and marriage, and education have influenced their choices.

8.2.1. Entrepreneurs

Many women who live in Zanzibar have entered the tourism industry by establishing their own enterprises. Owning their own business gives them more freedom to plan their own agenda and make decisions about the scope of business activities. It also enables them to cope in different ways with Islamic principles. Moreover, many interviewed women believe that owning a business is more acceptable than working in hotels and restaurants. Experts working in governmental and non-governmental organisations confirmed this view.

In this study I used the term entrepreneurs to indicate self-employed women. Being an entrepreneur also denotes their ability to see the possibilities and opportunities for them to do business by using resources that they can directly access. Some of them have established home-based activities within their households.

In my study I identified three distinctive categories of female entrepreneurs, namely producers, retailers and distributers.

Producers

Producers predominantly work within the domain of the household. They rarely have direct contact with tourists. By working within the confines of their home, they are able to balance their economic activities with their household tasks. Producers often use their knowledge of traditional Swahili art to produce items that can be sold as souvenirs to tourists, decorations that are used in hotels and restaurants, and items that are sold in curio shops. For their products they use the raw materials they have access to, such as spices, seaweeds, manila palms, henna, spices and coconuts. Yet, although their traditional culture is guiding in the production of these items, my research has shown how preferences of tourists have influenced these traditional designs.

As they have limited contact with tourists, they use different strategies to get information about, and access to, the market. The most important strategy is to join women's groups where they

share information with each other. The government generally supports these groups through for example loans and training. Joining these groups is beneficial for women for three different reasons. First, women are able to generate a more regular income since distributers, who sell their products directly, lead most groups. Second, these groups provide an opportunity to exchange knowledge, resulting in a better understanding of the tourist market as well as the chance to diversify their products. And third, since women usually work two to three days a week in these groups, they have time to fulfil their household responsibilities. Thus, although the socio-cultural environment of women in Zanzibar might constrain them in their opportunities to enter the tourism industry, female producers have been able to negotiate this by joining women's groups. This has enabled them to at least partially benefit from tourism. Importantly, this has led to these women gaining more agency over their lives resisting traditional norms and values about women working in tourism, yet by working within the domestic sphere they – to a certain extent – also reproduce these very same norms and values.

Retailers

In contrast to producers, retailers work in places that require direct contact with tourists. They do their businesses in 'open', busy tourist places such as along the beaches, in shopping areas and in hotels and restaurants. While they have to comply with similar socio-cultural norms and values as producers, the nature of their business necessitates them to resist these. They have to convince customers, bargain over prices and sell their products, and they normally have to spend more time at their workplace, as selling tourist items requires them to follow the tourists' time table. For example, those who sell their products on the beaches have to go there in the morning and in the evening when many tourists go for a swim.

Moreover, my research showed that compared to producers, retailers work in a more competitive environment. For this reason they have to resist dominant norms and values about appropriate behaviour for women more strongly. Due to the competitive nature of their business, for example, they have to leave their shops to go after customers. Retailers see this

practice of vending as necessary, while they do think it is a cumbersome aspect of their work. Additionally, the fierce competition between retailers makes some of these women look for alternative markets, like exhibitions and trade fairs, which require them to travel. This can be particularly problematic when retailers are married, as their husbands are not always willing to take over the responsibilities for their households. Also, they do not always accept that their wives work in public spaces. Furthermore, some husbands – in response to their wives being away from home – marry a second wife. Not only do retailers search for alternative markets, some of them start selling other items, like paintings and sculptures, which their social environments perceive as unacceptable for women.

As a result, female retailers know that for most members of their family and society their job is not acceptable. Community members suspect them of immoral behaviour because of their daily contact with tourists. They are often seen as women who '*display their faces*' in public to sell their items to tourists. Although they know that their jobs might be considered as unacceptable, they often ignore this. They believe that without '*displaying their face*' in public, and perceiving public space as a space of opportunities rather than a restricted domain, they cannot achieve their goals in life. Moreover, retailers think of different ways to deal with possible problems with their husbands. Some women involve their husbands in their business, as for example advisors or partners sharing their responsibilities for both the business and the household, so as to balance their working lives with the expectations their social environments hold in terms of what makes a good housewife. Other women choose to divorce their husbands to gain greater freedom. Thus, compared to producers, retailers face more challenges from their social-cultural environments, yet by making their own choices in how to react to these, retailers gain greater agency over their family and working life.

Distributers

In contrast to retailers, who sell directly to tourists, distributers are rarely in direct contact with tourists. It is easier for them to balance their work and household responsibilities and plan their

own time. Some partly run their business from home, by phone or using a computer and the internet.

Distributors make deals with bigger enterprises, such as curio shops, hotels, and tour operating companies. These business activities require them to get into contact with a diverse range of people from different countries and with different statuses. Additionally, most distributers join industry organisations, like ZATI, in which they have to deal with men to whom they are not related, which is not always accepted by their husbands. As my results have shown, although distributers might be successful, their husbands are not always supportive of their work activities. Similar to retailers, they have different ways of dealing with this; some women decide to involve their husbands in their business, others get divorced, and yet others convince their husbands of the financial benefits of their work.

Because of their background and opportunities they had earlier in life, distributers are able to build their own enterprises. By so doing they earn a decent income and are exposed to the wider world, through which they gain a greater sense of independence, confidence and autonomy over their lives and families. To these women, the tourist environment is not just for making money, but it is also an environment in which they are able to take advantage of various opportunities, and gain agency over their lives.

8.2.2. Employees of hotels and restaurants

Female employees either start working in the tourism industry, as I argue, by choice or chance. When they choose to do so they have different reasons; the women I interviewed said working in the industry is satisfying and it offers them the possibility to advance themselves. Similarly, women have different reasons to start working in the industry by chance; such as the relatively easy access to jobs in the sector, also because the jobs fit their educational profile, and economic factors such as being the sole breadwinner in the family.

Tight schedules, night shifts, and expectations of customers, managers and their co-workers play a big role in their choices to either work in the front or the back office. Especially night shifts and

being away from home for long hours, similar to what we have seen for retailers and distributers, is argued to be a challenge for women working as employees, even more so when their husbands are not willing to take over the household responsibilities.

As far as background is concerned, just like entrepreneurs, some of the employees use their domestic competences to work in hotels in for instance housekeeping or gardening. If they have an education, they can choose to work in the front office as a receptionist or waitress. Because attractiveness is seen as one of the requirements for women to work in hotels and restaurants, beauty is an added advantage for finding employment in a hotel. Moreover, some hotels have dress codes for their employees, and the clothes they ought to wear are often considered as inappropriate and indecent. Thus, women change clothes when they arrive at work and again when they leave.

Furthermore, low salaries and insecure working conditions due to seasonality and temporary contracts make the employees feel vulnerable and dependent, and many female employees comply with whatever is asked from them out of fear of being fired. While working in the tourism industry is first and foremost economically beneficial, women also benefit from the experience they get at work, which might form a stepping stone to advance their careers.

In my study I identified three distinctive categories of female employees, those working in front offices, back offices and managers.

Front office

Similar to retailers, women who work in the front office have to deal directly with tourists. They also face challenges in having to deal with different customers, which is not always easy. This is especially problematic since they depend on the evaluation of their managers and customers for the continuation of their job. Moreover, women working in the front office are prone to harassment, as some customers see them as prostitutes. Nevertheless, working in the front office is said to be attractive because of the financial benefits, especially because of the tips women receive. This work is also seen as an opportunity to advance oneself, to gain knowledge and to

exchange ideas with a diverse range of customers. Thus, although they know that their social environment may find their job unacceptable, they tend to ignore this. Like retailers, they just focus on what they think is appropriate and what may help them achieve their goals in life.

Back office

Women who work in the back office, which includes a diverse range of jobs, rarely have direct contact with tourists. In this sense, their working environment is perceived to be more acceptable and 'safe' compared to that of front office workers or retailers, and these women experience fewer challenges from their social environments. Similar to front office workers, the performance of women working in the back office is evaluated by their managers. While contact with tourists is rare, women working in the back office do benefit from these occasions, as they argue that by watching the behaviour of tourists, they learn how to organise their lives differently, gain more self-esteem, and a better understanding of oneself. Although they are not in direct contact with tourists, they partly resist traditional norms and values, gain a decent income and are exposed to the wider world through their work in the tourism sector through which they gain a greater sense of self-worth and autonomy over their lives and families.

Managers

Managers in hotels are responsible for making a profit and for the performance of their employees. Their position requires them to follow the standards set by the owner or general management of the hotel they work in. Female managers at hotels feel that they are less constrained by the challenges other women working at hotels and restaurants might face. They concentrate on practicing their professions and problems brought about by their working environment. As my research showed, managers are faced with employees, who – in their opinion – do not take their jobs seriously, frequently coming into work late or even not showing up at all.

Another problem female managers have to deal with is that not all employees accept a woman as their boss. This might be due to envy, but also due to the fact that management positions within

Zanzibari culture are associated with masculinity. Female management does have an influence on the deeply masculine character of the job. Especially if more women would become managers, this might destabilise the patriarchal structures within the tourism industry, and possibly the social environment of these women.

8.3 Sensemaking

The description of the six types of jobs in tourism shows that women enact their environment differently. In an attempt to answer the main research question, I employed the concept of sensemaking to explore what women see, think and how they act. Women enact their environments by making sense of these in different ways. Women who work in tourism outline what is going on in their environment in terms of the various constraints and opportunities they perceive. When working in the tourism industry, they not only make sense of the tourist environment, but they also have to make sense of and deal with their social environments. More particularly, they try to assess what it takes to conform with or resist prevalent norms and values. Partly related to these, their main concerns are whether they have to deal directly with the tourists or not, the working hours, and whether they have adequate levels of education. When they decide to work in tourism, they have to *'notice and bracket'* (Weick, 1995) the issues that may constrain them, and subsequently find ways of either countering or avoiding these constraints. Clearly, women in Zanzibar differ in the way they make sense of their environment, including how they view their roles in the family, society and industry, the constraints and opportunities they identify that may influence their choices, as well as developing their own interpretations of these.

In the process of sensemaking, they continuously use past experiences. Thus they always strive to find clues that are based on their past experiences, such as being a member of a particular family, having learned particular skills, having experienced the pros and cons of earlier jobs, or by following the examples of other (successful) women. They see subsequent trials and tribulations as plausible attempts to reach their goals.

