Empowerment through education: Tour operators promoting gender equality through capacity building in destination communities

Doctor of Philosophy Candidate Claudia Eger
Hospitality and Tourism Management
Supervisors Dr Caroline Scarles and Prof Graham Miller

University of Surrey
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
2016
Declaration of originality

This thesis and the work to which it refers are the results of my own efforts. Any ideas, data, images or text resulting from the work of others (whether published or unpublished) are fully identified as such within the work and attributed to their originator in the text, bibliography or in footnotes. This thesis has not been submitted in whole or in part for any other academic degree or professional qualification. I agree that the University has the right to submit my work to the plagiarism detection service TurnitinUK for originality checks. Whether or not drafts have been so-assessed, the University reserves the right to require an electronic version of the final document (as submitted) for assessment as above.

Claudia Eger

...................................

(Signature)
Abstract

This research critiques the relationship between tour operators and destination communities with a key focus on capacity building and gender (dis)empowerment in the context of education. Capacity building processes are studied employing social learning theory to enable an interconnected investigation of different capacity building levels and the ways in which these influence and are influenced by gender. The research critiques tour operators’ selection of destination projects, analysing the intended and unintended effects of an education project for girls situated in the High Atlas Mountains of Morocco. A dialogue between theory, context and partial perspectives is established through the adoption of an Islamic feminist framework, challenging dominant understandings and fostering the creation of differences from within.

Using the case of the Education for All project, findings reveal that caring at a distance is a crucial element of responsible action in tourism. Tour operators’ investment in destination projects emerges primarily through an ethic of care between them and destination communities, with multiple layers of shared, performed and displaced responsibility underpinning this business practise. However, with no formal frameworks in existence, tour operators’ selection of projects depends upon emergent strategies that connect the professional with the personal, with trust being positioned as a central driver of these informal processes.

With regard to destination communities, lived experience and informal education are identified as core components of capacity building processes. Friendship is equated to the meaning of education, with empowerment being re-negotiated as learning to be responsible for the self. This understanding challenges local interpretations of equality based on gendered notions of respect. Women’s increasing sense of responsibility, confidence and competence has the potential to problematize relations of (dis)respect and the role and position of women within society. Two recommendations to aid in this process were developed: anti-gossip campaigns and mentoring schemes.
Acknowledgments

This thesis has greatly benefited from the continued discussions with my supervisors, Caroline Scarles and Graham Miller, which helped me develop my thinking about my research.

I would like to thank the support provided by the Economic and Social Research Council [grant number 1223594] for this research project. Further, I am thankful for the support received by Explore Worldwide. Their contribution in kind to this study, including the advice and support given during the research project, were invaluable.

I am indebted to my colleagues with whom I ventured on this academic journey, especially Lynn, Susann, Dan and Carol. I am also indebted to all my research participants who shared their thoughts and time with me. I would like to thank, especially, the Education for All project for letting me stay at the boarding houses to conduct this research. I am grateful for the time I spend there and I would like to thank each girl for the knowledges, emotions and laughter we have shared. Further, I am very much indebted to the community members of the Berber villages, who received me in their homes and shared their stories with me.

Finally, I would like to thank Thiemo for being there for me throughout this journey.
# Table of Contents

Glossary .................................................................................................................................................. 10

1. Introduction ......................................................................................................................................... 11
   1.1 Research aim and objectives ....................................................................................................... 15
   1.2 Structure of thesis ......................................................................................................................... 15

2. Context chapter .................................................................................................................................... 17
   2.1 Introduction .................................................................................................................................... 17
   2.2 Tourism development in the region of Imlil .................................................................................. 18
   2.3 Education for All: Gender equality and education ..................................................................... 23
      2.3.1 Gender relations .................................................................................................................... 24
      2.3.2 Access to education ................................................................................................................. 26
      2.3.3 Education for All .................................................................................................................... 28
   2.4 Conclusion ...................................................................................................................................... 31

3. Islam and gender .................................................................................................................................. 33
   3.1 Introduction .................................................................................................................................... 33
   3.2 Feminist streams ............................................................................................................................. 35
   3.3 Islamic ummah ............................................................................................................................... 36
   3.4 Religious scriptures ......................................................................................................................... 38
   3.5 The family: Honour and morality ................................................................................................. 41
   3.6 Embodied experiences of Islam and identity ................................................................................ 45
   3.7 Conclusion ..................................................................................................................................... 51

4. Tourism and gender ............................................................................................................................... 53
   4.1 Introduction .................................................................................................................................... 53
   4.2 Conceptualisation of gender ......................................................................................................... 54
   4.3 Feminist thoughts and theories .................................................................................................... 58
   4.4 Gender and tourism employment ................................................................................................ 62
   4.5 Gender, tourism and sexuality .................................................................................................... 65
   4.6 Gender, tourism and representations .......................................................................................... 69
   4.7 Conclusion ..................................................................................................................................... 72

5. Capacity building and empowerment in destination communities ..................................................... 75
   5.1 Introduction .................................................................................................................................... 75
   5.2 Conceptualisation of capacity building ....................................................................................... 76
   5.3 Tourism development and capacity building ............................................................................. 77
   5.4 Tour operators and capacity building ......................................................................................... 80
   5.5 Capacity for empowerment in tourism ......................................................................................... 85
   5.6 Gender equality and empowerment ............................................................................................. 87
   5.7 Capacity building through education .......................................................................................... 91
   5.8 Conclusion ..................................................................................................................................... 93

6. Methodology ......................................................................................................................................... 95
   6.1 Introduction .................................................................................................................................... 95
   6.2 Research aim and objectives ........................................................................................................ 96
   6.3 Methodological foundations ........................................................................................................ 96
   6.4 Research design ............................................................................................................................ 98
6.4.1 First research phase ........................................................................................................... 99
6.4.2 Second research phase ....................................................................................................... 102
6.4.3 Third research phase ......................................................................................................... 103
6.4.4 Fourth research phase ....................................................................................................... 114
6.5 Researcher subjectivity ....................................................................................................... 119
6.6 Translating subjectivities: Challenges and opportunities ................................................. 123
6.7 Data analysis ....................................................................................................................... 125
6.7.1 First phase of coding ......................................................................................................... 126
6.7.2 Second phase of coding ................................................................................................... 127
6.7.3 Third phase of coding ....................................................................................................... 127
6.7.4 Fourth phase of coding ..................................................................................................... 131
6.8 Ethical standards of research ............................................................................................. 134
6.8.1 Informed consent .............................................................................................................. 134
6.8.2 Abstaining from deception .............................................................................................. 135
6.8.3 Confidentiality and anonymity ......................................................................................... 136
6.9 Conclusion .......................................................................................................................... 137

7. Care, responsibility and trust .............................................................................................. 139
7.1 Introduction ......................................................................................................................... 139
7.2 Realms of care ...................................................................................................................... 140
7.3 Organisational realm of care .............................................................................................. 142
7.3.1 Care as an expression of altruistic intent ......................................................................... 144
7.3.2 Caring strategically ......................................................................................................... 147
7.3.3 Obligatory care ................................................................................................................ 151
7.4 Selection of projects ............................................................................................................ 154
7.4.1 Community and business leadership .............................................................................. 156
7.4.2 Personal values of leaders ................................................................................................. 158
7.4.3 Improvisation and intuition .............................................................................................. 163
7.4.4 Aestheticisation ................................................................................................................ 165
7.5 Trust .................................................................................................................................. 168
7.5.1 Foundations of trust ......................................................................................................... 169
7.5.2 Competence and local knowledge .................................................................................... 172
7.5.3 Integrity and shared values ............................................................................................... 173
7.5.4 Care and trusting expectations ......................................................................................... 174
7.6 Conclusion .......................................................................................................................... 176

8. Creating opportunities for capacity building ..................................................................... 179
8.1 Introduction .......................................................................................................................... 179
8.2 Education for All: Creating opportunities ......................................................................... 180
8.2.1 The meaning of education ............................................................................................... 181
8.2.2 Networks, care and friendship ......................................................................................... 183
8.2.3 Empowering narrative of trust ........................................................................................ 186
8.3 Holistic philosophy of learning .......................................................................................... 188
8.3.1 Education: Quality, resources and support ..................................................................... 189
8.3.2 Connected and collaborative learning ............................................................................. 191
8.4 Supportive relationships ..................................................................................................... 193
8.4.1 Mothering ........................................................................................................................ 194
8.4.2 Mentoring ........................................................................................................................ 197
8.4.3 Role modelling ................................................................................................................ 200
8.5 Empowerment as responsibility for the self ...................................................................... 204
8.6 Communication and cultural exchange .............................................................................. 207
8.7 Imagining alternative life paths ............................................................... 211
  8.7.1 Creative imagination and abstraction skills ........................................ 211
  8.7.2 Aspirations ......................................................................................... 213
8.8 Conclusion ......................................................................................... 216

9. Incremental change and capacity building in destination communities ........... 221
  9.1 Introduction ......................................................................................... 221
  9.2 Tourism development, gender (in)equality and change ................................ 223
  9.3 Incremental change at the community and household level ......................... 229
    9.3.1 Care discourse ................................................................................. 230
    9.3.2 Respect and shame ......................................................................... 230
    9.3.3 (Dis)respect and (dis)empowerment ............................................. 232
    9.3.4 Naturalised gender representations ............................................... 234
    9.3.5 Re-negotiation of care discourse ................................................... 235
  9.4 Incremental change at the peer level ...................................................... 237
    9.4.1 Multi-layered role modelling ...................................................... 238
    9.4.2 Situated knowledges and religion .................................................. 240
  9.5 Capacity building in the realm of gender and tourism ................................... 243
  9.6 Conclusion ......................................................................................... 246

10. Conclusion and recommendations ............................................................. 249
  10.1 Caring at a distance ........................................................................... 249
  10.2 Lived experience of education ............................................................ 252
  10.3 Incremental change ........................................................................... 253
  10.4 Recommendations ............................................................................ 255
    10.4.1 Development of mentoring relationships and networks ................. 256
    10.4.2 Anti-gossip campaigns ............................................................... 257
    10.4.3 Research limitations ..................................................................... 258
  10.5 Avenues for future research ................................................................. 259
  10.6 Researcher reflections ........................................................................ 262

List of References .................................................................................... 264

Appendices ............................................................................................... 299
  Appendix A ............................................................................................ 299
  Appendix B ............................................................................................ 307
  Appendix C ............................................................................................ 310
  Appendix D ............................................................................................ 312
# Table of Figures

