

Inclusive Tourism Asymmetries: Location and Gender Aspects

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Abstract

The capacity of tourism to include marginalized groups and alleviate poverty has been widely researched with diverging results. This study aims at appraising the economic contribution of tourism comparatively using location and gender. Using a structured questionnaire conveniently distributed to households nearby national parks and historical sites in Tanzania, a dataset of 507 participants was used to perform descriptive and non-parametric mean comparison analyses. Overall, local residents in and/or around tourism areas perceive tourism to contribute to poverty alleviation. However, the contribution of tourism in poverty alleviation differs with location, with remote locations receiving lesser economic benefits compared to centrally located areas. Furthermore, the results show tourism economic benefits not to depend on the gender of residents. Inclusive tourism initiatives need to consider locality in designing and implementation of tourism projects in ensuring equitable benefits. The comparative approach using location and gender in assessing the tourism potential to alleviate poverty is the unique approach of the study.

Keywords: *poverty, tourism, gender, location, Tanzania, inclusive development*

Introduction

Inclusive development is a burgeoning concept that emphasizes equitable developmental benefits to all stakeholders, particularly the marginalized, by mainstream neoliberal development adherents (Pou & Gupta, 2017). Among others, the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 5 and 10 emphasizes inclusion in terms of gender and location (United Nations, 2015). Inclusiveness with respect to gender under the rubric of the SDGs in the context of tourism and gender equality has been argued to be attained through the promulgation of tourism development (Jackman, 2022; Khatiwada & Silva, 2015). Tourism offers a platform for women socio-economic empowerment through employment, entry in tourism SMEs, and the ability of tourism business to be integrated with women gender roles (Jackman, 2022). However, despite the continued efforts to engender tourism business, women participation in tourism is still low (Ferguson & Alarcon, 2015; Khatiwada & Silva, 2015). For instance, a recent report indicates that despite 54% of the employed people in tourism being women, they receive 14% less benefits compared to their male counterparts (UNWTO, 2019).

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Research on the effect of tourism on gender inclusion has provided mixed results (Boley et al., 2017; Aghazamani et al., 2020). Whereas some studies have claimed tourism to have elevated the status of women (Zhang & Zhang, 2020), some have posited the contrary (Hutchings et al., 2020; Zhang & Zhang, 2021); while others have had mixed conclusions (Boley et al., 2016; Jackman, 2022). However, some variations of these results are contextual. Jackman (2022), for instance, found a positive effect in the developed world, but not in the sub-Saharan African (SSA) region. Also, while Zhang and Zhang (2020) found a positive effect in some Asian countries. Booley et al. (2017) noted the lack of a similar effect in Japan. In Africa, Khatiwada and Silva (2015) found no differences between male- and female-headed households deriving income from tourism. On the other hand, the World Tourism Organization (WTO) attests to a positive impact of tourism role on women empowerment through the creation of more jobs and higher incomes than other sectors. Such empirical discrepancies provoke a curiosity of the contextual factors behind the different gender impacts of tourism.

Some of the possible contextual explanations for the varying relationship between tourism and gender inclusiveness that might have effects on tourism inclusiveness includes traditional aspects (Boley et al., 2017; Figueroa-Domecq & Segovia-Perez, 2020; Maliva et al., 2018). These traditional aspects that vary between and within countries dictate how women participate in tourism, and results into different outcomes of gender inclusiveness. Moreover, Jackman's (2022) study results on tourism and gender equity shows that gender equity is influenced by higher tourism development in an area. Extending this line of reasoning to a country level, this implies that locations where tourism is booming are more likely to have greater gender equity. However, in specifying African women's inclusiveness in tourism, Jackman (ibid.) argue that tourism has negative effect on gender equity as it hinders career progress of women compared to men; thus possibly leading into different perceptions between the genders regarding tourism worldwide.