In the following sections I will draw conclusions on how women enact and cope with their socio-cultural environments when working in tourism. Furthermore, I will show how, despite the differences between women who work as entrepreneurs and as employees, their engagements in the tourism industry play a key role in building their identities. Based on my findings, I suggest that there are three central paths of identity construction influencing the way women position themselves in the tourism industry, namely *tradition, income* and *personal growth*.

8.3.1. Enacting socio-cultural environments

The ways in which women working in the tourism industry in Zanzibar enact their environments is not solely influenced by the tourist environment, but as I have shown to a large extent by their social and cultural environments. These environments, as became clear in this thesis, are both constraining and enabling women to work in tourism.

Although women mentioned the same factors to be of influence in their environments when they were describing their ability to work in the industry, they differ in their perceptions of these factors, and assign different meanings to available dominant social and cultural scripts (Weick, 1995). While some women explained an issue as a constraint, others described it as an opportunity. Generally, this study identified three main aspects of the environments women enact which frame the opportunities and/or constraints women face when working in tourism. These are religion, family and marriage, and education.

Religion

All the women I interviewed are affiliated to a religion, either Islam or Christianity. Nevertheless, given the fact that Zanzibari culture is to a large degree Islamised, Islam plays a large role in all Zanzibaris' everyday life, and consequently women are expected to adhere to Islamic values and norms. For example, women are expected to work in 'decent' places, deal with 'acceptable' products in their business (such as henna and spices, but not sculptures), perform their household responsibilities, and pay 'respect' to their husbands and parents.

This study revealed that women differ in their ways of coping with their cultural environments. All in all, the influence of religion on women's participation in tourism is mixed. This became especially clear in women reacting differently to expectations regarding working in public areas. Since, as Weick (1995) argues, individuals are inclined to adhere to shared meanings so as to be justified by society, many women, as my research has shown, try to comply to expectations based on religious principles. As a consequence, some women refrain from working in public spaces and choose to work in their domestic domains or in the back office. They also avoid working in areas that are crowded with tourists, including shopping areas. But other women argued that religion allows them to work in public areas as long as they cover their bodies. Yet other women think that they can wear anything, following the hotel dress codes when they are in their workplace. They will change clothes immediately after working, and by changing their clothes, in terms of Weick, they change which self they display to their working and social environment, and thus cope with different expectations. Clearly, by either complying to or resisting certain norms and values stipulating how women ought to behave in public, women shape their environments. However, the results of their actions either reinforce the dominance of these norms and values or destabilise these. Yet, it remains unclear to what extent their actions have brought about a change in their social environments, but importantly women who choose to resist gain agency over their lives and – at least on the individual level – create an environment that better fits their needs.

Women also perceive working in hotels and restaurants differently on the basis of how they interpret particular religious norms and values. While some Muslim women see working in tourism as violating these norms and values, others argue that serving tourists and enabling them to do things the way they are used to is a way of paying respect to the Islamic principle of hospitality. This group of women believe that they will be blessed by serving tourists. Following Weick's (1995) line of thought these women retrospectively label working in tourism differently.

Some of the restrictions, such as not selling sculptures and having direct contact with tourists, give non-Muslim women the opportunity to take advantage. Most of the non-Muslim women feel that they are more at liberty to work many types of jobs because they believe their religion, such as Christianity, does not restrict them from working in public areas. Although many of them do not originate from Zanzibar and thus feel freer to make their own choices, non-Muslim women also feel they are not accepted by society at large. Some women therefore decided to convert from Christianity to Islam, and some have even married a local man in order to become more accepted. Women use past experiences and learn from these, meanwhile using these experiences as a basis for current and future actions (confer Weick, 1995).

Family and marriage

Besides religion, family relations and marital status have much influence on the ways in which women enter and work in tourism. Here Weick's (1995) claim that sensemaking is social becomes particularly important. Most of the women stated that their families have various expectations of them, 'respect' being the most important one. So women have to deal with a diverse range of scripts coming from their social and their working environments, each prescribing different ways of proper behaviour. On the family-level, women feel that they should have 'respectable' marriages and 'decent' jobs, such as teaching, and also that they should support their families financially. Therefore, parents are pleased when their daughters are married, and traditionally it is the parents who decide when it is time for their daughters to get married and whom they should marry. As a result, many interviewed women, especially those who originate from Zanzibar, live with partners selected by their parents. Some got married when they were only fourteen years old, and as a result, these women dropped out of school. Others rejected a childhood marriage, and married after completing their secondary education.

For the women who originate from Zanzibar, family, including parents and clan members, is very important. My research has shown that especially expectations and shared meanings within families play an important role in how women enact their environment. Women's choice to work

in tourism strongly depends on the support they get from their family members. When they make sense of the tourist environment, they often use meanings shared by their families as a frame of reference, exemplifying the need of individuals to have their acts justified by their environments, which is only possible within what is socially acceptable (Weick, 1995). For example, when jobs like bartending, being a receptionists or waitress and vending in the streets are perceived negatively, some women see these jobs as jeopardising the possibilities for them to get respectable marriages. Moreover, because of the long working hours in tourism, these jobs are considered to intervene with women's ability to perform their household tasks. It should be noted that both married and unmarried women have roles to play in the family households, as daughters are expected to assist with the chores.

Another important responsibility for women is to attend social events, such as weddings and funerals. They are also expected to visit and support family members when they fall ill and join other family activities. The long working hours in tourism, especially in hotels, are seen as a constraint for meeting these expectations. Thus, being a respectable family member requires certain activities from women, which might interfere with the expectations of their work environments, thus limiting their career opportunities. As a consequence, many women feel that jobs such as waitressing, or being receptionist or a chef are not suitable for them. Having, or wishing, to attend these social events might well lead them to fail to meet the punctuality required in their job. Attending social events could even mean they would be absent from their workplaces regularly. Other household responsibilities, such as childcare, are also perceived to be a constraint limiting their ability to be punctual in their jobs, especially when their children are ill.

However, different women interpret the implications of these social responsibilities differently. Some women feel that they cannot afford to miss social events. As a result, the absence rate of women is high in Zanzibar, and this is used as one of the criteria when companies decide to retrench employees during low seasons. Other women are more committed to their jobs, they

make sure that they attend work, and take up social responsibilities when they are off duty. Others choose to financially support a number of occasions, and only attend events if they can find a convenient time to go. Again, while women have to deal with similar scripts, they have different ways of enacting these. Whereas some women choose to comply with family expectations and attend social events even though their working schedule does not allow them to, other women are able to reinterpret and assign a different meaning to similar expectations. By so doing this latter group of women is able to create an individual environment in which they can balance their family and work responsibilities, and take agency over their lives.

Similarly, women have different views on the advantages and disadvantages of marriage. Since marriage is informed by religion and tribal culture, marriage is one of the ways of preserving culture. Some female entrepreneurs decided to work as producers at home or in groups to avoid unnecessary criticism from their husbands. However, other women involve their husbands in their business, as, for example, advisers or partners.

Employed women also involve their husbands in taking care of their households and family responsibilities, for instance by caring for the children when these women are at work. Yet other women use extended family members or employ house girls to take care of the family and their households while they are on duty. Moreover, some women, regardless of whether their husbands are supportive or not, decide to make their own decisions. In some cases, husbands start supporting their wives after seeing how much they contribute to the family income. Arguably, these men retrospectively change their interpretation of the actions of their partners on the basis of extracted cues, such as a higher income because of their wife's job. This reinterpretation does indeed lead to a changing environment on the level of the family, in which women become active agents. Nevertheless, in others situations men remained unsupportive of their wives working in tourism, and these couples eventually divorced. A good number of women who get divorced subsequently remarry other men who understand and accept their work. Other women remain single after their divorce or when their husbands die, believing that

they are more at liberty to make their own decisions rather than being married to a husband who does not allow them to work in certain jobs.

Education

Women think education is one of the most important requirements to get a job or to do business in the tourism industry. Since tourism involves people from different parts of the world, language skills, especially English, are said to be crucial. They also understand that jobs such as receptionist, waitress, housekeeper or cook require specialised skills. Doing business such as vending and requires a competitive nature and the ability to calculate.

Different women also have different interpretations of constraints related to education as a qualification for working in the industry. Women from a privileged background with a higher level of education clearly see the opportunities that are related to their professions. Women with no or a low level of education have to rely on the skills they acquired at home where they were trained to do activities such as cooking, cleaning, and making handicrafts. Their ability to work in tourism through skills they learned at home has influenced the tourism market in Zanzibar in two ways. First, these competences convinced managers/owners to employ women without educational certificates. These women have been able to capitalise on their past experiences. Second, their ability to transform their traditional household activities such as making handicrafts into tourist products has contributed to the development of cultural tourism in Zanzibar. Their inclination to work at home has also contributed to the increase of home-based tourist shops in residential streets in both rural and urban areas. As Weick (2005) argues, sensemaking is an ongoing process, in which individuals simultaneously react to and shape their environments, while they are themselves shaped by these environments. By using past experiences of their domestic activities, these women reshape a domestic environment into a working environment, meanwhile establishing themselves as producers.

8.3.2. Central pathways of identity construction

On the basis of my results and framed within my conceptual framework, I identified three pathways of identity construction that women employ when working in tourism in Zanzibar. By portraying these three central pathways of identity construction, I argue that women differ significantly in the ways they make sense of and assign meaning to the environment. While some women think that religion, education or marriage limits their choices, some other women understand these as opportunities they should take advantage of. Moreover, women are also able to influence their environment by applying or modifying traditional values such as 'hospitality' in order to justify their engagement in the industry as employees in hotels and restaurants. In the following paragraphs I will discuss these different pathways.

Women prioritising tradition

Many women either by choice or by necessity continue to act in line with the basic values of their culture when they work in the tourism industry. They therefore choose to work in places with few or no encounters with tourists. They avoid direct contact with tourists. Most of these women prefer to work as producers in their neighbourhoods or even within their own household premises. Those working in hotels prefer back office jobs such as housekeeping, cooking and cleaning.

Especially Muslim women adapt the principle of hospitality by showing that by working in tourism they welcome strangers and are kind to them. Moreover, since they want to uphold traditional values they see households as an essential place to construct their identity. They spend most of their time on household responsibilities while working part time in the industry. By doing so, they believe that they pay respect to the family and their husband, as well as the entire society. They are predominantly 'Mswahili', the people who originate from Zanzibar. Therefore, as part of their identity construction they produce traditional items such as khanga garments, mats, decors, henna and spices products. They choose to dress traditionally, by covering their hair with headscarves and covering their bodies.