Figure 1: Map of Marrakesh-Tensift-El Haouz Region (Map by Author) .................................................. 19  
Figure 2: Women carrying grass in local village (Picture by Author) .................................................... 20  
Figure 3: Talat N’Yacoub and surrounding communities (Picture by Author) ..................................... 20  
Figure 4: Scenic beauty of Imlil valley (Picture by Author) ................................................................. 21  
Figure 5: Conversations with women in traditional salon (Picture by Author) ...................................... 22  
Figure 6: Rubbish collection truck (Picture by Author) ........................................................................... 23  
Figure 7: Poverty and access to education (Picture by Girl60, Efa2) ....................................................... 26  
Figure 8: Local bus on the route to Imsker (Picture by Author) .............................................................. 27  
Figure 9: Efa Symbol (Education for All, 2008) ....................................................................................... 28  
Figure 10: Education for All boarding house in Talat N’Yacoub (Picture by Author) ....................... 29  
Figure 11: Staff members in front of the boarding house in Ourgane (Picture by Author) .................... 29  
Figure 12: Teaching room in Dar Tinmel (Picture by Author) ............................................................... 30  
Figure 13: Learning spaces on the terrace of Dar Tinmel (Picture by Author) ...................................... 30  
Figure 14: Three levels of capacity building (Developed by Author) ..................................................... 76  
Figure 15: Empowerment model of capacity building (Developed by Author) .................................... 90  
Figure 16: Girls playing with camera (Picture by Author) .................................................................... 107  
Figure 17: Presenting my personality (Picture by Girl27, Efa1) .............................................................. 108  
Figure 18: Shared moments of silence (Picture by Girl60, Efa2) ............................................................ 109  
Figure 19: Embodied meaning of education (Picture by Girl12, Efa1) ..................................................... 110  
Figure 20: Drawing activity (Picture by Author) .................................................................................... 111  
Figure 21: Negotiations of self (Drawing by Girl54, Efa1) ..................................................................... 112  
Figure 22: Research visits to villages (Picture by Author) ................................................................... 114  
Figure 23: Valley of Imlil (Picture by Author) ....................................................................................... 114  
Figure 24: Traditional lunch (tagine) in a local home (Picture by Author) .......................................... 115  
Figure 25: Women’s association (Picture by Author) ........................................................................... 115  
Figure 26: Marriage celebration (Picture by Volunteer) ........................................................................ 116  
Figure 27: Sharing breakfast with the women of a local cooperative (Picture by Author) .................. 116  
Figure 28: Participation in a school event (Picture by Author) .............................................................. 117  
Figure 29: Local market in Talat’n’Yacoub (Picture by Author) ............................................................ 122  
Figure 30: Thematic scheme of drawings (Developed by Author) .......................................................... 129  
Figure 31: Transitioning from third- to fourth-phase of coding (Developed by Author) ..................... 132  
Figure 32: Fourth-phase of coding (Developed by Author) .................................................................. 133  
Figure 33: Illiterate community member signing consent form (Picture by Author) ............................ 135  
Figure 34: Education and friendship (Picture by Girl23, Efa1) ............................................................... 184  
Figure 35: The second home (Picture by Girl20, Efa1 and drawing by Girl6, Efa1) .............................. 185  
Figure 36: Primary school (Picture by Author) ..................................................................................... 190  
Figure 37: Stars 2014 (Picture by Author) ............................................................................................ 191  
Figure 38: Maternal support relationships (Picture by Girl50, Efa1) ...................................................... 195  
Figure 39: Teacher as role model (Picture by Girl31, Efa1) ................................................................. 202  
Figure 40: Responsibilities at the boarding houses (Picture by Girl41, Efa1) .......................................... 205  
Figure 41: Long path to self-realisation (Picture by Girl64, Efa2) ......................................................... 212  
Figure 42: Present - future continuum (Drawing by Girl21, Efa1) ......................................................... 213  
Figure 43: Religious aspirations (Drawing by Girl26, Efa1) ................................................................. 214
Figure 44: Un/Traditional self-representation (Left drawing by Girl49, EfA1; right drawing by Girl55, EfA1) ................................................................. 214
Figure 45: Integration of work and family (Picture by Girl27, EfA1) .................. 215
Figure 46: Traditional tourism accommodation in valley of Imlil (Picture by Author) .... 226
Figure 47: Women collecting grass on their farm (Picture by Author) .................. 226
Figure 48: Cattle shed forming part of a house (Picture by Author) ....................... 227
Figure 49: Kitchen in a local house and traditional bread oven (Picture by Author) .... 227
Figure 50: Access to education (Picture by Girl59, EfA2) .................................. 237
Figure 51: Woman engaging in traditional carpet weaving (Picture by Girl59, EfA2) .... 245

List of Tables

Table 1: Research timeframe ................................................................................. 99
Table 2: Photo-elicitation instructions .................................................................. 108
Table 3: Drawing-elicitation instructions................................................................. 111
Table 4: Reflections on the meaning of education .................................................. 183
Table 5: Role modelling functions ....................................................................... 201
## Glossary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Al-jins</td>
<td>Gender, sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Mudawwanah</td>
<td>Code of Personal Status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amazighs</td>
<td>Berbers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burqa</td>
<td>A piece of clothing that covers the body from head to foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSR</td>
<td>Corporate Social Responsibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dar</td>
<td>House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dar Taliba</td>
<td>State boarding house for girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DBS</td>
<td>Disclosure and Barring Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darija</td>
<td>Spoken variety of Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Djellaba</td>
<td>A long loose dress with full sleeves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douar</td>
<td>Neighbourhood, small village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFA</td>
<td>Education for All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESRC</td>
<td>Economic and Social Research Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FGM</td>
<td>Female Genital Mutilation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadith</td>
<td>Prophetic tradition, narrative relating to deeds and utterances of the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prophet and his Companions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halal</td>
<td>Lawful, allowed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hammam</td>
<td>Bath house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haram</td>
<td>Forbidden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hijab</td>
<td>Veil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ijihad</td>
<td>Independent interpretation of scripture; independent, scripture-based,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>judgement in a legal or theological question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jihad</td>
<td>Fighting for the holy cause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDGs</td>
<td>Sustainable Development Goals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shari’a</td>
<td>Religious law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Souk</td>
<td>Market place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tafsir</td>
<td>Exegesis, interpretation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ummah</td>
<td>Transnational community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watan</td>
<td>(Secular) Nation-state</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. Introduction

This research investigates capacity building and empowerment processes within destination communities through the lens of gender equality and education. Destination communities have often been excluded from tourism activities and have not been able to benefit adequately from tourism development. Mowforth and Munt (2009) have explored the multiple ways unequal power relations have governed tourism development in developing countries. A more equitable and inclusive development of tourism requires an active engagement between industry brokers, such as tour operators and locals (Cheong & Miller, 2000). Tour operators work at the interface with destination communities and tourists, representing key industry brokers in tourism (Novelli & Hellwig, 2013; Scheyvens, 2002). They can influence demand, travel behaviour and development processes in tourism (Carey et al., 1997; Hall & Brown, 2006), while at the same time; their presence in specific locations can have significant effects on destination communities. This research, therefore, focuses on the role of tour operators as facilitators of capacity building opportunities in destination communities (see Wearing & McDonald, 2002), to explore their engagement in responsible action, which also provides insights to their professional ethics.

Capacity building has been identified as an important factor influencing destination communities’ ability to participate and benefit from tourism development (Beeton, 2006; Choi & Sirakaya, 2005; Moscardo, 2008; Scheyvens, 2002). However, the role of capacity building and considerations of gender within that, have only been addressed sporadically within the academic tourism literature (see e.g. Aref, 2011; Koutra & Edwards, 2012; Manwa, 2008; Monypenny, 2008; Walker, 2008a). Capacity building has received much greater attention in other fields, such as health and agriculture (see e.g. Davenport & Seekamp, 2013; Kwan et al., 2003; Laverack & Wallerstein, 2001; McKnight & Kretzmann, 1997; Simmons et al., 2011). This research, therefore, adopts an interdisciplinary approach drawing on knowledge from other disciplines to support a comprehensive study of capacity building in tourism. It further addresses the limited attention given to gender issues in tourism-related capacity building, recognising that gender represents a key aspect in framing experiences of (in)equality and (dis)empowerment in tourism.

To understand opportunities resulting from tourism to promote capacity building and greater gender equality through that, also the potential adverse relation, namely the
existing and (re)produced gender inequalities within tourism, have to be considered. Gender permeates tourism and the everyday (Wilson & Ypeij, 2012), being embodied in tourism interaction, constructed in the gendered division of tourism labour and (re)produced and inscribed on representations of tourism destinations. It has been noted in the academic literature that the division of tourism benefits is reflective of patriarchal power relations underpinning gender (Gibson, 2001; Scheyvens, 2000; Sönmez, 2001; Tucker & Boonabaana, 2012; Tucker, 2007). A key aspect represents the gendered structure of tourism work, with women occupying mainly low, although, increasingly in developed countries middle ranking positions within the employment hierarchy (Pritchard et al., 2007). Men are predominantly situated within middle and top ranked positions (Enloe, 2000; Richter, 1998; Timothy, 2001). Not only tourism work is being gendered in the process of being laboured, also tourism promotion employs a highly gendered language and imagery (Frohlick & Johnston, 2011; Pritchard & Morgan, 2000a). This enforces the (re)production of stereotypical notions of femininity and masculinity, including a gendering of the landscapes of destination communities (Pritchard & Morgan, 2000a, 2000b).

A gender-aware framework is required to address the variously situated and diverse experiences of gender inequality in tourism (Kinnaird & Hall, 1996), with a greater consideration of gender issues being supportive of a more gender equal practise of tourism (Ferguson, 2011). Gender inequalities often form an integral part of development processes, still, analyses of the effects that tourism projects have on gender dynamics and empowerment in local communities are scarce (Ferguson, 2009). This research contributes to the literature on capacity building in tourism by studying tour operators’ selection of projects in destination communities, further providing a thorough analysis of the processes and outcomes of a tourism-supported capacity building project in Morocco. The analysis focuses on the promotion of gender equality through building local capacities, with empowerment forming an integral part of these processes. However, this requires recognising that social interaction in tourism influences and is influenced by gender relations and norms prevailing in destination communities (Gibson, 2001; Scheyvens, 2000; Swain, 2002). Capacity building, therefore, needs to be developed in accordance to local social and cultural norms underpinning gender relations. This can be considered a necessary condition for achieving socially embedded transformation.

The research uses the pathway of education to study capacity building processes, forming part of the two main areas of capacity building in tourism, namely education and training
(Beeton, 2006). The spaces for, and experiences of, empowerment created through education are explored, as well as issues of gender equality underpinning access to education. Sönmez (2001) highlights that education is crucial for social empowerment and it is further considered to be one of the main factors contributing to women’s empowerment in the ‘Gender Equality and Development Report 2012’ (World Bank, 2011). The success of a community-responsive tourism approach further depends on the degree community capacity is improved (Telfer, 2003) and from a wider industry perspective, striving for gender equality and empowerment supports addressing some of the inequalities existing in tourism (Sinclair, 1997). It is argued that tour operators’ support of culturally sensitive projects in destinations is embedding an ethic of care between tour operators and communities.