Tourism studies that have explored and compared economic benefits within countries are scarce (Rasoolimanesh et al., 2017). Most of these studies use secondary, cross-country macro-aggregate and quantitative data (Jackman, 2022; Nguyen, 2022; Zhang & Zhang, 2020; Zhang & Zhang, 2021) while some are qualitative (Aghazamani et al., 2020). Studies that have captured and compared gender perceptions of tourism are few (Boley et al., 2017), and have not specifically focused on economic aspects that are crucial in less developing countries like Tanzania. In extending and complimenting previous empirical findings, this paper has appraised gender equity in Tanzania, focusing on different tourism locations. Specifically, it has opted for coastal and

hinterland tourism destinations in Tanzania. These locations were selected to capture the different levels of tourism development, and the types of tourism and cultural aspects related to gender.

Literature Review

Tourism Perceived Economic Impacts

It is unanimously agreed that tourism has both positive and negative externalities (Ngowi & Jani, 2018; Rasoolimanesh et al., 2017). The appraisal of tourism impacts from local residents' perception is a common research endeavour (Gursoy et al., 2018; Hadinejad et al., 2019; Li & Wan, 2013; Rasoolimanesh et al., 2017). The main theoretical lens used to appraise residents' perception of tourism impacts have been the social exchange theory (SET) (Hadinejad et al., 2019). The theory asserts that a person will engage in a relationship when the benefits outweigh the costs (Gursoy et al., 2019). Many studies utilizing the SET have noted that positive perceptions outweigh negative ones (Ngowi & Jani, 2018), while others have indicated the contrary (Li & Wan, 2013). Such inconclusive findings imply the existence of possible contextual effects that alter perceptions. Thus, it is important to appraise local residents' perceived impacts of tourism in Tanzania, with its geographical, economic, cultural, and developmental contexts. Tanzania, as a context of research, is deemed important as there are few and patchy anecdotal evidence to support the SET (Bayno & Jani, 2016). In line with the SET, this study tested the following hypothesis:

H₁: Local residents have a positive perception on the economic impacts of tourism.

Gender in Tourism

Gender is a social aspect that is key in ordering an individual's life in the society that one lives in, and thus carries a substantial weight in influencing and shaping one's life, attitude, and behaviour. Hence, the differences between men and women are explained in terms of achieved status rather than natural biological features (West & Zimmerman, 1987).

In tourism, it is argued that gendered power relations have played an important role in the construction of inequality among those who participate in tourism as providers and consumers of tourism products (Watson & Kopachevsky, 1994). It is argued that gender relations in tourism reinforce binary oppositions between men and women (Aitchison, 2001; Pritchard & Morgan, 2000). In addition to the fact that women often occupy the lowest positions because of their domestic obligations, they are also excluded from the mainstream economy and from management levels.

Due to the way in which the tourism industry is organized, women seem to be powerless and their voices are rarely heard (Maliva et al., 2018). The inherent inequality in employment tend to make women's work invisible despite their commitment and passion to their work and the welfare of their families (Akpinar, et al., 2005). This contributes to gender inequality, and women's position is generally labelled as the lowest in the hierarchical category (Aitchison, 2001; Kinnaird et al., 1994; Thrane, 2008).

In this research it is assumed that, when compared to their male counterparts within the tourism industry, women are marginalized in terms of the economic benefits they derive from tourism, thus making them have less positive perceptions of the economic impacts of tourism. The different perceptions regarding tourism inclusion held by the two genders have been researched with majority findings indicating males to hold more positive perceptions of tourism (Turker & Boonabaana, 2012); with only a few women perceiving to be more included in tourism compared to their male counterparts (Bayno & Jani, 2018; Boley, et al., 2017). For example, in the African context, a study by Khatiwada and Silva (2015) noted the lack of any significant difference between male- and female-headed households that depended on tourism as a source of income. This implies that there are no significant differences in male and female perception of tourism. This is in tandem with a recent report by the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO, 2019): that tourism offers more employment opportunities with lesser income gaps between genders compared to other sectors. This findings implies that women are likely to perceive tourism in a more positive manner compared to other sectors. On the other hand, in Iran, a female-based study of Aghazamani by Kerstetter and Allison (2020) found less positive perceptions of women on the effect of tourism on women empowerment. Based on the diverging pointers from the previous studies, the following hypothesis is tested:

H₂: Residents' perceptions of economic benefits of tourism differ between males and female.