For those prioritising tradition, it is important that their social environments justify their actions (Weick, 1995). However, while these women do find the possibility to work in the tourism industry within the constraining scripts of their familiar, social and traditional environments, they tend to recreate those very same environments through their compliance to dominant norms and values. As sensemaking involves the simultaneous recreation of those who act, they recreate themselves or their identities in line with dominant norms and values. In this sense these women gain relatively little agency over their lives, compared to those who challenge these and thus create a different environment.

Women prioritising income

There are a number of women whose primary purpose of working in the industry is to earn an income. These women take advantage of the opportunities that are available to them in the tourism industry and care less about what the rest of society thinks about them. So they see hotels and crowded areas along the beaches as places where they can generate an income. They also choose jobs that require direct contact with tourists, because they believe they can make more money in those jobs, for instance through tips. As such, they take their time to learn what it takes to be a good service provider. Women who are working in the front offices of hotels and restaurants make sure that they understand what it takes to serve customers. They also adjust to what they think tourists prefer, for example by speaking their languages and dressing in a particular way and applying make-up to look attractive.

Women prioritising their income thus tend to ignore what is regarded as socially acceptable (Weick, 1995). Because of this, these women do struggle to have their actions justified by their social environments, and their actions have not been without consequences. Nevertheless, by assigning a different meaning to the tourist environment, as a place where they can earn a decent income, these women are required to challenge dominant norms and values, and through this they are able to recreate their personal environment, as well as their own identities. In doing so, these women gain a higher degree of agency over their lives.

Women prioritising personal growth

There are a number of women whose primary purpose in working in the tourism industry is to grow in terms of their career and business. Most of them work in the industry because it allows them to meet people from different parts of the world. They consider it a sector in which they will have the opportunity to learn. Women in this group are mostly influenced by their personal careers or growth and the dynamics of the tourism industry. Thus they are willing to spend more time at the workplace and make sure extended family members, husbands or domestic help take care of some of their household responsibilities. One of the strategies that women use to negotiate with their husbands is to involve them in their plans and to assist them financially.

Similar to women who start working in tourism to earn an income, these women are able to move beyond what is socially acceptable behaviour for women, and by so doing are able to create a personal environment that enables them to benefit from the tourist environment. As seen earlier, their husbands, when they are supportive of their wives, can play an important role in how these women gain agency over their lives. In this sense, these women initially have to refuse to go along with their social environment and expectations of what is socially acceptable behaviour for women and start working in the industry, to show their husbands the benefits of their actions. These benefits might become cues on the basis of which their husbands can assign new meanings to the role of their wife, and reshape their environments to become supportive partners, who can then create an environment in which their wives can fully develop themselves.

8.3.3. Theoretical reflections

In this thesis I used the concept of enactment (Weick, 1969, 1995) in order to study and explain the agency of women who work in tourism in Zanzibar as well as to examine the usage of this concept in the context of tourism and gender studies.

In the above I explicated the first use in terms of the empirical findings of this study, not only highlighting the way religion, family structures or education has influenced the way women

make sense of and enact their environment, but also the way women influence this environment by developing their own live paths.

But using the concept of enactment in this thesis also enabled me to advance tourism studies with regards to the relation between women and tourism. So far, enactment theory as proposed by Weick had not been introduced in tourism studies. Doing so in this thesis and consequently making use of the idea of sensemaking enabled me to gain a better understanding of the agency of women in terms of the extent to which they make their own choices and/or are influenced by their interactions with others. Clearly, there always has been and will be a reciprocal relationship between agency and structure in order to make things move. But in the framework of enactment theory, and as shown in this thesis, women are authors of their own constraints *and* opportunities (Weick, 1995). They do not just have 'to cope' with the environment (Abramovic, 2007; Aitchison, 2000b; Ateljevic & Hall, 2007), but are able of perceiving these environments as either opportunities or constraints for their actions. As we have seen, through working in tourism, women (re)construct the environment they encounter. As a result, their actions also become input for a possible change of this environment (Weick, 2001). In turn, this changing environment is an input that women proactively use to (re)create ways of interacting with it (Sætre, et al., 2007). As I have shown, this reciprocal relationship between women and their environment is a continuous and dynamic process. The properties of sensemaking as suggested by Weick et al. (2005) proved to be particularly valuable as they highlighted that these processes are indeed continuous, social, and presumptive in the sense that plausibility is more important than accuracy. As we have seen, in these processes also past experiences play an important role as an input for present and future choices. These choices and related ways of positioning their lives are found to be influenced by the retrospective accounts of their lives and are geared towards creating an environment which makes sense. Past experiences clearly are the basis of their current decisions. Many women in this research have narrated the way their experiences with marriage, family or work have shaped their current choices. Indeed, sensemaking is not about actuality. Sensemaking is, as Weick et al. (2005: p. 431) summarise

and this thesis underscores, answering the question 'what is the story?' emerging from retrospection, past experiences and dialogue with people who represent or act on behalf of larger social units as the family, educational or religious institutions and the tourism industry. It is also answering the question 'now what?', which emerges from "presumptions about the future, articulation concurrent with action, and projects that become increasingly clear as they unfold" (idem).

Obviously, the introduction of enactment theory in tourism studies in general, and tourism and gender studies more specifically, as in this study, was just a first effort. Most recently Figueroa-Domecq et al. (2015) undertook an exegesis of the 'state of the art' of scholarship on tourism and gender, and concluded that while research in this field has increased in the last three decades, it still remains marginal within the wider context tourism studies. So much more work has to be done, not only conceptually, but especially also empirically, to fill this gap.

8.4 Policy implications

This thesis has shed light on a poorly researched theme: the probability and importance of labour participation of women in tourism, either employed or self-employed, in the context of a developing economy such as Zanzibar. It clearly showed the diversity in processes of sensemaking and the various impacts of the different ways of enactment. Consequently, it is necessary to develop tailor-made policies addressing the specific needs of specific groups of women. In this section I will therefore discuss the wider relevance of this study in relation to the Sustainable Development Goals (UNWTO, 2016), the United Nations Human Development Strategy (UNDP, 2015), the national governmental visions of Tanzania and Zanzibar as well as various programs that are aimed at empowering women in Tanzania and Zanzibar.

8.4.1 Promoting the global sustainable development goals

The global human development agenda has recognised individual agency as a prime factor in the economic and social development of countries. The most recent UNDP reports (2014 and 2015) signify the importance of individuals' participation and involvement in matters concerning their

own development. It therefore is important to better understand the ways in, and the extent to, which women can make their own choices on the one the hand, and are influenced by their environment (including institutions such as religion, family, education) on the other hand. This study helps policy makers understand that women, such as the interviewed women in Zanzibar, who are generally regarded to be more vulnerable than men, are also able to negotiate with their environment and find their ways to overcome their vulnerability and become more resilient. By studying the way women make sense of their environment and their work in tourism, we can gain a better understanding of how involvement in tourism can enhance human development at the individual level. This is consistent with the 2015 UNDP report. A better understanding of the agency of women is also crucial to develop and implement strategies for sustainable economic development. Recently, the United Nations have announced the new Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that aim to transform our world, and its set targets are to be achieved by 2030 (UNWTO, 2016). Governments are now in the process of adopting these along with their national strategic plans. This thesis contributed to a better understanding of the implementation of especially SDGs number 1 (no poverty), 4 (quality education), 5 (gender equality) and 8 (decent work and economic growth). Obviously, my research directly aligns with Goal number 5, which is 'to achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls', as well as with the UN Women entity agenda that calls to close the gender equality gap by 2030. This thesis showed how tourism can empower women in multiple ways, particularly through jobs and through income-generating opportunities in small and larger-scale tourism and hospitality-related enterprises. To a certain extent tourism indeed can be a tool helping women to participate, not only in tourism, but also in other sectors of society.

Related to and as far as Goal number 1 is concerned, this thesis clearly showed that particularly for women tourism is relatively well-positioned as a source of income through self-employment or restaurant and hotel jobs, and as a consequence on a more general level to foster economic growth and development. This thesis showed the different ways in which women take advantage of the opportunities provided by tourism, and the ways having a job or receiving training by

working in women's groups allowed them either to get better employment or establish their own business ventures.

The thesis also underpins the relevance of Goal number 4, which is 'to ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all'. It has clearly highlighted the importance of formal and informal education for women aiming to work in the tourism industry. Policymakers should promote the participation of girls and women in not only formal education, but also in, for example, vocational training for women developing their own businesses in tourism. By doing so, it also contributes to Goal number 8: to 'promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all'. Although this thesis showed that in terms of working conditions there is still a long way to go, it also showed how women can benefit from augmented skills and professional development.

Finally, women's participation in tourism also helps reduce inequalities within Zanzibar (Goal number 10). Examples in Chapter 6 further illustrated how tourism can complement traditional agricultural activities. The resulting rise of income in local communities can lead to a more resilient agricultural sector while enhancing the value of the tourism experience. This bundling of tourism and agricultural practices can not only provide a source of livelihood, but also strengthen cultural identities and spur new entrepreneurial activities.

8.4.2 Promoting sustainability goals at the national level

Similarly, the results of this thesis have relevance to both the Tanzanian National Vision 2025 and Zanzibar's Vision 2020, aiming at building a nation with a high quality of life, promoting quality education and lifelong learning, as part of a strong and competitive economy. The National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty for Tanzania (NSGRP) and the Zanzibar Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (ZSGRP) (IMF, 2011; RGoZ, 2010; URT, 2010), both key for development of Zanzibar, have positioned women as 'disadvantaged' and 'vulnerable'. Although this thesis clearly demonstrates some of these vulnerabilities, it also

shows the way women make sense of and negotiate traditional norms and values, and other constraining elements of their environment.

In an effort to build a nation in which men and women are given equal opportunities, the government mainstreamed the NSGD (2001) into all policies, programmes and strategies of all ministries, departments, regional and local authorities (URT, 2001). This also includes the establishment of ministries responsible for gender equality: the Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children (MCDGC) in Tanzania and the Ministry of Labour, Youth, Women and Children Development (MLYWCD) in Zanzibar. These ministries have a role to play in strengthening the position of women in Zanzibar. They can help strengthen the voice of women by making these differences known to other relevant stakeholders since they coordinate the implementation of the national gender strategy and work closely with other actors. As such, they can advise implementers to segment their programmes according to the different sensemaking pathways identified in this thesis.