This study aims to transcend dominant interpretive frameworks by engaging in an empathetic, situated and relational study of the different ways in which capacity building can promote gender equality and empowerment as well as individual and wider development processes within destination communities. The meaning of gender varies from society to society, with each society having their own social and cultural norms that have shaped gender relations differently (Swain, 1995). Concepts like gender empowerment, equality and capacity building have to be analysed relative to the society where those concepts are being investigated, which requires a rethinking of the framework itself within which gender and community capacities are being studied. Kabeer (1999, 2005) notes that the concept of gender empowerment is a Western concept and the Western underpinning of gender equality is often not compatible with local family structures and gender norms (Singh, 2007). While the west does not refer to a monolithic concept, which is emphasised through the multiplicity of western feminisms that exist, it is still “possible to trace a coherence of effects resulting from the implicit assumption of ‘the west’ (in all its complexities and contradictions) as the primary referent in theory and praxis” (Mohanty, 1988, pp. 61–62 italics in original). Therefore, a rethinking of the framework employed within gender-aware tourism studies requires a holistic re-engagement with the foundations of what gender means, what its implications are in everyday life and how these affect gender relations, embodied experiences of gender as well as capacity building processes within destination communities. This enables perceiving and understanding the sometimes-subtle transformations that represent sites of resistance and empowerment within ‘gender trouble’ (Butler, 1990).
Several authors, such as Enloe (2000), Sinclair (1997) and Swain (2002) have argued that a feminist enquiry represents a fruitful approach to address gender inequalities existing in the contemporary tourism industry. In line with this and previous arguments, an Islamic feminist lens is adopted in this study, following the tenets of Islamic feminism (see e.g. Badran, 2009; Moghadam, 2002; Roald, 1998; Treacher, 2003; Wadud, 2006). This epistemological approach supports a situated, relational and dynamic understanding of gender experiences within an Islamic framework. This builds the basis for studying the development of individual and wider community capacities and the consequent effects these have on community development and levels of gender inequality in destination communities. Islamic culture and traditions influence the political, cultural and social manifestations of gendered norms (Moghadam, 2002), which also affects tourism practise in Muslim societies (see e.g. Aziz, 2001; Sanad et al., 2010; Scott & Jafari, 2010b; Zamani-Farahani & Henderson, 2010; Zamani-Farahani, 2010). Basing this study on an Islamic framework facilitates the transfer of knowledge and fusion of different ideological standpoints, which is also present in the interweaving of tour operator and stakeholder relationships in destination communities.

This research investigates capacity building on three different levels, following the conceptualisation of community capacity of Kwan et al. (2003). Firstly, on an individual level, analysing the manifestations of gender equality and the effects of women’s empowerment on community members directly involved in the educational project. Second, on an organisational level, studying tour operators’ selection processes of capacity building opportunities promoting gender equality. Thirdly, on a community level, which is assessed through studying the intended and unintended effects of women’s empowerment and education on wider community development. These levels are reflected in the first three research objectives, whereas the fourth research objectives integrates the different levels, in order to develop recommendations for promoting gender equality and empowerment through tourism-supported capacity building initiatives. The aim of the study and the research objectives are presented below. Afterwards follows a short description of the structure of the thesis, outlining the main content of each chapter. The Education for All (EfA) project in Morocco, which represents the institutional context in which the fieldwork was implemented, is presented in the following chapter.
1.1 Research aim and objectives

The research aim of this study is to investigate gender equality and empowerment facilitated by tour operators through capacity building in destination communities.

Using the example of the ‘Education for All’ project in Morocco, the research objectives seek to:

1) Critique selection processes through which tour operators identify opportunities for capacity building promoting gender equality in destination communities,

2) Analyse spaces for, and experiences of, gender empowerment within tourism-supported educational projects,

3) Analyse the consequent intended and unintended effects of women's empowerment and education on wider community development,

4) Develop recommendations for stakeholders to facilitate the promotion of gender equality and empowerment through tourism-supported capacity building initiatives.

1.2 Structure of thesis

The thesis consists of ten chapters, with the following paragraphs presenting a short outline of their content. The introduction is followed by the second chapter that presents the context of the research, which is based on a fusion between Morocco and the remote spaces of tour operators. The discussion focuses on the development of tourism within the fieldwork location and introduces the tourism-supported EfA project, situating the latter within the wider debates on gender quality and education. The subsequent three chapters discuss the theoretical territory that underpins this research. The third chapter engages in a critical study of gender relations and norms within Islamic culture, adopting an Islamic feminist lens that enables gaining an insight to a non-secular understanding of gender. The fourth chapter draws on feminist thoughts and theories, in order to explore the various articulations of gendered tourism practises. The fifth chapter provides a critical discussion of capacity building within tourism and relates this to conceptualisations and opportunities for gender empowerment. It further draws attention to education as a form of capacity building and focuses on issues of gender equality underpinning access to education within Muslim societies.

The sixth chapter presents the methodological underpinning of the study, which draws on
an interpretive understanding of reality based on a feminist subjectivist epistemology. The research employed a case study strategy to assess the research objectives and the methods used were participant observation and qualitative interviews. In the research conducted with school children the interviews were paired with respondent-led visual methods. This decreased power imbalances and provided respondents with an added sense of agency. One of the main challenges encountered throughout the fieldwork was 'access', with this being addressed in each of the four research phases respectively. The chapter concludes with reflections on the ethical underpinnings of the research. This leads into the three analyses and discussion chapters, which are shortly presented next.

The seventh chapter explores tour operators’ selection processes of projects in destination communities. It sheds light on tour operators’ motivation to care and outlines the different approaches to identifying and selecting projects, with trust emerging as one of the main informal selection criteria. This leads to the eighth chapter discussing the opportunities created for capacity building through tour operators’ distance care. Here, the girls’ education and empowerment experiences are analysed, highlighting the importance of the lived experience of education and informal learning processes. The ninth chapter assesses the wider effects the girls’ education and increasing sense of responsibility has had on the surrounding communities, differentiating between incremental change at the community, peer and household level. The ideological framework governing community life is discussed, drawing connections to different processes that might contribute to a transformation of local discourses.

The conclusion chapter highlights the contributions, recommendations and limitations of this research and indicates potential avenues for future research. Next, the context of the research is presented.
2. Context chapter

2.1 Introduction

This research was supported by an ESRC case-studentship and conducted in collaboration with a UK tour operator, Explore Worldwide. The context of the study encompasses the wider physical and non-physical presences of tour operators in destination communities through their support of a wide web of projects across different countries. The tour operators participating in this study are small to medium sized adventure and specialist operators with their headquarters being located in Europe. Their tours are Western-induced and oriented, which is manifested through the adoption of local cultural specific attributes, practises and ideologies. This, in turn, represents a complex interconnection and fusion of different ideologies, as they exist within tour operator and community relationships and between the researcher and the researched, building the foundation of this research. There exist a wide range of destination communities that vary in form and scale (Boyd & Singh, 2003), with development efforts requiring a consideration of regional specificities, national policies as well as the global frameworks within which tourism occurs (Telfer, 2003). Using the example of the EfA project in Morocco, this research investigates the ways in which relationships between tour operators and local communities become articulated through the investment in capacity building projects, which in turn can lead to wider community development and gender empowerment.

The following sections focus on the research spaces situated within Morocco and rely primarily on field observations, the researcher's field diary and notes, additionally to the interviews conducted with community members, project stakeholders and tour operators.\(^1\) The first part discusses the development of tourism in the region of Imlil and the effect this has had on traditional forms of income and social frameworks. Despite the benefits that tourism has brought to the region, there still exist wide disparities between genders, particularly in access to education. The second part of this chapter analyses gender

---

\(^1\) Tour operator (TO) respondents are identified by number (e.g. TO1; TO2); other respondents from the organisational/institutional realm are identified by their role as agent, community leader, teacher or housemother. Community members are identified by a pseudonym and a short abbreviation, to differentiate between parents (PAR) and community members (CM). EfA girls are identified by number (e.g. Girl1, Girl2) and schooling level, with EfA1 standing for secondary school, EfA2 for high school and EfA3 for university (e.g. Girl75, EfA3). (See methodology chapter section 6.8.3 for more details)
empowerment and education within the context of the EfA project, situating the discussion within the wider global debates surrounding educational attainment and access to education. There exist a range of sensitivities underpinning the research project particularly with regards to respondents' perspectives about Islam. Therefore, it is highlighted that the latter represent local interpretations that might not accurately reflect Qur’anic teachings.

As the introduction has explicitly stated, this research fuses together different cultures, identities, belief and value systems between the researcher and the researched. As such, it is important for the reader to understand the positionality of the researcher, who comes from an international background having lived in Germany, Burkina Faso, Peru, Colombia, Austria and England and having worked across geographical regions and with groups of a range of ethnic minorities. This adds to the complexity of the research phases in which multiple subjectivities become enmeshed, with the primary research position being occupied by a female in her late twenties. This then combines with an identity of a white, middle class, highly educated, relatively affluent individual, compared with the research setting in which most individuals are Berber, working class, have no or relatively low levels of education and limited resources. The age and gender, as well as the range of experiences of working with different cultures across the world foster sensitivity to cultural difference. This allows mutuality and connection with younger female research participants, with whom relations of rapport and trust are established over the research process. Feelings of empathy are based in values and beliefs of equity, equality and fairness in society that put the researcher in a position open to challenging thinking, thoughts and ideas. Situated knowledges, hence, are co-constructed by the researcher and participants’ subjectivities and identities (England, 1994; Haraway, 1988; Rose, 1997) and negotiated in dialogical encounters with the lifeworlds of the researcher and the Berber communities of the High Atlas Mountains in Morocco.

2.2 Tourism development in the region of Imlil

This research expands upon previous work on capacity building in tourism to broaden the understanding of education and gender empowerment within that. The institutional case in which the fieldwork was implemented is the EfA project in Morocco, an educational initiative that was started by Discover Ltd, a UK tour operator. The project provides access to secondary and high school education for girls from remote villages of the High Atlas
Mountains. The map presents the study area in Morocco (see Figure 1), with the shaded area forming part of the Marrakesh-Tensift-El Haouz region located in the centre of Morocco. The research was conducted within the EfA boarding houses situated in Asni, Ouirgane, and Talat n’Yacoub and in the surrounding communities of the EfA project. A particular focus was set on the valley of Imlil where many of the EfA girls are from. The valley consists of a number of small villages surrounding the centre village of Imlil. Adjacent to Imlil are Taourirt, Targa Imoula, Achayn, Ait Souka and Arghen, with the map showing those villages that are located farther away from the centre: Tamatert, Aremd and Mazik. Other villages visited during the fieldwork include Ijoukak and Imsker.

The context of the research represents a fusion between Morocco and the remote spaces of tour operators, with the wider web of connections established between tour operators and destination communities being analysed in more detail in the subsequent chapters. Morocco lives off its diversity and heterogeneity, being simultaneously a Berber, Arab, Muslim and African country. The religious orientation of Muslim communities affects tourism development (Din, 1989), with a range of authors studying the interrelationships between tourism and Islam (see e.g. Aziz, 2001; Bhardwaj, 1998; Sanad et al., 2010; Scott & Jafari, 2010a; Zamani-Farahani & Henderson, 2010). The Berbers, as an ethnic group native to North Africa, have adopted Islam as part of their culture (Sadiqi, 2003) and most community members in the High Atlas Mountain region speak Berber. This is a predominantly oral language that became part of Morocco’s official state languages in 2011 (Maghraoui, 2011).

Local people have mainly been living from subsistence farming and the local way of life continues to be tightly interwoven with agriculture and animal husbandry. It was not until 1996 that local households in the region received electricity, with running water arriving
around the year 2000 (Ali, CM). Women tend to be responsible for social reproduction work and subsistence farming, with a common picture in the local communities being women carrying large loads of grass (see Figure 2). Primarily men work in paid employment, though; most people do not receive monthly salaries and have to live on a day-by-day basis. Poverty is a pressing issue in many of the rural villages in the High Atlas Mountains, particularly in the most remote areas such as the periphery of Talat n’Yacoub (see Figure 3). A local association member (Ali, CM) commented that a poor family's income per year is approximately £300 to £350 (converted from Moroccan Dirham). This further limits their financial capacity to send their children to school, with many predominantly male community members leaving to larger cities to find work.