Location and Perceived Tourism Economic Benefits

Tourism production and consumption is a spatial phenomenon, thence a consideration of location differences is pertinent (Xu, 2018). This study contributes to the ongoing debates on the role of tourism with respect to locational and gender equity. From a general premise of location and tourism entrepreneurial development, Pena et al. (2015) concludes that more remote tourism areas are likely to have individuals with less entrepreneurial orientation than those in urban and peri-urban areas. A common sense logic suggests that those in urban and peri-urban areas have greater exposure to the market and business acumen due to

proximity to urban centres, as well as their cultures being more open with less gender stereotypes. Two theoretical models, particularly the destination life cycle (Butler, 1980), and the Doxey Irridex model (Doxey, 1975), might offer an alternative explanation on perceived economic benefits of tourism held by locals. Both models suggest that locals in destinations in the earlier stages of tourism development are more likely to be euphoric as they see tourism offering alternative sources of income. On the other hand, the models predict local residents in places that are highly saturated with tourism activities are likely to harbour negative perceptions of the industry in general.

However, results from previous studies diverge on the support of tourism being inclusive to local residents. For instance, Rasoolimanesh et al. (2017) compared urban and rural residents' attitudes towards tourism impacts and found urban residents to have more positive attitudes than their rural counterparts. Such findings are echoed by Alrwajfah et al. (2020) who found that urban women had positive perceptions of economic benefits from tourism compared to their rural counterparts in Jordan. This is contrary to what Butler (1980) and Doxey (1975) postulate: that urban places with more tourists are expected to have less positive perceptions of tourism. On the other hand, Vargas-Sanchez et al. (2011) indicates the relationship between local residents' perception and tourism growth to be an inverted curve: implying there is an optimum point where tourism growth and local residents' perceptions are positively correlated; and thereafter show a negative relationship.

Moreover, evidence from Malawi—a typical SSA country—indicates those close to tourism areas to be susceptible to economic marginalization (Bwalya-Umar & Mubanga, 2016). Following the findings by Abou-Shouk et al. (2021) of tourism having empowered more women in the UAE compared to Egypt and Oman due to different levels of tourism exposures, the possibility of different regions within the same country harbouring different perceptions regarding the economic contributions of tourism can be assumed. Hence, an amplification of location-based perceptions of economic impacts of tourism can be related to the culture of the locality. Pritchard and Morgan (2000) strongly affirms tourism to be a product of a gendered society emanating from the cultures of societies and the converging global society. With different societies having different cultures, it can rightly be assumed that tourism in different societies will have different impacts on the two genders. Given these divergent views on the relationship between location and equity, the following hypothesis is tested to appraise the relationship between location and perceived economic impacts of tourism:

H₃: The perceived economic impact of tourism differs with location.

Methods

Data Collection Methods and Procedures

A structured Likert scale questionnaire (ranging from 1–5) was used to capture the impacts of economic tourism that were adapted from previous studies (Boley et al., 2017; Nunkoo & So, 2016). The extreme 1-point anchor of the Likert scale represented strong agreement with the scale item, while a 5-point anchor indicated a strong agreement with the item. The questionnaire used in the study had two main sections: the first section capturing the demographic variables with categorical questions, while the second had the scale items capturing the economic impacts of tourism. The questionnaire that was originally in English was translated into Kiswahili—the national and common language in Tanzania by a professional bilingual Tanzanian academic staff member—prior to the fully fledged survey. The translated and original English questionnaire was appraised by two tourism academic staff to check that there were no translation errors. Upon agreeing on the content of the translated questionnaire, the questionnaire was pre-tested in a local semi-urban tourism destination in Tanzania. The preliminary results of the pre-testing exercise showed acceptable reliability and validity of the items.

The study data were collected from four purposely selected areas: Bagamoyo, Mikumi, Ifakara/Udzungwa, and Ruaha (Figure 1).