As women make sense of the environment in different ways, perceive different opportunities and constraints, and on the basis of these make different choices, I first argue that programmes customised according to the differences among women should be developed. These programmes should also be reflected in the National Strategy for Gender Development (NSGD, 2001), which follows the global Sustainable Development Goals to ensure the country achieves gender equality in participation in economic activities as well as decision-making by 2030. Second, I argue that these tailor-made programmes should focus on four interventions: education and training, working conditions, self-organisation and microcredit.

First, this thesis illustrated the importance of targets such as equal access to education and enhanced training opportunities to empower women with skills and abilities that will enable them to participate in the tourism sector. What became especially clear in my research is that getting an education remains problematic for women in Zanzibar, while this is essential for them to enter the tourism industry, and gain agency over their lives. The government of Zanzibar

recognises the potential of Zanzibar's youth and the need for education. These are explicated in policies, like the Zanzibar Youth Development Policy, the Youth Employment Action Plan, and the Zanzibar Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (International Youth Foundation, 2014). A number of programmes are already being offered to women, by formal educational institutes as well as NGOs as for example CHAKO Zanzibar, Sustainable East Africa and the KAWA Training Centre. EEZY (Empower and Equip Zanzibari Youth) has been working with ZITOD, ZATI, and the Ministries of Labour and Tourism to develop a short programme in hospitality and tourism. The aim of the programme is to help young people (aged 18-35) find jobs in the hospitality and tourism industry; to support hoteliers and tour companies in Zanzibar in finding good staff; and ultimately to support the ongoing development of high quality tourism in Zanzibar. Organisations like EEZY could play a vital role in educating female youngsters in Zanzibar and in doing this introducing them to the various opportunities within the tourism sector.

Second, this should be complemented with the recognition of women's workload and their need to balance different expectations. Policies should aim to create an environment that enables women to participate in employment and entrepreneurship despite the challenges posed by patriarchal systems, customs and traditions that are argued to victimise them. My study has revealed that for female employees in hotels and other tourist businesses, the working conditions are not always favourable, as they have a diverse range of responsibilities. In that respect, the Ministry of Labour should also review the employment terms in the hotels in order to ensure that women join organisations (such as trade unions) in which they will be able to air their concerns. At this point, the working conditions and the temporary contracts of most women do not create opportunities or strengthen their position. These hotels and other private businesses also have a role to play in achieving gender equality and improving the position of women.

Third, in Chapter 6, I explained the relevance of the many women producer groups. Sasik, Kidoti, Dada and Moto, and Malkia Design are just a few of the many already existing in Zanzibar (see also www.zanzibariwomen.org). By joining these groups, women enable themselves to sell their products, combine their efforts, increase their knowledge about the tourism industry, and learn new skills or how to use other materials. These women's groups are often already facilitated by the government or international NGOs providing them with loans and training. Continued support is necessary to keep doors open for women to enter the tourism industry. While working in the back offices, or within the domestic sphere, these women are able to combine their entrepreneurial activities with their household responsibilities. These groups help women to balance their different responsibilities at home and at work.

Fourth, I would recommend the Ministry of Trade and Industry, responsible for the promotion of micro, small and medium enterprises, to look into the possibilities of issuing microcredits in order to stimulate women to start businesses. In doing this, they should closely work together with local authorities, as the district offices are responsible for monitoring and supporting the small businesses and entrepreneurs in their respective areas. These district offices are also responsible for capacity building; they offer different training courses in cooperation with ministries such as the Ministry of Trade and Industry. Here, the local government can be a liaison between (groups of) female entrepreneurs and different programmes, such as trade fairs.

These and possibly other interventions will increase the chances for women of finding employment in the tourism sector. More importantly, through these interventions, women will have more choices and will be able to decide for themselves if working in the tourism industry, either as an employee or as an entrepreneur, matches their wishes and demands.

Summary

For many decades tourism has provided job opportunities and an income for millions of women all over the world. However, participation of women in tourism has been the subject of endless societal and scientific debates, and controversies with different scholars taking divergent views and reaching contradictory conclusions. While some see tourism is as a tool for development and gender equality, others – including feminists – argue that tourism perpetuates gender inequality. Whereas proponents point to the contribution of tourism in terms of empowerment of women, opponents argue that their engagement in tourism is still characterised by a number of challenges that limit their ability to benefit from the tourism industry. Despite these differing views, in comparison with many other sectors, tourism does offer more room for women to participate. To shed more light on this everlasting discussion about the position of women in tourism, I focused in my thesis on women working in tourism in Zanzibar. The position of women in Zanzibar is seen as highly influenced by religion, marital status and level of education. More particularly, I examined the ways women in Zanzibar have incorporated working in tourism in their daily lives by comparing those who work in tourism as entrepreneurs with employees, working in hotels and restaurants.

Through this research, I made a contribution to the aforementioned debate by focusing on the agency of women. I particularly examined how and to what extent women are capable of finding their own ways out of more structural conditions that constrain them by introducing the concept of enactment as developed by Weick. Enactment entails the processes by which individuals make sense of their environment and face it in order to fulfil their goals under the guidance of prescribed regulations. This concept, therefore, provides a framework that regards people as part and parcel of the production of the environments they are faced with. By taking Weicks' concept of enactment as a starting point, I position this study in the emerging critical turn in social sciences, which stresses the importance of exploring the power of human agency. As this

study examined the agency of women working in tourism in Zanzibar and the extent to which they are able to live lives they value, the main research question is:

How do women working in tourism in Zanzibar enact their environment?

To answer this question I studied women who have their own enterprises and those who are employed in hotels or restaurants in Zanzibar. I particularly focused on their experiences in order to understand the different ways in which women are influenced by their families, societies and the tourism industry, and how they in turn influence these. Thus, I looked at the ways they act and react to issues that constrain or enable them to work in tourism.

The study took place in Tanzania, the largest country in East Africa. More particularly I focused on one of its main tourist destinations, namely Zanzibar. Zanzibar is an archipelago in the Indian Ocean that consists of several islands. Politically, it is a semi-autonomous state under the Zanzibar Revolutionary Government within the United Republic of Tanzania. This autonomy means the Zanzibari government has the power to control most of its resources, and is sometimes considered as a separate and identifiable country. Zanzibar has a population of 1.3 million out of which around 670,000 are women.

Zanzibar has various tourist attractions including sandy beaches, historic sites, traditional sailing dhows, festivals and Swahili cultural heritage sites. The growth of Zanzibar as a tourist destination has been shaped by various factors including its geography, history, and cultural and natural heritage, as well as marketing. The increasing inflow of tourists from different parts of the world has made tourism an integral part of people's life in Zanzibar.

Zanzibari culture has been influenced by the continuing migration of people from different parts of the world, and its occupancy by people from different origins. As a result Zanzibar's cultural context is composed of different ethnicities. However, Zanzibari are mostly known as Swahili, which is commonly used to explain their culture. This Swahili culture has been the dominant culture in Zanzibar for many centuries regardless of race and class differences, and it still is. I

distinguished five characteristics of Swahili culture that are characteristic for Zanzibari Swahili culture, and that contrast with characteristics of mainland Swahili culture. The first characteristic is the tendency of people and/or groups of people to try to integrate with groups they perceive to be more superior and to differentiate themselves from inferior groups. The second characteristic is the Islamisation of the Swahili culture. The third characteristic is Zanzibari's tendency to hang on to traditional values and norms of their culture. The fourth is the pronounced segregation between men and women, and the fifth is the attitude towards the labour market.

As mentioned, conceptually my thesis is framed within Weick's theory of enactment, with special focus on the concept of sensemaking. I used this particular framework to understand how women either reinforce or resist gendered identities by constantly 'enacting' their environments. Reinforcement and resistance in this sense are understood as women either reproducing established meanings of their environments, or assigning new meanings to it. The environment is considered to be "the mirror in front of which they primp, evaluate, and adjust the self that acts, interprets, and becomes committed" (Weick, 1995, p. 21).

I adopted Weick's theory as a perspective that offers room to explore how women either (re)produce or challenge dominant norms and values within the tourist environment and their social and cultural environments. As such, individuals are seen as authors of their own constraints and opportunities. I used the concept of enactment to understand how women are agents in the (re-)creation of the environments that they encounter in their daily lives. By using this concept, I was able to recognise the power of human agency over the structures that are argued to govern women's actions. Agency is understood here in terms of actions, through which women are able to construct their own environments. This is a process in which they not only adhere to the rules and norms of their environments, but also enact them.

The essence of enactment is that people and their environment are in constant interaction, while simultaneously influencing each other. The ways in which people as actors constantly interact

with the environment is influenced by that same environment; while people's actions simultaneously become input for possible changes in that environment. The changing environment in turn is input that an individual can proactively use to (re)create ways of interacting with it. Furthermore, central in Weick's theory is the notion of sensemaking. Sensemaking in this thesis is conceptualised as the interplay between action and interpretation, and it occurs when an actor is in the process of searching for meaning as a way of dealing with uncertainty. Moreover, I adopted sensemaking as a process in which seven properties interact as people interpret events and make sense of their environment: identity construction, retrospection, enactment of sensible environments; sensemaking is social, ongoing, focused on and by extracted cues, and driven by plausibility rather than accuracy.

Methodologically, my thesis is framed within the interpretive paradigm to examine the multiple realities of the women studied in this research. I used life history to study how women engaged in the tourism industry in Zanzibar enact their environments. Since life history is defined as a chronological sequence of events, it provided an appropriate approach for understanding the agency of women through their experiences. By using this approach, I was able to interpret the different meanings interviewees adhere to their actions and environments, and if and how they established new meanings. Additionally, I used the interviewees' life stories to get an insight in the position of women in Zanzibar and its tourism industry. I evaluated the different life histories through a thematic narrative analysis enabling me to compare and contrast views from various individuals and groups of women.

My research was conducted in three phases. The first phase was the exploration phase, which took place in June 2010 and was aimed at establishing the scope of the study. The second phase of fieldwork was carried out in March and April of 2012. The goal was to obtain information about the society and tourism industry in Zanzibar. Phase three of the fieldwork was carried out between June 2012 and January 2013. The main focus in this phase was to get information about how women enact their daily environments, as well as the tourist environment. In this phase I

interviewed two main groups of women. The first group consists of female entrepreneurs, while the second group is comprised of women employed in hotels and restaurants. In total, I interviewed 49 women.