Localised growth of tourism has positively affected the economic development of the valley of Imlil over the last ten to twenty years. Tourism development represents an important growth factor and diversification strategy for Morocco’s economy, with the current 2020 Vision of tourism endorsed by King Mohammed VI aiming to double the size of the tourism sector (Moroccan Agency of Tourism Development, 2014). The country intends to strengthen foreign business involvement, with tour operators and local tourism agents playing a decisive role in Morocco’s ambitious tourism development plans (Scherle, 2004).
The strategic position of Imlil at the foot of Mount Toubkal, the highest mountain of North Africa, has contributed to its development as a popular tourist destination for hikers and climbers as well as for tourists who like to enjoy the natural beauty of the valley (see Figure 4). However, both tourism and agricultural work in the region are highly seasonal, providing limited income over the winter months.

The main tourism work available in the region of Imlil is that of a muleteer, cook and guide as well as in accommodation, cafés and souvenir jobs. Ali (CM) commented that the estimated income of a muleteer per day is around £4, whereas a cook accompanying tour groups earns twice as much and a tour guide earns around £22 per day. Almost every family owns a mule and being a muleteer is often considered as the first step into tourism work by carrying tourists’ luggage or offering mule rides up the mountain. “[M]ost of the guides here in the area they don’t have the certificate [...]. They started [working] like a muler for many years, then they get experience, they have enough vocabulary to make conversations with clients, they stop the muler life and they start guiding” (Ali, CM). The quotation reflects the economic informality of tourism work in the area, which also provides many opportunities for low-skilled workers. However, to comprehend the wider impacts, positive and negative, of tourism, requires taking into account the wider “set of relationships, social, political and cultural, within which it occurs” (Day, 1998, p. 95).

Tourism development benefits from the hospitality characterising the Berber communities, with visitors usually being received in the traditional salon of local houses (see Figure 5). Community members observed that tourism is having no effects on local traditions, which has also been reported in other studies, such as that by Nepal (2004). However, these changes might be subtle and not yet perceived by local community members, with incipient changes being observed during the fieldwork. The culture of hospitality in the more touristic villages is increasingly being tied to monetary exchanges, which reflects the commoditising effect that tourism is having. Further, predominantly younger male
community members prefer to work in tourism and not in agriculture anymore, with agriculture forming part of Berber culture. This reflects the emerging effect that tourism is having on the traditional way of life, especially within the younger generation.

Tourism is also having positive effects on the development of the region through the increasing support provided to local associations. These associations work on a project-basis, representing a point of reference for tour operators devising projects to fund in destination communities (Agent). The most known association in this region is the association Basin of Imlil, which has been set-up in cooperation with Discover Ltd. The tour operator also owns a local renowned sustainable tourism resort named the Kasbah du Toubkal, which has won awards including the ‘Best Mountain Resort’ of the Responsible Tourism Awards 2004 (Discover, 2016). The resort charges tourists a five per-cent levy to fund the association ‘Basin of Imlil’. The latter has established a range of projects, including a rubbish clearance project (see Figure 6). The organised collection of rubbish has meant a significant improvement to local rubbish disposal, which was usually discarded in the natural environment. It was also through the cooperation between Discover Ltd., the association Basin of Imlil and other tourism actors in the region that the EfA project was created.

Local associations, however, consist mainly of male members, with women hardly being represented in political or more influential positions within local communities. This is also reflected in the division of benefits derived from tourism development, with mainly men working in tourism and the local male elite controlling tourism development. Despite these gender differences, local community members associate tourism to most of the positive developmental changes the region has undergone in the past two decades. Tourism is perceived locally as all people or organisations coming from abroad. This alludes to the limited understanding and knowledge about tourism processes and the potential negative,
apart from positive, effects of tourism development. This highlights the need for capacity building to raise residents’ knowledge about tourism and to increase community members’ ability to participate and benefit from tourism (see e.g. Beeton, 2006; Moscardo, 2008; Scheyvens, 2002). However, it is argued that this is a process that needs to be accompanied by a negotiation of community capacities, a wider development of critical consciousness and a focus on education for development, rather than for tourism. These arguments are explored in more detail in the following chapters.

The subsequent section presents the EfA project, situating the debates on access to education and gender empowerment within the wider education agenda. It further explores local gender dynamics and the ways in which these influence women's geographical and social mobility.

### 2.3 Education for All: Gender equality and education

Gender equality and parity in education form part of the ‘Education for All’ goals envisioned in the Dakar Framework for Action (UNESCO, 2000) as well as in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Although, gender parity at primary level of education has been achieved in more than two-thirds of countries globally, this is not yet the case in secondary education. Particularly in African countries gender inequality in education is still high (World Bank, 2011). Not only gender, but also poverty and institutional constraints take a predominant role in unequal access to education. Even so they have been to primary school, over 250 million children are not able to read. In addition, there are not sufficient secondary school places available, with numbers of children without access reaching 71 million (UNESCO, 2012a). Consequently, there are many examples where children are denied access to education, or access to effective education across the world through many different means. These factors also intersect, with poverty issues often being interwoven with gender issues. This can lead to a bias against girls access to education (Cagatay, 1998).
with particularly girls from poor households displaying low levels of literacy (World Bank, 2011). Illiteracy is worldwide more prevalent between women, with 63 to 64 per cent of the globally illiterate adults being women, with this percentage staying the same over the past twenty years (UNESCO, 2012a).

Part of the current debate is the importance that religion plays in access to education. Recent issues in the media have emphasised the role of the Taliban in Afghanistan and Pakistan in suppressing educational opportunities for girls, due to religiously influenced gender ideologies. The shooting of the schoolgirl Malala Yousafzai in 2012 led to a worldwide attention of this problem that has been present over the past decades. Predominantly girls are denied access to education, due to cultural and religious interpretations of gender roles, responsibilities and women’s limited social and geographic mobility. Malala has recently been awarded the Peace Nobel Price for her fight for girls’ access to education. The Pakistani girl has emphasised in a speech at the UN in 2013 that education is the most powerful ‘weapon’ (The Guardian, 2013). This illustrates that education might be perceived by some as a threat, due to the potential power redistribution resulting from increasing access to education. This emphasises the need to address the socio-economic and political frameworks within particular countries that have a direct influence on accessibility of wider social opportunities, including education.

2.3.1 Gender relations

Morocco forms part of the lowest ranked countries in the ‘Global Gender Gap Report’, performing poorly in economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment and political empowerment (Haasmann et al., 2012). There have been some improvements in access to education in the past decades; however, there still exist large gender differences in access to education in rural areas (ICF International, 2005). The previous section highlighted that women in the valley of Imlil are less likely to work in tourism than men, furthermore their opportunity to work is often limited to working for their husband and working in small-scale industry, such as the local cooperatives and women’s associations. Women are also less educated than men (ibid) and in the past it has been considered a shame for girls to go to school, with almost every woman over thirty being illiterate in the local Berber villages (Nouhaila, CM).

There are clear gender roles and responsibilities assigned to men and women, with family life being highly valued in Berber culture. Women’s rights and needs are often negotiated
through the familial framework, which is anchored in Shari'a law through the Family Code called the al-Mudawwanah (Sadiqi, 2003). In the rural Berber communities exists the general notion that women belong to their home and their value is negotiated through their traditionally informed gender-conforming behaviour. The local norms also reflect the patriarchal structure of local communities; with men having the responsibility and the rule over their family (see Charrad, 2011). A local community member observed “that she finds her father decides in the family and she finds it in her house now and between her family the men who decide everything” (Khadija, PAR). These hierarchical community structures are mediated through age, class, gender and patrilineal kinship relations, which rely on Islam as “the dominant identifying factor that provides the basis upon which an individual’s social environment is built” (Taylor & Toohey, 2001, p. 90). This further influences women’s mobility, with a girl explaining that people don’t want the girls to leave their house and pass through the souk, “it’s a bad thing to pass between all the men and everyone looks at you” (Sabah, CM).

Marriage takes a predominant role in women’s life, with a local community member observing that it defines the value of women’s life and without marriage and children a woman has nothing (Aisha, CM). The value of marriage is also reflected in Islam, seeing it as part of the religious obligation of every Muslim to marry (Yasmine, PAR). Paired with the importance of marriage is the importance of girls’ virginity, which is highly valued in both religion and culture. Virginity, similar to marriage, is described as all of the value a girl has. Ines (PAR), a local community member argued, if the girl loses her virginity she “loses everything in her future and she makes the family lose value”, even if she was taken by force no one will forgive her. This is also anchored in Moroccan law, which allowed rapists to go free if they marry their victims. This let to wide media attention in a case where a seventeen year old rape victim killed herself, after the Moroccan court ordained her to marry her rapist (Aljazeera, 2013). This reflects that gender inequalities extend to different realms, including the legal system, which has wide-ranging implications for women’s well-being and positioning in society. Legal improvements, such as the right to file for divorce in case of abuse might be a recourse that is not accessible or only accessible to a limited degree to women that are illiterate and are potentially living in a situation of dependence. Therefore, it is vital to take into considerations these wider contextual factors to gain a holistic understanding of gender equality and the intersections this has with access to education.
2.3.2 Access to education

Traditions and local gender norms underpin girls’ access to education, such as shame and the fear associated to girls’ social interaction with boys (Malina, CM). This contrasts with the initial assertion made in many interviews that there exist no gender differences anymore in access to education. A twenty-three year old community member argued that it continues to be a shame for woman to further their education in distant communities, on the contrary “the boy always has a chance to continue” (Nouhaila, CM). At times, education for girls is given a lesser importance than education for boys, with a common belief being “she knows how to pray, she can read the Qur’an, she knows the rules, it’s enough for her, we don’t need her to study” (Qadira, CM). These gender differences intersect with other aspects, such as poverty and distance, which are two prevalent obstacles to educational access and attainment in these areas. In most families agriculture does not provide enough income to send children to school. Often children only attend primary school; with girl 60 (EfA2) arguing “one of the problems is, if they finish primary school they cannot come to secondary school in Talat n’Yacoub or to high school in Asni” (see Figure 7).

There are different costs associated to accessing school, with most of the villages being too far from secondary or high school for children to travel these distances every day. However, state boarding houses are often unaffordable for local families (Sabah, CM) and taking the example of Imlil, costs for travelling to and from school in Asni every day would amount to over £100 per year. In relation to the yearly income of a poor family this figure is very high, and might not leave enough for the family to sustain themselves. However, there are also instances where girls were not sent to school due to poverty issues, while the boys from the same family were given the opportunity to continue their education. For example, Nouhaila (CM), a young woman commented that her father told her to stay at home after primary school, because they are poor, while her brother continued his education to become an

Figure 7: Poverty and access to education (Picture by Girl60, EfA2)
engineer. This reflects that there are also issues of gender underpinning the use of scarce financial resources within household spending, with girls often not being encouraged to continue their education after primary school.