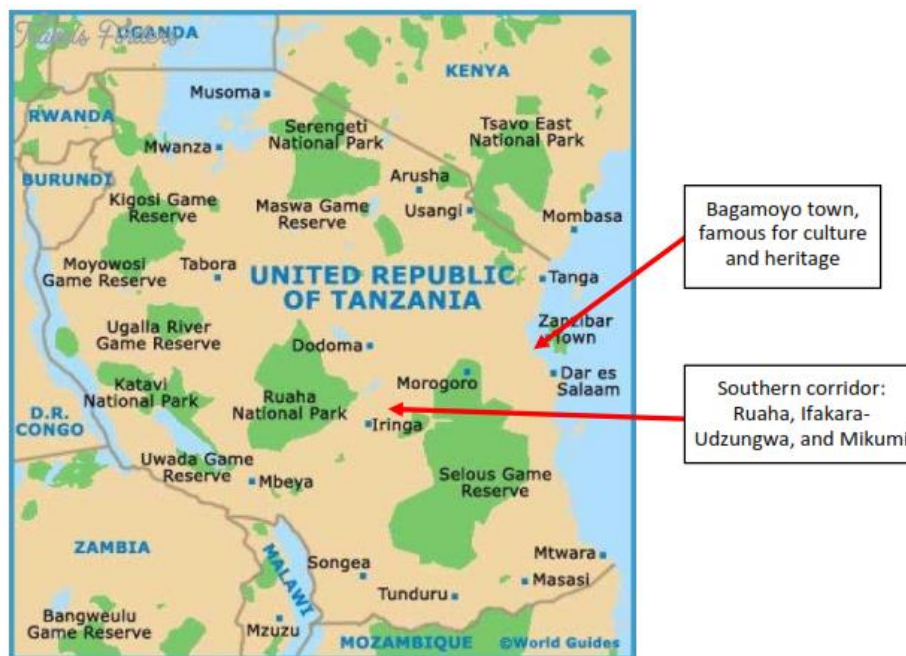


Figure 1: Map of Tanzania Showing the Study Areas

The research had an authorization letter from the responsible University of Dar es Salaam authorities, which enabled it to secure local government authorization to collect data in the respective areas. The research enlisted the help of either a local government official or a local person as a guide in undertaking household surveys through convenient sampling, factoring on the accessibility of the households. After introduction by a local guide, the research assistant administered the questionnaire through interviews as it was felt that some local residents might not be able to read/write, as well as to ensure that the exercise did not consume much of a respondent's time. A target of 150 questionnaires were administered in each of the four localities, making a total of 600; but only 507 were returned fully-filled. Both descriptive and inferential tests were performed. Non-parametric inferential tests—including one-sample Kolmogorov-Smirnov test, Mann-Whitney U-test, and Kruskal-Wallis test—were use due to the nature of the sampling procedures used.

Results

The profile of the respondents is presented in Table 1. Location-wise, the distribution of the respondents is relatively the same, while age-wise about 57% of the respondents fall within the youth group (18-33 years). More than half were married (57%), and had attained primary education (55%). Typical of agricultural rural-based societies, 52% indicated to be self-employed, or doing other activities apart from being employed (37%). Many (56.5%) indicated to have resided in the locality for more than ten (10) years.

Table 1: Respondents' Profile

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Location		
Bagamoyo	141	27.8
Mikumi	102	20.1
Ifakara	114	22.5
Ruaha	150	29.6
Gender-Male (Female)	272 (235)	53.6 (46.4)
Age		
18 to 25 years	139	27.4
26 to 33 years	150	30.0
34 to 41 years	83	16.4
42 to 57 years	86	17.0
Above 57 years	47	9.3
Marital status		
Single	131	25.84
Married	294	57.99
Others	82	16.20

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Education		
No formal education	63	12.43
Primary school	283	55.82
Secondary school	141	27.81
Above secondary school	20	3.95
Occupation		
Self-employed	267	52.66
Unemployed	17	3.35
Employed	26	5.13
Retired	5	1.0
Others (multiple)	192	37.87
Length of residence		
Less than 5 years	70	14.2
5 to 10 years	144	29.3
More than 10 years	278	56.5

A series of one-sample Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was performed to ascertain the overall perceptions of the residents on the economic items (H_1). The results present in Table 2 show the mean for all the items to be statistically greater than the mid-point scale value of 3, generally indicating tourism to be perceived to contribute to the economic conditions in the area, thus reflecting a general pro-poor tourism approach in the different areas. The stronger mean scores were observed for those items where tourism effects had impacts on the growth of small businesses (T7) and economic benefits (T6, T5, and T4).