I analysed the data with the use of enactment theory. I interpreted women's choices, actions and strategies as being part of their agency. Because the enactment framework focuses on individuals, it allows for subjectivity in terms of the way women view their environment. As such, the multiple realities resulting from individual subjectivities enabled me to capture the differences that exist among women. Data-analysis was partly guided by the seven characteristics of sensemaking. Additionally, I specifically focused on particular individual factors, such as religion, marital status and level of education, and how these influence women working in tourism.

The results have shown how dominant norms and values prescribing how women should behave have led to diverse (re)constructions of the traditional environments of Zanzibar, which is mainly informed by Islam. In this environment, discourses on 'respect', 'shame', 'decency' and 'hospitality' play a key role.

To keep their respectability, women are expected to stay within their traditional environments, which mostly involve the domestic sphere, restricting them from working in public environments. However, while some women are forced by their partners and/or families to remain within the boundaries of the domestic sphere, other women have themselves chosen to do so. Other women yet have chosen to challenge these restrictions.

This is closely related to decency, described here as behaviour that is acceptable and does not bring shame to the individual or the family/clan. Also in relation to decency the public/domestic dichotomy plays an important role, since it is thought to be indecent for a woman to enter the public sphere, while this is sometimes necessary to benefit from tourism. Nevertheless, some women are able to challenge these norms and values, and they do engage in public activities to gain an income. Additionally, the interviews have revealed the importance of hospitality as an

aspect of respectable behaviour. Hospitality in Zanzibar predominantly means attending all kinds of social events, which brings about some limitations in job opportunities. Nevertheless, hospitality as a key value within Zanzibari culture opened up possibilities for women to enter the tourism industry, as their job can be understood as an act of hospitability.

While tourism does provide opportunities for women to join in economic activities, the interviews have shown that people have different ideas about the importance of tourism for economic development in Zanzibar. Clearly, different interviewees constructed the tourist environment and what it can offer local people differently. While some of the people I interviewed argued that tourism has led to a whole range of economic opportunities, others doubt this. As the results have shown, women are limited in participating in the tourism industry due to the reasons mentioned above, but also because of negative connotations associated with working in this sector, such as prostitution.

I made a distinction between female entrepreneurs and women employed in tourism. When analysing the interviews of the different groups of female entrepreneurs, it became clear that women have different motivations for becoming entrepreneurs. The main reasons are: contributing to the family finances; providing financial support to their extended families; and the desire to become financially independent from their husbands and families. I distinguished three groups of entrepreneurs: producers, retailers, and distributers.

Producers mostly make handicrafts; they sell their products to retailers to prevent direct contact with tourists. Due to the fierce competition in this market, most of the producers have joined women's groups, which enable them to sell their products, combine their efforts, gain more understanding of the tourism industry, and learn new skills. By working at home, these women are able to combine their entrepreneurial activities with their household responsibilities.

Other women became retailers, selling items to tourists. They have face-to-face contact with tourists, or 'display their faces' in public, and rather than perceiving the public domain as a restricted area, they understand it as a space full of opportunities. Nonetheless, this choice is not

without consequences, and their social environment often perceives their behaviour as unrespectable. Moreover, retailers frequently have to travel for their work, which is often not accepted by their husbands. Women deal with this in two ways: they either divorce their husbands, or they get their husbands involved in their work activities.

The other group of female entrepreneurs are distributers, who own enterprises. While they are not in direct contact with tourists, they have to deal with members of other (foreign) companies or industry organisations, which involve contact with other men. They thereby challenge the traditional norms and values restricting women in having contact with men other than their male partners. Through their work, these women are able to earn a decent income, are exposed to the wider world, and experience greater independence, confidence and autonomy. Similar to the experiences of retailers, their husbands are not always supportive of their entrepreneurial activities. To cope with this these women also either divorce their husbands or involve them in their businesses.

My research also showed that women who are employed in hotels and restaurants either start working by choice or by chance. When it is by choice, this is often because they have a passion for working, and gain satisfaction from having a job. Moreover, they experience their job as an opportunity for personal advancement through learning other languages, or see it as a stepping-stone for their further careers. Women working in the industry by chance are in it because it is relatively easy to get a job in the tourism industry. Most often they find jobs that fit their educational profile. Economic benefits are an important reason to start working in the hospitality industry, especially when women have sole responsibility for their households, or when their husbands are not able to fully support their families.

Like entrepreneurs, women employed in the tourism industry face several challenges. However, there is one important difference. Female employees not only face challenges from their traditional environments, but also from the tourist environment, as they have to deal intensively with managers and, to a lesser extent, with customers. Furthermore, to be employed in this

sector implies that women always have to leave home to work, which makes their jobs less acceptable for their families and society at large. Again, the interviews show that women especially have to find a balance between domestic responsibilities and their jobs.

Similar to the results of the entrepreneurs, for those working in hotels and restaurants, being in direct contact with customers is said to bring shame to the family, and tarnish their dignity. Especially women in the front office are thought to be vulnerable in this respect. To satisfy their customers, they are asked to behave friendly and welcoming, dress in a particular way et cetera, making them subject to objectification, more so than entrepreneurs, for example by being associated with prostitutes. Furthermore, their dependency and vulnerability means they have fewer opportunities to gain agency over their lives. In comparison to back and front office staff, managers are less vulnerable; they are not objectified, though they do face challenges. They have more opportunities for personal advancement, and thus to take more agency over their lives. In this respect, managers are largely comparable to entrepreneurs.

While in recent years in tourism studies discussions about agency of women have become mainstream, empirically it remains a rather scarcely researched topic, especially from an African perspective. This study has therefore made a contribution to current debates on gender and tourism by giving a voice to women working in tourism in Zanzibar. By focusing on human agency, I showed that women are not 'passive victims' having to deal with all kinds of constraints. I did so by using enactment theory as proposed by Weick, which had not yet been introduced in tourism studies. Doing so in this thesis and consequently making use of the idea of sensemaking enabled me to gain a better understanding of the agency of women in terms of the extent to which they make their own choices and/or are influenced by their interactions with others. Clearly, there always has been and will be a reciprocal relationship between agency and structure in order to make things move. But in the framework of enactment theory, and as shown in this thesis, women are authors of their own constraints and opportunities. They not

just have 'to cope' with their environments, but are able of perceiving these environments as either opportunities or constraints for their actions.

Thus, my research showed how Zanzibari women working in tourism enact their environments by making sense of these in different ways. Although women mentioned the same factors to be of influence on their environments when they described their ability to work in the industry, they differ in their perceptions of these factors, and assign different meanings to available dominant social and cultural scripts. While some women explained a certain issue as a constraint, others described it as an opportunity. Generally, this study identified three main aspects of the environments women enact that frame the opportunities or/and constraints women face when working in tourism. These are religion, family and marriage, and education. Moreover, based on my findings I concluded that there are three central pathways of identity construction that influence the way women position themselves in the tourism industry, namely tradition, income and growth prioritisation. By portraying these three central pathways of identity construction, I argued that women differ significantly in the ways they make sense of and assign meaning to the environment. While some women think that religion, education, or marriage constrain their choices, other women understand these as opportunities they should take advantage of. Moreover, women are also able to influence their environment by applying or modifying traditional values such as 'hospitality' in order to justify their engagements in the industry.

Additionally, I made recommendations to policymakers in the final sections of my thesis. This study helps policy-makers to understand that women, such as women in Zanzibar, who are generally regarded as more vulnerable in comparison to men, are also able to negotiate with their environment and find ways to overcome their vulnerability and become more resilient. By studying the way women make sense of their environment and their work in tourism, it becomes possible to gain a better understanding of how their involvement in tourism can enhance human development at the individual level. A better understanding of the agency of women is also

crucial to develop and implement strategies for sustainable economic development. I furthermore argued that since women make sense of the environment in different ways, perceive different opportunities and constraints, and on the basis of these make different choices, that programmes customised according to the differences among women should be developed. Second, I argued that these tailor-made programmes should focus on four interventions: education and training, working conditions, self-organisation and microcredit. Third, I argued that continued support to women's groups is necessary to keep doors open for women to enter the tourism industry. These groups help women to balance their different responsibilities at home and at work. Fourth, I recommended the promotion of micro, small and medium enterprises by issuing microcredits in order to stimulate women to start businesses. These and possibly other interventions will increase the chances for women of finding employment in the tourism sector. More importantly, through these interventions, women will have more choices and will be able to decide for themselves if working in the tourism industry, either as an employee or as an entrepreneur, matches their wishes and demands.

Samenvatting

Toerisme biedt wereldwijd werkgelegenheid en inkomen aan vrouwen. Echter, over de participatie van vrouwen in de toeristische sector worden continu maatschappelijke en wetenschappelijke discussies gevoerd, en academici hebben hierover verschillende perspectieven die leiden tot uiteenlopende conclusies. Terwijl toerisme door sommigen gezien wordt als een katalysator voor ontwikkeling en gendergelijkheid, stellen anderen – waaronder feministen – dat toerisme genderongelijkheid blijft reproduceren. Voorstanders wijzen naar de bijdrage die toerisme levert aan de *empowerment* van vrouwen, terwijl tegenstanders stellen dat de participatie van vrouwen in toerisme nog altijd wordt gekenmerkt door een aantal uitdagingen die hun vermogen om te profiteren van de toeristische sector beperken. Ondanks deze verschillende perspectieven, biedt de toeristische sector in vergelijking met andere sectoren meer mogelijkheden voor vrouwen om te participeren.

Om een bijdrage te leveren aan deze discussie over de positie van vrouwen in toerisme heb ik me in dit proefschrift gericht op vrouwen die in de toeristische sector in Zanzibar werken. De positie van vrouwen in Zanzibar wordt sterk beïnvloed door religie, de huwelijkse staat en onderwijsniveaus. Ik heb vooral gekeken naar de verschillende manieren waarop vrouwen in Zanzibar het werken in de toeristische sector hebben geïntegreerd in hun dagelijkse levens. Hierbij vergelijk ik vrouwen die werken als ondernemers met werknemers die in hotels en restaurants werken.