Another issue is the distance between the home and school, with many villages being situated in remote rural and geographically challenging terrain that make it difficult to access transport. Tough weather conditions in the mountains, particularly during winter, make travel to school more difficult and dangerous. Figure 8 shows a bus to Imsker, where transport to and from Asni is only available a few times a day. Students going to school in Asni often have to wait a long time to be able to return home, as they have to sit in these buses until they are filled with passengers. The passenger figures are much higher than normally permitted or physically planned number for such a vehicle. Further, the route to Imsker (see Figure 1) consists partly of a dirt road that has only one lane, making it difficult for two crossing vehicles to pass one another (see Figure 8), which shows the serious risks associated to travelling on these roads.

There are also gender issues related to travel, with it not being culturally acceptable for girls to take transport every day (see also Kalesar, 2010). “[P]eople don’t want to see the girls every time take a way to secondary school, take a taxi, take transport and no one like to marry a girl like this one” (Khadija, PAR). Many community members emphasised the fear of letting their girls go to school. This highlights cultural, in addition to security issues associated to girls’ access to school. These security issues also exist for boys, but are more emphasised with girls reflecting the gendered experience of space and the influences this has on everyday mobility (see Porter, 2011). The following section presents the EfA project and situates it within this context.
2.3.3 Education for All

The ‘Education for All’ (EfA) project is a legally founded association in Morocco and works in close cooperation with Education for All Morocco Limited, a UK charity that was established by Discover Ltd to help fund the project (Education for All, 2008). The inspiration for the project came from a US charity called ‘Room to Read’, which provides libraries to local communities and promotes gender equality in education in developing countries. Discover Ltd, together with a group of people working in tourism in the region started fundraising for ‘Room to Read’ by organising a monthly dining club (TO3). However, the charity ‘Room to Read’ chose to be active in other parts of Africa, hence, Discover and the other tourism actors decided to start an independent project. Through working in the area over decades, the tour operator was aware of local inequalities and difficulties in access to education. From this concern the idea of establishing boarding houses for girls to facilitate their access to the state schooling system arose (TO3).

The EfA project (see Figure 9) caters particularly for girls from the most remote villages and for those that come from a relatively poor background. It is mainly being funded through tourism, though, there are also a number of fundraising activities organised throughout the year to support the project, such as the yearly organised cycling event called ‘Marrakech Atlas Etape’ (TO3). The project operates in a culturally and religiously sensitive manner and is considered a safe environment for the girls. This is partly due to the support received from a locally respected community leader, who provides the EfA project with a locally accepted ‘identity’, with many community members referring to the project by his name, rather than calling it EfA. The project functions through a collaborative structure, which assigns a high degree of responsibility to the housemothers. They are responsible of managing the EfA project on the ground, taking decisions on the daily running of the project, while also taking care of the girls’ well-being and their personal and academic development. The EfA committee members are involved in the overall management of the project, including the organisation of fundraising activities and visits to the boarding houses.

Figure 9: EfA Symbol
(Education for All, 2008)
The first boarding house called Dar Asni started in 2007 in a rented accommodation in Asni, with ten girls and one housemother living there. The community leader observed that it was difficult to gain people’s trust at the beginning, but over time the number of girls attending the project has gradually risen. This was partly due to his involvement in the project as well as the increasing educational attainment of the girls attending the project. The second boarding house called Dar Tinmel opened in a rented accommodation in Talaat-n-Yacoub. Figure 10 shows a group of girls entering the boarding house, which is located on the second floor and rooftop terrace of a building in the centre of Talat N’Yacoub. In 2011, a purpose built boarding house was opened in Quirgane directly opposite to the local school building (Workman, 2012). The housemother, together with the cook and cleaning lady are depicted in Figure 11, in front of the boarding house Dar Ouirgane. As the first girls where finishing their secondary school, additional boarding houses were required for the girls continuing with high school. Therefore, in 2013 and 2015 two additional boarding houses for high school students have opened in Asni, where the only high school in the region is located.

Around thirty girls stay in each boarding house (Education for All, 2013), with the girls attending secondary school being between twelve to fifteen years old and the girls attending high school being between sixteen to nineteen years old. In 2015, there were 168
girls staying in the five boarding houses, with the sixth boarding house opening towards the end of the same year. There are currently 18 EfA girls that have graduated from high school and have continued with their University studies (Education for All, 2015). They are still being supported in their living expenses by the EfA project and they maintain a close bond with the girls and housemothers at the boarding houses (Girl75, EfA3). However, the achievements of the EfA project cannot be reduced to numerical outcomes, with the distinguishing features of the project being its relational ethic fostering a space of mutuality, understanding and empathy.

The boarding houses provide a second home environment for the girls, in which they have time to learn, play and discover new things. The girls are taken care of by a housemother in each boarding house and a volunteer and/or assistant, who further support the girls in their studies. The EfA project is bridging many of the previously mentioned difficulties for girls in furthering their studies. The project addresses issues of poverty by being completely free of charge and providing free lodging and school materials for the girls. The quality of primary schooling in remote villages is often low, with the staff members at the boarding houses supporting the girls in their learning efforts providing them with additional classes, which helps them to manage their transition into secondary school. Figure 12 shows the teaching room in Dar Tinmel, with Figure 13 depicting a group of girls in the learning spaces provided on the terrace of the same boarding house.

The boarding houses are built near to school; hence, the girls are not required to walk long distances. Some parents even prefer to send their girl to the boarding house in Ouirgane over that in Asni (see Figure 11), because the distance between the school and the boarding house is shorter. This emphasises again the difficulties associated to distance and the gendered experience of space. A mother commented, “when the girls are in the EfA project the boys cannot do something bad for [harm] the girls, it’s not like the girls in Dar Taliba (state boarding house)” (Sadira, PAR). She attributed a clear protective role to the
housemother and the cook working in the project, with these relationships providing the girls with a feeling of home and support not only in their studies, but also in their personal life, building the foundation for their future development. This will be analysed in more detail in chapter eight, exploring the spaces for, and experiences of gender empowerment within the project. Overall, it can be concluded that the project is helping to decrease gender inequalities in access to education in the region, which in the long-term might have a wider effect on the socio-economic and political frameworks within the region.

![Learning spaces on the terrace of Dar Tinnel](Picture by Author)

### 2.4 Conclusion

This chapter introduced the study context, highlighting that the physical spaces of the research are also connected to the non-physical presences of tour operators in destination communities. The chapter focused on two main topics relevant for this research. First, tourism development in the region of Imlil was discussed referring to the geographic and cultural specificities of the region and the distinct role of Berber culture in shaping the subsistence communities of the High Atlas Mountains of Morocco. Tourism has contributed to the economic development of the valley of Imlil, although, the benefits resulting from tourism are mainly captured by the male subpopulation. It can be argued that this is partly contributing to the exacerbation of local gender inequalities. The second part of this chapter addressed issues of gender within the educational landscape of Morocco, situating the EfA project within the wider debates on education. These have increasingly been geared towards addressing issues of gender equality and empowerment in education, although, gender inequalities in education are still high particularly in Africa (World Bank, 2011).
The school as an institutional space becomes entwined with national politics and the global agenda on education, further intersecting with gendered household politics and the underlying constitutions of values and beliefs. In the local Berber communities’ gender relations are governed by cultural norms, which intersect with religious beliefs and prescribe clear gender roles and responsibilities for both men and women. A woman’s place is considered to be the home and their (social) mobility is often negotiated through discourses of shame shaping their access to opportunities. There still exists a varying awareness about the importance of education, particularly for girls, which intersects with issues of poverty and mobility. In harmony with the Education for All goals, a UK tour operator established an educational project in the area to address gender inequalities in access to education. This project serves as an example of a capacity building project that is being supported by a range of tour operators. The contextual information provided in this section is integral to the understanding of this research and it highlights the significance of the EfA project.

The next chapters engage with the literature in the field of gender and Islam, gender and tourism as well as capacity building and gender empowerment. In the first realm of literature, feminist thought in Islam, the relevance of morality and honour in conceptions of gender as well as the interweaving of embodied experiences of Islam and identity are discussed. Second, an analysis of gender within the tourism literature is provided, engaging with labour divisions, portrayals of femininity and masculinity within tourism promotion as well as the multiple ways gender permeates social interaction in tourism. These two chapters build the foundation for the third realm of discussion, concerned with the conceptualisation of capacity building, gender empowerment as well as education. A nexus between these different concepts is established to explore the opportunities afforded for the promotion of gender equality and wider community development through capacity building, while critically examining the responsible business practises underpinning tour operator engagement in destination communities.
3. Islam and gender

3.1 Introduction

The relations and parallels between tourism and religion have been studied widely in the academic literature (e.g. Olsen & Timothy, 2006; Rinschede, 1992; Vukonic, 1996), also with a particular focus on Islam and tourism (e.g. Aziz, 2001; Bhardwaj, 1998; Sanad et al., 2010; Scott & Jafari, 2010b; Zamani-Farahani & Henderson, 2010). Islam represents a widespread religion, being the dominant confession in forty-six states and being practised in several others as secondary religion, having around 1.6 billion devotees worldwide (Scott & Jafari, 2010a; Timothy & Iverson, 2006). The religious orientation of Muslim communities affects tourism practise, development and policy (Din, 1989). An effective engagement with capacity building in these societies, therefore, requires an understanding of the cultural, religious and social underpinnings of Muslim communities. This chapter explores Islam through the lens of gender to transcend commonly held stereotypes of Islam and gender relations within Islamic societies. This knowledge is crucial to situate tourism-related capacity building efforts within a Muslim societal context and to understand the wider interconnections this has with processes of gender empowerment and equality.

The term ‘gender’ originated in United States’ academia during the final decades of the twentieth century (Badran, 2009). Attitudes towards ‘gender’ within the Middle East and North Africa have been varied and the notion of gender as a social and cultural construct has often been rejected as a foreign ideology (ibid). Gender relations in an Islamic context are strongly interrelated with religion, making the notion of gender different from a secular understanding of gender (Treacher, 2003). Analysing gender relations within a Muslim societal context posses the difficulty of reflecting on the one hand, oppression and on the other hand, power. The often-perceived notion is that religion is the main cause of gender discrimination in Muslim societies, but a religious and family oriented life does not lie in contradiction with emancipation and self-empowerment (El-Mahdi, 2010). The philosophical foundations of gender empowerment discourses are predominantly rooted within Western traditional thought, where concepts of empowerment are tightly interwoven with masculinity and related to dominance, mastery and control (Riger, 1993). In addition, the academic approach in social sciences is often a secular one, which shapes how gender is defined and studied in tourism. This approach may not be suitable when
studying gender in non-secular societies.

This chapter, therefore, seeks to develop an understanding of gender corresponding to local gender norms and relations by adopting a feminist lens embedded within an Islamic framework that transcends a secular approach to studying gender. Gender is rooted within the social structures it is defined in and these interact with the cultural identity of the gendered self (Swain, 1995). An engagement with Islamic feminist literature supports gaining an understanding of and sensitivity towards difference in political, cultural and social manifestations of gendered norms and relations. This approach further moves beyond a dichotomous notion of the Western and Islamic world, by rejecting a simplistic image of Islam often supported by dominant discourses (Sadiqi, 2003). Islam is more than a religious tradition, which is reflected in its strong interweaving with the formation of Islamic states, their legal systems and notion of citizenship (Treacher, 2003). The opposition thesis between Western and Islamic societies focuses on how history has separated them, but disregarding how it has bound them together, as well. “To inhabit Arab societies is to look inward and backward to the past and yet to engage inexorably with the West” (ibid, p. 69). This mutual engagement becomes apparent in the diversity of feminisms that exist, with Islamic feminism becoming part of the wider debate, while forming an active constituent of the Islamic discussion (Roald, 1998).