Table 2: One-sample Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test

Scale Item	Mean	Std. Dev.	Std. Error Mean	T-value	Remarks
(T1) Tourism has improved livelihood	3.69	.732	.033	.358***	+ve
(T2) Tourism avail employment opportunities to locals	3.84	.618	.027	.390***	+ve
(T3) Income from tourism brings benefits to the locals	3.76	.674	.030	.390***	+ve
(T4) Tourism significantly brings in economic benefits to the locals	3.90	.568	.025	.415***	+ve
(T5) Tourism is good for the economy	3.96	.499	.022	.430***	+ve
(T6) Tourism has brought economic progress	3.94	.536	.024	.427***	+ve
(T7) Tourism incentivizes the growth of small businesses	4.07	.452	.020	.434***	+ve

Note: *** Significant at 1%

For the purpose of comparing the two genders on their perceptions of tourism contribution (H_2), the Mann-Whitney U test was performed with the results as shown in Table 3. Of the seven (7) items used, only one (1) item indicating tourism to have improved livelihood was significantly

different between males and females. With respect to the improvement of livelihoods emanating from tourism, males show slightly more positive perception on the contribution of tourism compared to females. Generally, these results indicate the perception of tourism impacts in the respective locations do not correlate to gender.

Table 3: Mann-Whitney Utest Comparing Genders

Scale Item	Gender	Mean	Std. Deviation	Mean Rank	Mann-Whitney U
T1	Male	3.72	.803	265.10	28942.00**
	Female	3.65	.639	241.16	
T2	Male	3.86	.653	259.26	30529.50
	Female	3.83	.577	247.91	
T3	Male	3.75	.704	254.78	31749.00
	Female	3.77	.639	253.10	
T4	Male	3.92	.573	259.26	30530.00
	Female	3.87	.563	247.91	
T5	Male	3.97	.511	257.70	30954.50
	Female	3.94	.486	249.72	
T6	Male	3.93	.575	253.12	31721.50
	Female	3.95	.487	255.01	
T7	Male	4.08	.509	257.22	31083.500
	Female	4.07	.375	250.27	

Note: *** Significant at 5%

In comparing the economic contribution of tourism in the four different locations (H_3), a Kruskal-Wallis test was used. The results shown in Table 4 indicate the economic contribution of tourism to differ significantly with location. Generally, residents in peri-urban areas have more positive perception of the economic contribution of tourism compared to those residing in remote areas (Ruaha in this case).

Table 4: Kruskal Wallis Test for Location

Items	Location	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean Rank	Chi-Square
T1	Bagamoyo	3.70 ^a	1.069	273.60	29.256***
	Mikumi	3.82 ^a	.587	276.90	
	Ifakara	3.79 ^a	.470	270.38	
	Ruaha	3.51 ^b	.540	207.56	
T2	Bagamoyo	3.91 ^{ab}	.874	279.66	54.876***
	Mikumi	4.05 ^a	.453	294.11	
	Ifakara	3.88 ^b	.380	261.61	
	Ruaha	3.61 ^c	.490	196.82	
T3	Bagamoyo	3.66 ^b	.962	247.97	54.739***
	Mikumi	4.07 ^a	.451	311.43	
	Ifakara	3.89 ^a	.346	276.39	
	Ruaha	3.55 ^b	.562	203.60	

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T4	Bagamoyo	3.89 ^b	.834	264.28	27.202***
	Mikumi	4.06 ^a	.463	285.30	
	Ifakara	3.94 ^{ab}	.306	261.45	
	Ruaha	3.75 ^c	.433	217.39	
T5	Bagamoyo	3.94 ^b	.782	260.07	16.181***
	Mikumi	4.08 ^a	.415	277.67	
	Ifakara	3.99 ^{ab}	.163	257.94	
	Ruaha	3.87 ^b	.341	229.20	
T6	Bagamoyo	3.87 ^b	.864	249.47	16.874***
	Mikumi	4.09 ^a	.401	282.99	
	Ifakara	4.00 ^a	.133	263.45	
	Ruaha	3.86 ^b	.348	231.37	
T7	Bagamoyo	4.18 ^a	.690	284.54	20.716***
	Mikumi	4.08 ^a	.390	252.78	
	Ifakara	4.01 ^b	.094	235.11	
	Ruaha	4.03 ^b	.347	240.48	