In mijn proefschrift lever ik een bijdrage aan de hierboven beschreven discussie door me te richten op de *agency* van vrouwen. Meer specifiek heb ik onderzocht hoe en in hoeverre vrouwen in staat zijn om hun eigen wegen te vinden binnen een veelheid aan structurele condities die hen belemmeren. Ik maak daarbij gebruik van het concept *enactment*[5], zoals dit

[5] Omdat enactment zich niet direct naar het Nederlands laat vertalen, zal in deze samenvatting het Engelse woord gebruikt worden.

door Weick is geïntroduceerd. De term enactment verwijst naar de processen waarmee individuen betekenis geven aan hun omgeving door zich continu af te vragen 'wat is hier aan de hand?'. Individuen handelen op basis daarvan en creëren zo hun eigen werkelijkheid/wereld binnen een kader van voorgeschreven regels. Binnen dit theoretisch kader worden mensen gezien als een essentieel onderdeel in de productie van de omgevingen waarmee zij worden geconfronteerd. Door Weicks concept van enactment als uitgangspunt te nemen positioneer ik dit onderzoek binnen de *critical turn* in de sociale wetenschappen, waarbinnen het belang van het onderzoeken van menselijke agency wordt benadrukt. Dit onderzoek richtte zich op de agency van vrouwen die in het toerisme werken in Zanzibar, en de mate waarin zij in staat zijn om een leven te leven dat zij waarderen. De bijbehorende centrale onderzoeksvraag is:

Hoe hebben vrouwen in Zanzibar het werken in de toeristische sector geïntegreerd in hun dagelijkse leven?

Om deze vraag te beantwoorden heb ik zowel vrouwen bestudeerd die een eigen toeristische onderneming zijn gestart, als vrouwen die werken in hotels en restaurants. Meer specifiek heb ik me gericht op hun ervaringen om inzicht te krijgen in de verschillende manieren waarop vrouwen worden beïnvloed door hun families, de samenleving en de toeristische industrie. Kortom, ik heb gekeken naar de manieren waarop zij handelen naar en reageren op zaken die hen belemmeren dan wel faciliteren bij het participeren in het toerisme.

Ik heb mijn onderzoek verricht in Tanzania en heb ik me gericht op één van haar belangrijkste toeristische bestemmingen, namelijk Zanzibar. Zanzibar is een archipel in de Indische Oceaan en bestaat uit verschillende eilanden. Politiek gezien is het een semi-autonome staat onder de Zanzibar Revolutionaire Overheid binnen de Verenigde Republiek Tanzania. Zanzibar wordt soms gezien als een afzonderlijk te identificeren land. Zanzibar telt 1,3 miljoen bewoners van wie er 670.000 vrouw zijn.

De cultuur in Zanzibar is beïnvloed door de continue migratie van mensen vanuit verschillende delen van de wereld. Hierdoor is de cultuur in Zanzibar gemêleerd en samengesteld uit groepen

van verschillende etniciteiten. Zanzibari staan echter vooral bekend om hun Swahili cultuur. Swahili is de dominante cultuur in Zanzibar en is dat altijd geweest. Ik heb vijf verschillende kenmerken onderscheiden die karakteristiek zijn voor de Swahili cultuur. De eerste is de neiging van mensen en/of groepen van mensen om te proberen te integreren in groepen die zij als superieur zien en zichzelf te onderscheiden van groepen die zij als inferieur beschouwen. Het tweede kenmerk is de Islamisering van de Swahili cultuur. De derde is de neiging van mensen om zich aan de dominante normen en waarden van hun eigen cultuur te blijven vastklampen. De vierde is een duidelijke scheiding tussen mannen en vrouwen, en de vijfde is de houding tegenover de arbeidsmarkt.

Zanzibar kent een veelheid aan toeristische attracties zoals stranden, historische plekken, traditionele zeilboten, festivals en Swahili cultureel erfgoed. De groei van Zanzibar als toeristische bestemming is beïnvloed door verschillende factoren, waaronder haar geografie, geschiedenis, cultureel en natuurlijk erfgoed, plus de daarop gerichte marketing activiteiten. De toenemende stroom van toeristen uit verschillende delen van de wereld heeft ertoe geleid dat toerisme een integraal onderdeel van het leven in Zanzibar is geworden.

Zoals gezegd is mijn conceptueel kader gebaseerd op Weicks theorie van enactment, waarbij ik met name gebruik heb gemaakt van het concept *sensemaking*. Ik heb dit concept gebruikt om te begrijpen hoe vrouwen hun gender identiteiten bekrachtigen of zich daar tegen verzetten door een constante enactment van hun omgeving. Bekrachtiging en verzet moeten in dit opzicht begrepen worden als het handelen van vrouwen die óf vaststaande betekenissen reproduceren, óf nieuwe óf andere betekenissen toekennen aan hun omgeving. De omgeving wordt door Weick (1995, p. 21) beschreven als “de spiegel waarvoor men zich opdoft, evalueert, en het handelend zelf bijstelt, interpreteert en daaraan toegewijd raakt”.

De keuze voor Weicks theorie is gebaseerd op het feit dat het ruimte biedt om te onderzoeken hoe vrouwen binnen hun toeristische en sociaal-culturele omgevingen dominante normen en waarden reproduceren of zich hiertegen verzetten. Het individu wordt binnen enactment

theorie gezien als de auteur van haar/zijn eigen belemmeringen en mogelijkheden. Ik heb me hierbij gefocust op het begrijpen van de wijze waarop vrouwen actoren zijn in de (re)constructie van hun dagelijkse omgevingen. Door gebruik te maken van het enactment concept ben ik in staat geweest om de invloed van menselijke agency over bepaalde structuren, die gezien worden als bepalend voor de acties van vrouwen, te herkennen en hierin inzicht te krijgen. Agency wordt hier begrepen in termen van acties/handelingen, waardoor vrouwen in staat zijn hun eigen omgevingen te construeren.

De essentie van enactment is dat mensen en hun omgevingen in constante interactie met elkaar zijn, terwijl zij elkaar tegelijkertijd beïnvloeden. De manieren waarop individuen continu in interactie zijn met de omgeving wordt beïnvloedt door diezelfde omgeving; terwijl het handelen van mensen tegelijkertijd input is voor mogelijke veranderingen in die omgeving. Deze veranderende omgeving is vervolgens weer de input die een individu actief kan gebruiken om haar manier van omgaan met de omgeving te (re)construeren. Verder staat in Weicks theorie de voornoemde notie van sensemaking centraal. In mijn proefschrift heb ik deze term geconceptualiseerd als het spel tussen handelen en interpretatie. Dit gebeurt op die momenten waarop een actor naar betekenis zoekt om op deze manier om te gaan met onzekerheid. Hiernaast heb ik sensemaking in mijn onderzoek gebruikt als een proces waarbinnen zeven eigenschappen interacteren op het moment dat mensen hun omgevingen interpreteren en hier betekenis aan geven. Sensemaking is gefundeerd in identiteitsconstructie, is retrospectief, creëert zinvolle omgevingen, is sociaal, is een continu proces, is gericht op en wordt bepaald door 'extracted clues', en wordt meer bepaald door plausibiliteit dan nauwkeurigheid (vertaling overgenomen van Korsten z.j.).

Methodologisch past mijn onderzoek binnen het interpretatieve paradigma om zo de verschillende werkelijkheden van vrouwen te bestuderen. Ik heb gebruikt gemaakt van levensgeschiedenissen om te onderzoeken hoe vrouwen die werken in de toeristische industrie in Zanzibar hun omgevingen betekenis geven en daarbinnen handelen. Omdat een

levensgeschiedenis wordt gedefinieerd als een chronologische volgorde van gebeurtenissen bood het een passende aanpak om via hun levenservaringen de agency van vrouwen te bestuderen. Bij de analyse van enactment heb ik de levensgeschiedenis van de geïnterviewde vrouwen gebruikt om te onderzoeken hoe zij hebben gehandeld door hen te laten reflecteren op hun handelingen. Zodoende kon ik de verschillende betekenissen die vrouwen aan hun handelingen en omgevingen toekennen interpreteren, alsook analyseren óf en hoe zij nieuwe betekenissen hebben toegekend. Daarnaast heb ik de levensverhalen van de geïnterviewden gebruikt om inzicht te krijgen in de positie van vrouwen in Zanzibar in het algemeen en in de toeristische industrie in het bijzonder. Ik heb de verschillende levensverhalen geanalyseerd via een thematische narratieve analyse. Dit maakte het mogelijk om verschillende perspectieven tussen individuen en groepen vrouwen te onderscheiden en vergelijken.

Ik heb mijn onderzoek in drie fasen uitgevoerd. De eerste fase was de exploratieve fase, deze vond plaats in juni 2010 en was er op gericht om de kaders van het onderzoek te bepalen. De tweede fase van het veldwerk heb ik uitgevoerd in maart en april 2012. Het doel hiervan was om informatie te verzamelen over de samenleving en de toeristische industrie in Zanzibar. De derde fase vond plaats tussen juni 2012 en januari 2013. Deze fase was gericht op het verzamelen van informatie over hoe vrouwen betekenis verlenen aan hun dagelijkse omgevingen en hoe zij daarbinnen handelen, evenals hoe dit in zijn werk gaat in een toeristische omgeving. In deze fase heb ik twee groepen vrouwen geïnterviewd. De eerste groep bestaat uit vrouwelijke ondernemers, en de tweede groep uit vrouwelijke werknemers in hotels en restaurants. In totaal heb ik 49 vrouwen geïnterviewd.

De data heb ik geanalyseerd met behulp van enactment theorie. De keuzes, handelingen en strategieën van vrouwen zijn als onderdeel van hun agency geïnterpreteerd. Omdat het enactment perspectief ruimte laat voor subjectiviteit, in die zin dat vrouwen op verschillende manieren betekenis kunnen verlenen aan hun omgeving, kon ik in mijn onderzoek door deze verscheidenheid de verschillen tussen vrouwen onderzoeken. De data-analyse was deels

gebaseerd op de zeven kenmerken van sensemaking. Hiernaast heb ik me in mijn analyse gericht op factoren als religie, huwelijkse staat en opleidingsniveau, en hoe deze invloed hebben op vrouwen die in de toeristische industrie werken.

De resultaten laten zien hoe dominante normen en waarden in Zanzibar, die voorschrijven hoe vrouwen zich zouden moeten gedragen, leiden tot een verscheidenheid aan (re)constructies van Zanzibar 's traditionele omgevingen, die in sterke mate door de Islam worden beïnvloed. In deze omgevingen spelen discoursen van 'respect', 'schaamte', 'fatsoen' en 'gastvrijheid' een sleutelrol.