The following exploration of the meaning and understanding of gender within a Muslim context starts with a short introduction to the two main forms of feminisms that have emerged within this context, namely Islamic feminism and secular feminism. This is followed by a discussion of the role of religion, identity, dress and sexuality in shaping gender relations within Muslim societies. First, the notion of the Islamic ummah (transnational community) as a sense of collective identity is analysed. Second, the importance of religious scriptures and their intersections with the social, cultural and political underpinning of gender is explored. These insights are then discussed in relation to the social institution of the family, paying particular attention to the significance of morality and honour. However, an understanding of the role of gender within Muslim countries also requires an analysis of the embodied experience of gender. So, fourth, expressions of Islamic dress and their connections to identity formation and experiences of sexuality are addressed. The last section concludes.
3.2 Feminist streams

The development of feminist thought within Muslim countries follows two main streams, one being denominated as secular and the other as an Islamic form of feminism. This section introduces them and provides a short critique of their potential to advance the gender debate in Islam. The development and increasing rootedness of feminisms across different regions of the Islamic world illustrates the increasing emphasis placed on questioning, engaging with and potentially transforming dominant discourses. Secular feminism has been on the rise throughout the Middle East and Northern Africa since the late nineteenth century towards the middle of the twentieth century (Badran, 2009). Secular feminists have actively engaged in politics, fighting for the improvement of education and health, as well as, for matters related to the family (Treacher, 2003). They demand a clear division between the state and religion. However, “Islam is not a matter of personal spiritual choice but rather a legal and political system” (Moghadam, 2002, p. 1148). Achieving positive changes within this system is inexorably linked to engaging with Islam in its different forms, including its expression in the legal system through the application of Shari'a law, with further examples being discussed throughout this chapter. Secular feminists have to overcome two major obstacles. Firstly, as they are not a religious movement they encounter strong opposition within the Islamic ummah (Treacher, 2003) and are being accused of importing foreign ideologies. Secondly, the changes they are aiming to achieve might not be applicable to an Islamic societal context, where religion stands symbolically in the centre of everyday life.

Islamic feminism, on the other hand, attempts to achieve positive changes for both genders within an Islamic framework (ibid) and emerged towards the end of the twentieth century in postcolonial times. Margot Badran (2009, p. 242), herself an active Islamic feminist writer, provides a succinct definition: “Islamic feminism, which derives its understanding and mandate from the Qur’an, seeks rights and justice for women, and for men, in the totality of their existence.” Badran highlights that it is not the position of women alone that has to be critically examined. Rather, an engagement with gender relations and an understanding of how these are shaped by Islam is required, in order to promote change.

“Answers to the questions that naturally arise about gender relationships cannot be found by posing them to those who are unfamiliar with the principles and roots of Islamic thought.” (Sachiko, 1999, p. 2)
A major critique of Islamic feminism is concerned with its primary engagement with Islamic theology. It is argued that the movement is potentially building a legitimising base for the Islamic system and is not addressing pressing political and socio-economic issues. However, Islamic feminists are not against the Islamic system. Instead, they seek a gradual transformation of the system through advancing the egalitarian principles of Islam (Moghadam, 2002). This is achieved through the re-evaluation and critique of the use and interpretation of Islamic sources (Roald, 1998). Justice represents an important aspect underpinning the discussion of gender within Islamic sources. Wadud (2006), an American Islamic feminist who converted to Islam, argues that patriarchal structures within Muslim societies provide complete justice to men, whereas not to women. She links this to the use of the Shari’a (religious law), which represents divine order combining doctrine with law. This has a profound influence on gender relations, as this divine law shapes political and legislative systems in Muslim societies (Gellner, 1992). These issues highlight the importance of engaging with Islam, in order to gain a broader understanding of the challenges and opportunities associated with promoting gender equality within Muslim societies. The subsequent sections engage with gender discourses in the diverse contexts marking Muslim societies.

3.3 Islamic ummah

An identifying aspect of Islam as a religion is that it is practised in daily life, which is symbolised in the meaning of Islam standing for self-surrender to God and Muslim meaning the person who surrenders (Ruthven, 2000). Islam permeates and structures everyday life, which is emphasised particularly in two of the five pillars of Islam, namely through the five daily prayers and the fasting characterising the month of Ramadan. Simultaneously, Islam is one of the main factors shaping gender relations in Muslim countries. The modern interpretations of Prophet’s Muhammad’s life reflect a “paradigm of gender roles” (Stowasser, 1994, p. 119), stressing the role of women in sustaining the collective dignity of the Islamic Ummah (transnational community). The key gendered roles of women are based on the theme of domesticity, related to their role of spouse and mother, with the wives of the Prophet serving as role models. The female role is expressed through an exemplary commitment to the household and child rearing, the compliance with the rules and norms of Islam and maintaining the husband’s contentment (ibid). This further illustrates the separation of the private and public domain, with the latter pertaining primarily to men,
whose responsibility is to provide for their family. However, modernists have critiqued this separation of spheres leading to female segregation, arguing for women's suffrage, political representation and their access to public life and work (ibid). This converts gender into ‘A useful category of historical analysis’ (Scott, 1986), as it portrays the changes and adaptations of the traditions underpinning gender relations within contemporary Muslim societies. Gender can further serve as an alternative lens of analysis that allows dismantling existing stereotypes of gender relations, while moving away from a monolithic understanding of Islam (Charrad, 2011).

Modernisation has not led to the secularisation of Islam; instead it has blurred the division between high Islam and low Islam through the transformation of Islamic societies (Gellner, 1992). The society's elite and scholars normally practised high Islam, whereas low Islam was rather attributed to the masses. The former was more emphasised within urban areas, whereas autonomous tribes and their leaders, who practised low Islam, governed the more distant and rural territories. Muslim states had to maintain a balance between these two diverging forces. However, in the past century “there has been an enormous shift from Folk Islam to High Islam (...) Urbanisation, political centralization, incorporation in a wider market, labour migration, have all impelled populations in the direction of the formally (theologically) more ‘correct’ Islam” (ibid, p. 15). This process has further been supported through the expansion of ‘Islamised space’, through the increasing emphasis placed on the practise of Islam in daily life (Ask & Tjomsland, 1998) and the experience of ‘Islamised time’, which can be attributed to the significant amount of time spend in communities, predominantly in a collective, to worship God. This is exemplified in the five daily prayers, which become more ‘powerful’ when they are performed in a collective; an aspect with further strengthens cohesion among religious communities. It can be argued that ‘living Islam’ is becoming an increasingly important aspect of the Islamic ummah, building a bridge between high and low Islam through Islamised time, space and identity.

The meaning of the Islamic ummah can be related to Geertz's (1971) notion of Islam as an “umbrella identity”, which is based on prevalent Islamic practises and forms. This positions Muslim states not only as physical territories, but also characterises them through a shared national identity, which is socially, culturally, politically and religiously defined. Gellner (1992, p. 15) even argues Islam “was the state from the very start.” This reflects that Islam is not territorially fixed but multiply placed within Muslim states, which exist within permeable boundaries. These widely situated, but simultaneously united experiences of the
ummah stand in opposition to the secular notion of watan, denominating the ‘nation-state’ (Badran, 2009; Sadiqi, 2003). Hunwick (1997, p. 29) argues that the nation-states were “the chosen framework” to gain independence from European colonial powers, which reigned Muslim lands for almost a century from around 1860 to 1960, though; this differs from region to region.

The reorientation towards the ummah is part of the process of establishing an independent “umbrella identity” from colonial powers, which imposed their secular understanding of the world. Gellner (1992) describes this ideological return to faith as a reformist response to the dominance of the West over Muslim territories in colonial times and these reforms emphasised the essence and virtues of Islam symbolised through high Islam. The processes of urbanisation and centralisation of politics decreased tribal communities’ power and made it possible for high Islam to pervade the wider society (ibid), strengthening cohesion among the Islamic ummah. Therefore, the move towards a religious underpinning of everyday life, together with the realignment of politics with religion can be described as the current framework employed within the Islamic movement.

3.4 Religious scriptures

A holistic approach to Islam requires the understanding of the primary sources. These include the Qur’an, whose text is considered to be the direct revelation from God received by Prophet Muhammad (Wadud, 2006) and the hadith (traditions), which are the collected sayings and actions of Prophet Muhammad (Ruthven, 2000). The hadith are also regarded as the explanation of the Qur’an and hence, have a strong influence on Islamic religious studies (Roald, 1998). The Qur’an is described as a moral history, which emphasises the notion of deeds over that of rights (Madigan, 2009). These deeds are expressed in the importance placed on honour and obligation, as well as responsibilities (Treacher, 2003). The responsibilities/obligations associated to feminine gender roles, are for example, as a wife to bear and raise children, which is a “role derived only from their sexuality” (Madigan, 2009, p. 5). Before women are married, their honour is based on their virginity and it is seen as men’s obligation to protect women’s virginity, which symbolically stands for the honour of the Islamic community. This can be interpreted, as one of the roots of women’s segregation and in cases also, as the cause of violence (ibid), with the latter being discussed in more detail in a subsequent section. The two key gendered roles of women are virginity and motherhood, which are both based on their sexuality. The Arabic word for gender also
means sex, namely al-jins (Badran, 2009), which reflects the potential difficulty of politicking gender issues, if these are being naturalised through their simultaneous meaning being associated to sex. However, also sexuality is socially constructed, such as the notion of female virginity until marriage, which could be denominated a social construction of virginity (see Mernissi, 1996). This reflects the power that is transmitted through language and the name given to “a complex strategical situation in a particular society” (Foucault, 1976, p. 93), with the complexity inherent in gender being erased through its name being simultaneously sex.

The Qur’an does not use the word gender, however, the deeds mentioned before are often related to the role of men or women. Therefore, the exegesis of Qur’anic sources, which is called tafsir, in relation to the roles ascribed to male and female subjects and the relation between them, can be seen as a form of gender analysis (Badran, 2009). The limitation of tafsir as a form of gender analysis lies in the fact that primarily men are assigned the role of interpreters of religious texts. This understanding of Islamic theology as a male dominated domain leads to the reinforcement of strict gender dichotomies. This is illustrated by Fatima Mernissi (1991), a Moroccan feminist, who describes female segregation as a result of the institutionalisation of patriarchal thought, which underpins the interpretations of the sacred sources. Therefore, to argue for the complementarity of men and women in their God-given role in Islam (Treacher, 2003), is in other words to argue for an understanding of gender relations naturalised through sex and institutionalised through men. The predominant ‘male voice’ within Islamic culture, as well as, the manipulation of hadith, i.e. forged hadith, represents the “structural characteristic of the practise of power in Muslim societies” (Mernissi, 1991, p. 9).