Note: *** Significant at 1%

Discussion and Implication

The study aimed to elucidate the different economic perceptions held by local residents on the contribution of tourism with respect to gender and location in Tanzania. The results indicate that local people have positive perceptions of economic inclusion of tourism. On comparing the genders, the different perceptions held by males and females on the economic inclusion aspects of tourism do not differ significantly. In terms of location, the findings shows different perceptions of inclusive aspects, with those areas that are remote having lesser inclusion aspects compared to those in peri-urban areas.

The positive perceptions held by the local residents with respect to tourism affirm the positive economic contribution of tourism (Bayno & Jani, 2018; Rasoolimanesh et al., 2017). The possible explanations for the positive perception of economic benefits derived from tourism for the Tanzanian sample might relate to the current socio-demographic characteristics and tourism development levels (Vargas-Sanchez et al., 2010). Generally, local residents around tourism areas in typical sub-Saharan African countries are poorer than urban dwellers, with few possible income-generating sources. In this situation, even with a few income sources availed by tourism, tourism is likely to be perceived more positively. As per Butler (1980) and the Doxey's model (Doxey, 1975), the life cycle of the level of tourism development in an area determines the level of residents' perceptions of tourism: from high in the initial stages, growing too high in the middle stages, to low in the latter stages. Thus, the positive perception of economic benefits derived from tourism that are above average, as attested by the results of the current study, affirms the applicability of the two models. The SET used in this study also finds support as residents could clearly evaluate the benefits and costs of tourism with respect to economics, thence settling to score positively.

The lack of differences between males and females on the economic contribution of tourism corroborate previous findings indicating tourism development to enhance gender equality (Nguyen, 2022; Zhang & Zhang, 2020). Borrowing from others, tourism is a stimulant for gender equality by availing opportunities to females to be employed, be educated in the due course, as well to enhance their political rights (Nguyen, 2022). The findings of this study reflects the high value of tourism to females as depicted by the report of the UNWTO (2019), which shows African tourism offering more employment to females (69%) compared to males relative to other sectors. Therefore, tourism is likely to favour females in a typical Africa patriarchal society, which relatively render tourism favourable in the eyes of females. Unlike some previous studies that noted women to have less positive perception of the economic benefits from tourism (Alrwajfah et al., 2020), additional contextual factors might be deemed necessary to explain the results. A possible factor for the equal perception of the economic benefits between males and females obtained in the current study might lead into the belief that the culture of the study area allows equal participation and sharing of economic benefits derived from tourism.

The differential perceptions of the impacts of tourism based on location affirms previous findings (Pena et al., 2015; Xu, 2018). Residents living in areas receiving many tourists—e.g., urban areas—are more likely to have positive perceptions of tourism as they are likely to receive larger shares of economic benefits. Also, local residents in urban areas are more likely to have opportunities for both formal and informal education to enable them tap tourism opportunities compared to their counterparts in rural areas. Location is observed to be an important factor in explaining local residents' perceptions of tourism, and thus its inclusion in the tourism value-chain should be reckoned by both policy-makers and developmental agencies.

The study has several limitations that might affect its findings. Methodologically, the study is purely explorative and quantitative in approach, which could not reveal the tourism mechanism in gender inclusiveness. The fact that all sampled areas had main tourism attractions might have led to the positive and lack of differences between genders; hence this calls for future research to compare areas with different levels of tourism development. As the findings indicate location to relate with the perception of the impact of tourism on economic contributions, a further (preferably qualitative) approach might offer insights on the underlying factors for the differences. As per the argument by Zhang and Zhang (2021), other possible factors apart from those that directly relate to the economic benefits of tourism—like education and political empowerment—that can be derived from tourism might have possible compounding effects on the perceptions of the economic benefits of tourism. Also, future studies can consider the other dimensions of tourism apart from economic benefits.

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