Om gerespecteerd te blijven wordt van vrouwen verwacht dat ze binnen hun traditionele omgevingen blijven, die meestal bestaat uit het domein van het huishouden, waardoor zij beperkt worden in het werken in publieke omgevingen. Terwijl sommige vrouwen door hun partners/families worden gedwongen binnen de grenzen van het huishoudelijke te blijven, hebben andere vrouwen hier zelf voor gekozen om zo gerespecteerd te blijven, terwijl weer anderen zich hier tegen verzetten.

Respect is nauw gerelateerd aan fatsoen, wat hier beschreven is als gedrag dat acceptabel is en geen schaamte teweegbrengt voor het individu of de familie/clan. Ook hier speelt de publiek/privaat dichotomie een belangrijke rol, omdat het aanwezig zijn van vrouwen in het publieke domein gezien wordt als onfatsoenlijk, terwijl dit vaak wel noodzakelijk is om te kunnen werken in de toeristische industrie. Sommige vrouwen zijn echter in staat om zich tegen deze normen en waarden te verzetten, en nemen deel aan publieke activiteiten om zo een inkomen te verdienen.

Daarnaast hebben de interviews laten zien dat gastvrijheid een belangrijk onderdeel is van respectabel gedrag. Gastvrijheid in Zanzibar betekent vooral het bijwonen van verschillende sociale gebeurtenissen, wat zoals de resultaten hebben laten zien ook beperkingen oplevert voor vrouwen die in het toerisme werken. Aan de andere kant heeft gastvrijheid ook mogelijkheden gecreëerd voor vrouwen om in de toeristische industrie te gaan werken, omdat hun baan gezien kan worden als een daad van gastvrijheid.

Terwijl toerisme mogelijkheden biedt aan vrouwen om deel te nemen aan economische activiteiten, hebben de interviews ook laten zien dat mensen verschillende ideeën hebben over het belang van toerisme voor de economische ontwikkeling van Zanzibar. Geïnterviewden construeren de toeristische omgeving en wat deze kan bieden aan de lokale bevolking op verschillende manieren. Terwijl sommigen stellen dat toerisme een verscheidenheid aan economische mogelijkheden biedt, betwijfelen anderen dit. Zoals de resultaten hebben laten zien, zijn vrouwen vooral beperkt in hun deelname in de toeristische industrie door onder meer de hierboven vermelde redenen, maar ook door negatieve connotaties die met het werk in deze sector worden geassocieerd, zoals prostitutie.

Uit het onderzoek is gebleken dat de geïnterviewde vrouwelijke ondernemers verschillende motivaties hebben om ondernemer te zijn. De belangrijkste redenen zijn dat zij een financiële bijdrage willen leveren aan hun families of dat zij financieel onafhankelijk willen worden van hun mannen of families. Ik heb onderscheid gemaakt tussen drie groepen ondernemers: producenten, handelaars, en distributeurs.

Producenten maken voornamelijk ambachtelijke handwerken. Zij verkopen deze producten aan handelaars om direct contact met toeristen te voorkomen. Door de sterke concurrentie zijn de meeste producenten aangesloten bij vrouwengroepen die het mogelijk maken om hun producten makkelijker te verkopen, hun krachten te bundelen, meer kennis te verkrijgen over de toeristische industrie en nieuwe vaardigheden te leren. Door thuis te werken zijn deze vrouwen in staat om hun onderneming te combineren met hun huishoudelijke verantwoordelijkheden.

Andere vrouwen zijn handelaar en verkopen souvenirs aan toeristen. Zij hebben direct contact met toeristen en ‘laten publiekelijk hun gezicht zien’. In plaats van het publieke domein te zien als een verboden gebied, zien zij dit vooral als een plek met mogelijkheden. Dit verzet is echter niet zonder gevolgen. Hun sociale omgeving beschouwt hun gedrag vaak als onacceptabel. Bovendien moeten handelaren regelmatig reizen voor hun werk, wat vaak niet geaccepteerd

wordt door hun echtgenoten. Vrouwen gaan hier op twee manieren mee om: of ze scheiden van hun man of ze betrekken hun man bij hun handel.

De andere groep vrouwelijke ondernemers zijn distributeurs, zij bezitten hun eigen onderneming. Ze hebben geen direct contact met toeristen, maar wel met mensen van andere (internationale) bedrijven of organisaties. Hierbij komen zij in contact met andere mannen. Zij trotseren daarmee traditionele normen en waarden die vrouwen beperken contact te hebben met andere mannen dan hun echtgenoot. Door hun werk zijn deze vrouwen in staat om een fatsoenlijk inkomen te genereren, komen ze in contact met de wijde wereld, en ervaren ze meer onafhankelijkheid, vertrouwen en autonomie. Net zoals bij de handelaren ondersteunen de echtgenoten niet altijd hun ondernemende activiteiten. Om hiermee om te gaan scheiden sommige vrouwen van hun man, terwijl anderen hun man in hun onderneming betrekken.

Uit mijn onderzoek blijkt dat vrouwen die in hotels en restaurants werken dit uit eigen keuze doen of doordat ze de kans krijgen. Wanneer het hun eigen keuze is, dan is het vaak omdat ze een passie hebben om te werken en omdat ze voldoening krijgen uit het hebben van een baan. Ook zien zij hun baan als een mogelijkheid voor persoonlijke groei, doordat zij andere talen leren, of als een opstap in hun carrières. Vrouwen die in de toeristische industrie werken doordat ze de kans hebben gekregen doen dit werk omdat ze relatief eenvoudig aan een baan in de toeristische industrie zijn gekomen. Vaak vinden ze banen die bij hun opleidingsniveau passen. Economische redenen zijn een belangrijke reden om te gaan werken in de toeristische industrie, vooral wanneer vrouwen als enige verantwoordelijk zijn voor hun gezin, of wanneer hun echtgenoot niet in staat is hun gezin volledig te onderhouden.

Op eenzelfde manier als ondernemers ondervinden vrouwen die in de toeristische industrie werken verschillende uitdagingen. Er is echter één belangrijk verschil; vrouwelijke werknemers ondervinden niet alleen uitdagingen vanuit hun traditionele omgevingen, maar ook vanuit de toeristische omgeving zelf, aangezien zij intensief in contact komen met managers en, in mindere mate, met klanten/gasten. Verder zijn vrouwen die als werknemer in de industrie werken vaker

van huis, wat hun baan minder acceptabel maakt voor hun families en de samenleving. Mijn onderzoek laat zien dat vrouwen het moeilijk vinden om een balans te vinden tussen hun huishoudelijke verantwoordelijkheden en hun baan.

Vergelijkbaar met de resultaten voor ondernemers, is ook voor werknemers het directe contact met klanten/gasten problematisch, omdat het beschamend zou zijn voor de familie en hun waardigheid zou aantasten. Vrouwen die bij de receptie of in een restaurant werken zijn hiervoor extra kwetsbaar. Om aan de wensen van klanten/gasten te voldoen wordt van hen verwacht dat zij zich vriendelijk en gastvrij opstellen, zich op een voorgeschreven manier kleden, et cetera, waardoor zij, meer dan ondernemers en diegenen die op de achtergrond werken, worden gezien als 'objecten', bijvoorbeeld doordat ze geassocieerd worden met prostituees. Daarnaast heeft de afhankelijkheid en kwetsbaarheid van deze groep vrouwen tot gevolg dat zij minder mogelijkheden hebben om controle over hun leven te krijgen. In vergelijking met werknemers zijn managers minder kwetsbaar; zij worden niet geobjectificeerd. Hoewel zij wel degelijk uitdagingen tegenkomen, hebben ze meer mogelijkheden voor persoonlijke groei en daarmee om hun leven in eigen hand te nemen. In die zin zijn managers tot op zekere hoogte te vergelijken met ondernemers.

Ondanks dat agency van vrouwen binnen toerisme studies recentelijk steeds belangrijker is geworden, blijft het vanuit een empirisch perspectief een weinig onderzocht onderwerp, met name vanuit een Afrikaans perspectief. Mijn onderzoek heeft dan ook een bijdrage geleverd aan huidige discussies over gender en toerisme door vrouwen die in de toeristische sector in Zanzibar werken een stem te geven. Door me te richten op de agency van vrouwen heb ik laten zien dat vrouwen niet slechts 'passieve slachtoffers' zijn die met allerhande belemmeringen worden geconfronteerd. Ik heb dit duidelijk gemaakt door gebruik te maken van Weicks enactment theorie, welke tot op heden niet eerder in toerisme studies is gebruikt. Hierdoor en door gebruik te maken van sensemaking heb ik een beter begrip gekregen van de agency van vrouwen en de mate waarin zij hun eigen keuzes maken en/of beïnvloedt worden door hun

interacties met anderen. Niettemin is en zal er altijd een wederkerige relatie bestaan tussen agency en structuur om zaken te veranderen. Maar binnen het kader van de enactment theorie – en zoals mijn proefschrift laat zien – zijn vrouwen auteurs van hun eigen belemmeringen en mogelijkheden. Zij gaan niet slechts om met de omgeving, maar zij zijn in staat om deze op verschillende manieren te zien, als een belemmering én als een mogelijkheid voor hun handelen.

Kortom, mijn onderzoek heeft laten zien hoe vrouwen in Zanzibar die in het toerisme werken op verschillende manieren betekenis verlenen aan hun omgevingen. Ondanks dat vrouwen naar dezelfde factoren in hun omgeving refereren wanneer zij hun mogelijkheden om in het toerisme te werken beschrijven, verschillen ze in hun perceptie van deze factoren en kennen ze verschillende betekenissen toe aan dominante culturele scripts. Terwijl sommige vrouwen religie, onderwijs en getrouwd zijn zien als belemmerende factoren, zien andere vrouwen deze als mogelijkheden waar ze gebruik van kunnen maken. Ook zijn vrouwen in staat om hun omgevingen te beïnvloeden door op andere wijze traditionele waarden, bijvoorbeeld gastvrijheid, toe te passen om hun betrekkingen in de toeristische industrie te verantwoorden. Verder heb ik op basis van mijn onderzoek geconcludeerd dat er drie centrale paden van identiteit constructie bestaan voor vrouwen in Zanzibar die de posities waarin vrouwen zich binnen het toerisme beïnvloeden, namelijk het voorop stellen van traditie, inkomen of persoonlijke groei. Door deze drie paden te onderscheiden stel ik dat vrouwen op zeer verschillende manieren zin en betekenis geven aan hun omgeving.