There exists a complex scientific approach to verifying the authenticity of hadith and in a second instance, their compliance with the Qur’anic teachings (Ruthven, 2000). Still, many hadith that do not fulfil the previous two stipulations continue to be used within Islamic ideology. Roald (1998) attributes the oppression of women to the misinterpretation, or manipulation of religious sources, which undermine ‘true Islam’. The historical legacy of Islam has led to a gender unequal interpretation of Islamic sources that reflect the patriarchal structures in which these were made (Mernissi, 1991). However, this raises the importance of engaging with Islam, resisting gender inequalities based on a patriarchal worldview, to advance a more gender equal development of Muslim societies. This is one of the many reasons why feminists are increasingly performing ijihad, considered to be an
independent interpretation of religious sources (Badran, 2009). Their engagement with Islamic sources represents a revolutionary act, which is not being acknowledged as such by many secular feminists. The distinguishing characteristic is, however, not that women perform it, but that it follows a gender-conform interpretation, which can be undertaken by both women and men. In the contemporary climate of terrorism, the often associated inflexibility and vigilance of the perception of Islam is further being questioned, due to the extremist interpretations of Islam. The wider discursive and rhetoric response to terrorist attacks and the rise of ISIS has led to an increasing reflection on the position and role of Islam and the Muslim manifestation of Islamic faith as a whole in the 21st century.

One key point of debate is the application of Shari’a law, Islamic law, which is based on the Qur’an and the hadith. It describes good behaviour and rituals, which form the basis of Islamic ethical imperatives (Charrad, 2011). This can be related to the literal translation of Shari’a “the way to a watering place” (Ruthven, 2000, p. 73), symbolising the guidance it provides. At the same time, the Shari’a “bears the marks of particular environments” through its relation with local laws and norms (Charrad, 2011, p. 421) as well as secular law, stemming largely from the colonial legacy. This is reflected in the different codification of religious law from region to region. However, it can be argued that the Shari’a rules and laws lack a sensitive understanding of the female perspective and their experience of Islam, as they were derived and codified from the Qur’an and the hadith by men. The following paragraph will analyse this argument, taking the example of the development of women’s rights in postcolonial Morocco.

One year after French colonial rule ended in Morocco in 1956, a ‘Code of Personal Status’ or Family Code called al-Mudawwanah was installed in the country. The Family Code is the only area in Moroccan law that is regulated by the Shari’a, with the latter attaching a form of sacredness to it (Sadiqi, 2003). Al-Mudawwanah emphasised women’s domesticity through limiting their access to the public sphere, it restricted women’s overall rights and institutionalised polygamy (Mernissi, 1991; Sadiqi, 2003). Mernissi (ibid) has argued that this approach reflects the male dominance over the female subject inscribed within the legal system. She does not attribute this to Islam itself, but argues that this is the result of the paternalistic social context in which Islam is being lived. A strong example, for the potential insensitivity of these legal regulations is a law that allows rapist to go free of charge, if they marry their rape victims. This has even led to a case, where a seventeen year-old girl, who was forced to marry her rapist, committed suicide as mentioned in the previous chapter.
This has brought wide attention to the law, which is supposed to be reformed, however, there still exists widespread inter-marital rape accounting for 50% of all rape-cases in Morocco (ibid). Inter-marital rape is not prohibited by law, which emphasises that a religiously constituted legal system based on male interpretations of Islamic sources, does not provide equal protection to female citizens, dis-acknowledging female experience of Islam in the name of ‘honour’ and ‘obligation’.

This contrasts with the country’s Constitution that ascribes equal political rights to men and women and is based on civil and not religious law (Sadiqi, 2003). Wadud (2006, p. 27) refers to these inconsistencies as the “double-talk discourse housed within the rhetoric of human equality”, which “disguises the intention of legitimate exclusion or inconsistencies that keep women inferior”. “[W]oman’s objection would seem both irrational and un-Islamic” (ibid, p. 27), with criticism often being denominated as Western, a common rhetoric device used within Islamic discourse to silence opposition. Still, the women’s movement in Morocco is growing and working towards greater gender equality within Moroccan society. In contesting religious discourses previously marginal voices are increasingly being heard within this male domain (Sadiqi, 2003). Sadiqi (ibid) notes that women are starting to form associations and networks that support the politicisation of contemporary gender-issues, such as violence in the domestic sphere, equal access to education and greater representation of women within government positions (Ali, 2013). However, this process entails both men and women, with the feminist cause being promoted by both genders in Muslim countries, as shown for example in an article analysing a married couple’s activism in Lebanon (Stephan, 2010). This building of solidarity between women and men is an important process to strengthen a collective “voice to question gender norms” (Charrad, 2011, p. 425) and for the purpose of uncovering the ‘double-talk’ within dominant Islamic discourses, which is based on a dualistic notion of gender relations.

3.5 The family: Honour and morality

The dichotomous understanding of gender relations becomes apparent in the social organisation of the family, which reflects common gender perceptions and constructions within Islam (Sadiqi, 2003). Equality is seen as a threat to moral society, which is based on a hierarchical understanding of the family (Wadud, 2006). This perception of threat is related
to the questioning of the heterosexual foundation of patriarchy, with equality being equated
to making women and men equal.

“Disciples of gender are out to deform nature (by issuing) an invitation for
marriage between men and men, and women and women (…) Those who demand
to erase the differences between males and females despise the woman and so
they want to transform her into a man. Moreover, to achieve equality they want
men to become women.” (Newspaper “al-Sahwa” cited in Badran, 2009, p. 207)

This interpretation of gender equality printed in 1999 in a Yemeni newspaper, reflects the
perceived multiple threats posed to dominant masculinity by gender activists. Gender
equality is supposed to question the heterosexual norm underpinning the order of society,
derunning concepts of masculinity and femininity through aiming to erase them, or
viewing them as interchangeably. However, this quotation does not reflect the essence of
gender equality, rather it depicts the immutability of fixed gender representations that are
naturalised, becoming invisible, unquestionable, unalterable. It is not sameness that defines
gender equality, rather, it is an equal access to opportunities between and among gender,
which has to be based on diversity in order to account for the multiplicity of gender
experiences across cultures and territories (Scott, 1994).

Singh (2007, p. 103) argues that a Western feminist understanding of gender equality
would mean for many women “losing their families, the primary source of support for the
fulfilment of their social, psychological and economic needs”. This argument posits that
there exists a common understanding of equality among Western feminists. However,
equality has long formed part of feminist discussions, with feminists conceptions of equality
differing across multiple domains, including cultural, liberal, black and radical feminisms
(Bowden & Mummery, 2009). There exist diverse attitudes towards family and work life,
sexuality, reproductive issues and differences within (see Calas & Smircich, 2006), which
require a socially situated understanding of gender equality that acknowledges the complex
web of significance underpinning gender relations.

Patriarchal assumptions are not only found within Islamic culture, they are represented
across societies and are also found in Christian scriptures of Catholicism (Madigan, 2009;
from the latter scriptures have influenced the Islamic discourse. She notes, “on women’s
issues (…) the medieval works on Qur’anic exegesis and world history of scholarly
provenance have consistently and widely relied on Bible-related traditions” (ibid, p.22). This supports the argument that an understanding of gender equality can be enriched through the combination of knowledge and experiences from different cultures that have become interweaved and responsive to each other through history. This raises the need for fluid representations of cultural and social processes that have shaped gender relations in contemporary society. This fluidity is expressed through the diversity inherent in Islamic culture and the ummah, which also comprises matrilineal societies, in opposition to the common held belief that Islam is a patrilineal ideology (McDougall, 2008; Ruthven, 2000).

The Islamic ummah is based on gendered norms that inform gendered identities. This reflects the inter-linkages between the ummah as an ‘umbrella identity’ and its embodied performance in everyday life through gendered citizens. Women’s ‘honour’ reflects the collective dignity of the whole ummah. It is not men who have to guard their own honour; rather the honour of their wives and women reflects men’s dignity and that of the wider Islamic community (Stowasser, 1994). Sharp (1996, p. 99) further argues that the “imagined bonding between individuals and the nation in narratives of national identification is differentiated by gender. Men are incorporated into the nation metonymically. (...) Women are not equal to the nation but symbolic of it.” Men, hence, are seen as equal to the nation, the defenders of nations, whereas women are considered to be the bearers of the nation’s dignity being a symbol of its purity. This illustrates that both men and women are being constructed within these discursive practises, but women are being ascribed with less agency than men, reflecting the privileging of the masculine gendered subject (ibid). These moral foundations of Islam have become institutionalised and inscribed on body and mind through the code of honour and morality.

“The code of honor consists in preserving the public reputation of a family, and the code of morality consists in preserving a socially accepted public conduct. Both codes rest on girls and women’s good conduct (...) The codes of honor and morality have been institutionalized by recorded history and religion and are inculcated in the family through everyday verbal ‘teaching’ and behaviour.” (Sadiqi, 2003, pp. 60–61)

In modern Islamic literature the life of prophet Muhammad and his wives are presented as exemplary for contemporary society. Domesticity is seen as an important quality for women, who should strive to resemble the prophet’s wives, in their roles as mothers and
wives (see Stowasser, 1994, p. 120). The family, simultaneously, represents an important social unit of Islamic culture within which women are positioned as powerful, as they “shaped how Islam was lived by all around them” (McDougall, 2008, p. 508). This highlights that the household can also be interpreted as a space of resistance and empowerment, with knowledge being transmitted from one generation to the next through the mother. This questions the image of Muslim women as victims of Islamic discourses (Sadiqi, 2003), mainly due to their segregation within the household. These discourses do not observe how Islam is practised and experienced by women in their daily life, as this often lies hidden within the privacy of the household (McDougall, 2008). McDougall (ibid) observes, in her study of Islam in Africa that in some Muslim states, seclusion of women was linked to prestige and represented a sign of status. This reflects the intersection of gender with class and illustrates the need for sensitivity towards different experiences to understand difference.

It can be argued that women take up a central role within the main unit of Islam, the family. There they function as mediators of Islamic values, converting them in powerful agents of Islam. This understanding of empowerment might not adhere to dominant conceptualisations of power, though; it has also been noted that the economic empowerment of women has contributed to a ‘double or even triple burden of work’ in the West (Elmas, 2007; Momsen, 2002; Tucker & Boonabaana, 2012). This questions processes of gender empowerment across the Muslim and Western world and in order to transcend the stage of fixed representation of what is considered to be Western or Muslim, a process of mutual recognition is required, to become involved in a fluid argument, making space for cooperation and understanding (Wassef, 2001).

Both men and women form part of the household, although, in different roles (McDougall, 2008). Men are seen as the providers for their family, which places a great responsibility on them and influences their gender roles. This might be one of the underpinning reasons, why men are rather considered to be public figures, whereas women are ascribed to the private spheres of Islamic culture. However, there exist limited gender studies about men’s experience of Islam, or how their role as providers influences their masculinity (Treacher, 2003). Two exceptions represent the edited books “Imagined Masculinities” by Ghoussoub and Sinclair-Webb (2000) and “Islamic Masculinities” by Ouzgane (2006), which provide an insight to men’s experiences of Islam. Treacher (2003) argues that the missing presence of the masculine subject within Islamic gender discourses can be related to the colonial legacy.
During colonial rule Arab masculinity was undermined and it could not be questioned, in order to retain the “illusion of power” (ibid, p. 67). This relates to the metonymical relation between men and nation, with their power being equated to the nation. This requires further investigation, as these gender experiences of both the masculine and feminine gender are constructed in relation to each other.