Naast een wetenschappelijke bijdrage heb ik in de laatste delen van mijn proefschrift aanbevelingen gedaan voor beleidsmakers. Mijn onderzoek helpt beleidsmakers te laten inzien dat vrouwen, zoals vrouwen in Zanzibar, die veelal worden gezien als kwetsbaarder dan mannen, in staat zijn om op verschillenden manieren om te gaan met hun omgevingen. Mijn onderzoek toont de veerkracht van vrouwen. Door de manieren waarop vrouwen betekenis geven aan hun omgeving en werk binnen het toerisme te onderzoeken wordt het mogelijk om te begrijpen hoe hun betrokkenheid in het toerisme een bijdrage levert aan menselijke

ontwikkeling op individueel niveau. Een beter begrip van de agency van vrouwen is dan ook cruciaal om strategieën voor duurzame economische ontwikkeling te ontwikkelen en te implementeren.

Daarnaast stel ik dat er op maat gesneden programma's ontwikkeld moeten worden, omdat vrouwen op verschillende manieren betekenis geven aan hun omgeving, verschillende belemmeringen en mogelijkheden zien, en op basis hiervan verschillende keuzes maken. Deze op maat gesneden programma's zich zouden moeten richten op vier interventies: educatie en training, arbeidsomstandigheden, zelforganisatie en micro-krediet. Kansen voor vrouwen worden vergroot door participatie in onderwijs en training en het verbeteren van arbeidsomstandigheden. Verschillende vrouwengroepen dienen ook ondersteund te blijven worden om zo de deuren open te houden voor vrouwen die in het toerisme (willen) werken. Deze groepen helpen vrouwen om een balans te vinden tussen hun verantwoordelijkheden thuis en hun werk. Ook is het van belang om kleinschalige en middelgrote ondernemingen te ondersteunen door middel van microkredieten, om zo vrouwen te stimuleren een eigen onderneming te starten. Deze en mogelijk andere interventies vergroten niet alleen de kansen van vrouwen om in de toeristische industrie te werken, maar – belangrijker – vrouwen krijgen hierdoor ook meer keuzes en kunnen zelf beslissen of werken in de toeristische industrie, als werknemer of als ondernemer, past bij hun eigen wensen en behoeften.

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Appendix: Interviewees profile (anonymised)

A: Interviewees exploration phase

Name	Organization	Age	Sex	Origin
Government officials				
Mhamasishaji	District Women and Children Office – Community Development officer	40	Female	Zanzibar
Msongo	Ministry of Social welfare, Youths, Women and Children Development (MSWYWCD) – Desk Officer	48	Female	Zanzibar
Mtalii	Zanzibar Commission for Tourism – Personal Relations Officer	35	Male	Zanzibar
Niponipo	Ministry of Trade Industry and Marketing – Trade Officer	27	Male	Zanzibar
Hotel Managers				
Changanyikeni	Coco der Mer	40	Male	TZ Mainland
Kazana	Africa House	42	Male	Zanzibar
Mdada	Zenjbar Hotel	35	Female	Netherlands
Mjaji	Serena Inn	34	Male	TZ Mainland
Mstaarabu	Archipelago Cafe	45	Male	Zanzibar
Mtanashati	Mnarani Cottage	30	Female	TZ Mainland
Mwema	Amaan Bungalows	36	Male	Zanzibar
Mzungu	Plan Hotel	32	Male	Switzerland
Sisitiza	Abusso Inn	54	Male	Zanzibar
Starehe	Tembo house Hotel	56	Male	Zanzibar
Swaladini	Tembo house Hotel	45	Male	Zanzibar
Taarifu	Dhow Palace	46	Male	Zanzibar
Tunakuja	Al Johari Hotel	36	Male	Zanzibar
Tourism related organizations				
Mfadhili	VSO	30	Male	United Kingdom
Mkombozi	EEZY	30	Male	Zanzibar
Msomi	ZIPA	38	Female	Zanzibar
Muumini	ZATO	35	Male	Zanzibar
Other informants				
Mamaa	Housewife-Kidongo chekundu	45	Female	Zanzibar
Matarajio	Potter	40	Male	Zanzibar
Mdadisi	Freelancer –works in hotels and tour operating companies	38	Male	Zanzibar
Waleo	Karibu Hotel Zanzibar	25	Male	Zanzibar
Zawadi	Mnarani Cottage	45	Male	TZ Mainland

B: Interviewed women

Entrepreneurs/Self-employed					
Name	**Age**	**Religion**	**Marital status**	**Education**	**Origin**
Producers					
Bimkubwa	58	Muslim	Married	Madrasa	Zanzibar
Gift	63	Christian	Married	Class 8	TZ Mainland
Hazina	35	Muslim	Married	Form 4	Zanzibar
Maendeleo	65	Muslim	Married	Madrasa	Zanzibar
Mkemwema	45	Muslim	Single	Form 3	Zanzibar
Shukuru	60	Muslim	Single	Class 8	Zanzibar
Ujuzi	40	Muslim	Married	Form 1	Zanzibar
Umoja	45	Muslim	Married	Form 1	Zanzibar
Upendo	46	Muslim	Married	Form 1	Zanzibar
Retailers					
Asante	35	Muslim	Married	Form 2	TZ Mainland
Chakachua	40	Christian	Married	Form 4	Kenya
Chiriku	21	Muslim	Single	Class 7	Zanzibar
Choka	58	Muslim	Divorced	Madrasa	Zanzibar
Dhahabu	40	Christian	Married	Form 4 + College	Zanzibar
Mbele	21	Christian	Single	Form 4	TZ Mainland
Mwali	25	Christian	Married	Form 4	TZ mainland
Naja	35	Muslim	Divorced	Class 7	Zanzibar
Taji	42	Muslim	Married	Form 4	Kenya
Tukutane	40	Muslim	Divorced	Form 2	Zanzibar
Wahi	27	Muslim	Single	Form 4	TZ Mainland
Yoyoo	25	Christian	Single	Form 4	TZ Mainland
Zawadi	38	Muslim	Divorced	Form 2	Zanzibar
Distributers					
Juhudi	65	Muslim	Divorced	Class 4	Zanzibar
Kahawa	40	Muslim	Divorced	Form 3	Zanzibar
Mapinduzi	40	Muslim	Married	Form 3	Zanzibar
Maua	38	Muslim	Married (2^{nd} Marriage)	Form 3	Zanzibar
Mchana	40	Christian	Married	Form 4 + College	Zanzibar
Mjasiriamali	48	Muslim	Widow	Postgraduate	Zanzibar
Mkejina	43	Muslim	Married	Form 4	Zanzibar

			(2nd Marriage)		
Twende	60	Muslim	Widow	Form 3	Zanzibar
Ukuta	45	Muslim	Divorced	Form 3	Zanzibar
Employed in hotels and restaurants					
Back Office					
Badilika	27	Muslim	Married	Form 4 + college	TZ mainland
Borakazi	50	Muslim	Married	Class 7	Zanzibar
Changamkia	35	Muslim	Married (2nd Marriage)	Class 7	Zanzibar
Furaha	30	Christian	Married	Form 4 + college	Zanzibar
Tafuta	30	Christian	Married	Class 7	TZ mainland
Front Office					
Amani	25	Muslim	Single	Form 4 + college	Zanzibar
Angalia	30	Muslim	Married	Form 4 + college	TZ mainland
Mwenzangu	28	Christian	Lives with fiancé	Form 4 + college	TZ mainland
Nadhifu	22	Muslim	Single	Form 4 + college	Zanzibar
Natafuta	30	Christian	Married	Form 4 + diploma	TZ Mainland
Natakiwa	25	Christian	Single	Form 4 + college	TZ mainland
Pendeza	21	Muslim	Single	Form 4	Zanzibar
Sijali	22	Christian	Single	Form 4 + college	TZ mainland
Sitakishari	25	Muslim	Single	Form 6 + Diploma	TZ mainland
Managers					
Makini	50	Muslim	Divorced	Masters	Zanzibar
Mshindi	30	Muslim	Married	Form 4 + college	Zanzibar
Mtanashati	30	Christian	Single	Form 4 + diploma	TZ Mainland
Njoo	32	Christian	Married	Form 4 + Diploma	TZ Mainland
Sipo	35	Muslim	Married	Form 4 + College	Zanzibar

Nelly Samson Maliva
Wageningen School of Social Sciences (WASS)
Completed Training and Supervision Plan

Name of the learning activity	Department/Institute	Year	ECTS*
A) Project related competences			
Policy, People and Resources in Comparative Perspective (RSO 21306)	WUR	2010	6
Anthropology and Rural Development (RDS 32306)	WUR	2010	6
'A theory of enactment in gender studies of tourism: Capturing the power of human agency of Tanzanian women'	Conference on Gender and Empowerment through Tourism, Kigali, Rwanda	2010	1
'Women participation in tourism industry in Zanzibar'	DELPHE Field Work and Presentation , Tanzania	2010	2
3ASTEP Workshop and Presentation	Kenya	2011	2
3ASTEP Workshop and Presentation	Namibia	2011	2
Young leaders Fieldwork and presentations	South Africa	2012	2
'Enacting gender to create own space: Tourism development and Women empowerment in Zanzibar'	Annual International Conference of the Royal Geographical Society	2013	1
B) General research related competences			
From Topic to Thesis (YRM 61303)	WUR	2010	3
PhD Reading Group	GEO	2010	2
Research proposal writing	WUR	2011	6
Writing Ethnographic and other Qualitative - Interpretive Research	WASS	2012	3
PhD Club	University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania	2013/2014	2
Qualitative Research Methodology	University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania	2013	2
C) Career related competences/personal development			
'Whether "by choice or by chance" Women Enact to Encounter Hospitality Employment in Zanzibar'	International Conference on Sustainable Tourism in Developing Countries , Zanzibar, Tanzania	2012	1
'Women's Ability to (Re)produce Gender Roles and Get Empowered Through Engaging in Tourism Entrepreneurial Activities in Zanzibar'	ATLAS Conference	2013	1
'Women entrepreneurs calculate social risks to access tourism benefits: Gender role enactment perspective'	14th International Conference on African Entrepreneurship and Small Business	2014	1
Total			43

*One credit according to ECTS is on average equivalent to 28 hours of study load