3.6 Embodied experiences of Islam and identity

The following exploration of the formation of identity within Islam centres primarily on the female gender, as the academic literature concerning male gender experiences in Islam is limited. The analysis focuses on the identity of the “Muslimwoman” (Cooke, 2008), the multiple meanings of the hijab (veil), as well as, the role of the family and sexuality. There have been critiques of the concept of ‘Muslimwoman’ (e.g. Charrad, 2011), though, the term created by Cooke does not impose a specific identity on all Muslim women. It rather denotes a similar connotation as the concept of the Islamic ummah, namely that through Islam Muslim women have formed a collective identity, which Cooke (2008) describes as a shared identity. Their gender experience is inexorably linked to their religious beliefs, which at the same time provides a framework for building connections with other Muslim women across the world. Still, their individual personalities, as well as, their social and political context differ, though; religion provides a platform for communication and identification.

This form of community, similar to that portrayed in the ummah, is illustrated in a study undertaken by Piela (2010) entitled ‘Muslim Women’s Online Discussions of Gender Relations in Islam’. The women who formed part of this ‘discussion’ had different backgrounds as well as varied experiences of Islam, though, their shared sense of being a ‘Muslimwoman’ provided them with an environment of trust and empathy to talk about their lives and faith. Acknowledging the critique of Charrad (2011), there exists the potential threat to essentialise women’s identity into religious beings when using the term ‘Muslimwoman’. However, Sadiqi (2003, p. 53) notes in the case of Morocco that “the concept of ‘collective’ self is an important factor, influencing not only women’s identity, but also that of men.

This argument can further be extended to include the codes of honour and morality (Sadiqi, 2003), which shape collective and individual identities across scale and time, being at the

---

2 Further reflections will be conducted in the section on researcher subjectivity and translating subjectivities (see methodology chapter section 6.5 and 6.6).
same time locally felt and historised through time. El-Mahdi (2010) has analysed the historical development of women's movements in Egypt, highlighting that the patriarchal conservative structures of the country obstructs the growth of gender-based movements. He furthers this thought through noting that such movements have to start from an understanding of the 'inside' rather than the 'outside' (ibid, p. 396). This 'inside' level can be based on the social unit of the family (Sadiqi, 2003), where the position of women in Islam can be describes as powerful and influential. However, simultaneously, the family often represents an environment of oppression for women. This reflects the difficulty mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, of reflecting intersecting structures and experiences of power and oppression, when analysing gender. Women's identity in Muslim societies is often coupled with that of the family (Baobaid, 2006). Within these patriarchal societal structures, the identity of women is strongly tied to their sexuality and age, with the role of virginity being emphasised during adolescence and afterwards that of motherhood (Madigan, 2009). Women represent on the one hand, the symbol of purity and on the other, the 'mother' of the nation, assuring procreation of the lineage, while honour is associated with both roles.

These concepts of femininity describe women's expected behaviour along strictly gendered lines, whereas men's responsibility to defend the honour of their family can be related to their identity seeded in history, as 'warrior'. Charrad (2011, p. 422) describes this in the example of Iran, where “the Revolution is staged as a battlefield for the protection of the ummah, citizenship is constructed in terms of the warrior, an identity available only to men”. This reflects that women’s symbolic status decreases their autonomy through limiting their citizenship status. In Baobaid’s (2006) exploration of 'Masculinity and gender violence in Yemen', he notes that the strong correlation between masculinity and their women's honour represents the legitimizing basis on which domestic violence is translated into societal violence within many Muslim societies. This reflects the permeable boundaries of the subject/object position of women within society, with their honour being a reflection of masculine identity, more than their own. This can be related to women's domain being ascribed to the domestic sphere, where “her seclusion in the “home,” the place of private property, has long been nothing but a mother” (Irigaray, 1985, p. 83). This stresses that feminine identity is born out of being a mother, while within paternalistic societies the head of the family is the father, who owns and decides over his private property. This reference in
abstracted terms, however, does not cover the whole experience of being with limited, or no rights, in isolation and in silence.

These silences are well reflected within Baobaid’s article, which stresses how the physical effects resulting from violence in the home has deep-seated emotional and psychological effects on women. This form of violence is profoundly interwoven within the political structures that tolerate it (Baobaid, 2006), further illustrating how institutionalised gender inequality can translate into embodied experiences of inequality. One Yemeni women that was interviewed said:

“Men decide what is right what is wrong, not only in the family but also in the whole society. They interpret the holy Qur’an in harmony with their interest. We know that our religion guarantees many right for women (...) For example in some part of Yemen the community doesn’t accept women’s inheritance: this is against Islamic law! This is because they don’t accept woman as a person.” (ibid, p. 171)

The quotation illustrates women’s positioning as second-class citizens that are not equal to men. The interviewed woman does not regard this form of dominance as a result of Islam itself, but of the self-interested interpretation of its sources by men. This is further emphasised by Madigan (2009), who illustrates the mathematically decreased position of women in Pakistan, stemming from the civil law in 1980. For example, men inherit twice as much as women, whereas in Yemen inheritance law appears to grant nothing to women. Men further have ownership over their familial property and women have access to property mainly through men. This positions them in relationships of dependence, which has further repercussions on their individual agency and mobility.

Another area of controversy is women’s sexuality, with the argument being that women’s sexuality distracts the male mind. This is used as the justification for women’s subjugation (Mernissi, 1985). Women are supposed to be modest and virtuous, whereas men are described as easily misguided, i.e. sexually (Treacher, 2003). This highlights the need for an interpretative framework used for both genders, which might protect the female body more efficiently, than the prescribed external measures. One of these external measures supposed to protect women from their own sexuality is the practise of ‘female genital mutilation’ (FGM). Feminists and human rights activists brought FGM into public debate in the seventies (Badran, 2009). Recent figures collected by Unicef portray the global scale of FGM,
with over 200 million girls and women being affected by ritual cutting. Women in Indonesia, Egypt and Ethiopia account for half of this figure, although FGM has been banned in all three countries (Elgot, 2016).

FGM is a practise thought to protect men’s honour, with women having to bear the physical and mental marks of honour. Badran (2009) argues that in Egypt FGM has been practised until the end of the twentieth century, although, recent figures portray that it is an on-going practise through which women’s bodies and sexualities become the victim of a culturally constructed gender norm (Elgot, 2016). This practise questions women’s agency, as it does not give women the responsibility over their own sexuality. Giddens (1991, p. 75) defines the self “as a reflexive project, for which the individual is responsible”. However, women are not given the responsibility over their embodied self and in the process their sexual integrity is being violated in the name of honour. This practise is enmeshed in discourses surrounding honour and gender relations, with women’s sexuality representing the battlefield in which these discourses are being sustained. This situation let to the establishment of a FGM Task Force to educate the population about FGM, with its practise cutting across urban and rural environments (Badran, 2009). The difficulty of abolishing FGM is associated to its interlinkage with the discourse of honour, which is deeply embedded within Muslim societies. However, FGM is an old tradition descending from the time of Pharaoh’s, which has no Islamic roots (ibid) It is not mentioned within the religious scriptures and it does not form part of the Shari’a. This final argument led to the banning of FGM by the State Council in Egypt in 1996, though, Badran (ibid, p. 185) concludes somewhat sarcastically:

“The state in delimiting borders of Islamic legal jurisdiction, protected its own body politic/s and, in the process, up to a point, the female body.”

This reflects the intersections between gender and state politics highlighted in the previous discussion of domestic violence. The state’s presence through the legal system is not adequately targeting gender inequality; it is rather accepting inequality to a certain level, a level that is defined by the state’s formation of patriarchal structures. These structures are built on the complementarity of women and men, with the female body being essentialised through its sexuality and being seen as naturally different from the male subject. The complementarity argument is used implicitly within gender discourses to ‘place’ women within society. This is illustrated for example, in Iran’s political development, where women
were given opportunities to access employment in the nineties to balance shortages of men’s employment, due to the extended conflict with Iraq from 1980 to 1988 (Moghadam, 2002). However, these job opportunities were for “ideologically correct women” (ibid, p. 1139) and women were not encouraged to access public positions. The women who accessed public roles “served to negate the ideal of full-time motherhood” (ibid, p. 1139). Negating the ‘ideal’ women was allowed, due to the circumstances the country was in. However, their presence was regarded as a trespassing of culturally and socially defined norms of complementary gender ‘places’.

This can be related to social identity theory, which holds that people have an idiosyncratic self-identity, in addition to a social identity, which includes prominent categories of the collective such as religion (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). State power, in the example of Iran, is significantly influencing and shaping women’s social identity. This limits spaces of self-identity available for women’s personal development, with their identity being equated with their role of motherhood. This reflects feminists endeavour of making the personal political (Whelahan, 1995), as it is this personal sphere where women are relegated to, which limits their opportunities to resist imposed gender identities. Political structures are shaping gender discourses and traversing the permeable boundaries between self- and social-identity. This becomes emphasised in the debates surrounding the wearing of the hijab (veil), which is often perceived to be a sign of women’s subjugation to male dominance. However, it can also be seen as a form of dress that increases women’s freedom of movement within society. These two diverging views of the hijab reflect the multiplicity of meaning underpinning performances of identity. The hijab is a form of dress, which simultaneously represents a sign of self- and social-identity. The following exploration of the meanings underpinning the hijab is aimed at analysing the opposing discourses underpinning women’s veiling to further uncover different ways in which Muslim women have appropriated themselves of the symbols governing their societal environment, to express resistance rather than oppression.

Amina Wadud (2006), who has undertaken extensive research about gender issues within Islam, includes several auto-ethnographic accounts in her book. “I have recognized and lived the idea that hijab is a public declaration of identity with Islamic ideology. I do not consider it a religious obligation” (ibid, p. 219). She declares herself as a feminist and a Muslim woman, for whom the hijab represents an important symbol of individual, as well as, collective identity with Islam. In relation to the concept of ‘Muslimwoman’ the hijab is
interpreted as a cultural sign of individual identity that is highly gendered within Islam (Cooke, 2008). This symbol can be seen as traditional and modern at the same time (Charrad, 2011). The history of the hijab dates long back, with historical facts suggesting that it has been taken over by Islam as a form of status symbol from other cultures, such as the Greeks and Romans (Ahmed, 1992). Wearing of the hijab has already been recorded among the wives of Muhammad and was seen as a marker of their status and privilege (Stowasser, 1994), suggesting that veiling also represented class-sensitivity.

The traditional religious discourse declares women's veiling as a mandatory to maintain their family and husband's honour. This view further regards the hijab as a requisite to veil women's bodies, in order to control men's temptations. This again, reflects a highly sexualised image of women, with women's sex-appropriate behaviour, veiling, being a reflection of male-dominated space. Stowasser (ibid) traces this back to medieval Qur'anic interpretation, where women were increasingly portrayed as inferior to men and as a threat to the moral society. However, throughout history women appropriated themselves of cultural signs to resist dominant discourses. On the one hand, in the early feminist movements in the seventies, women unveiled in public to challenge women's subjugation. On the other hand, women inverted the meaning of the hijab by wearing it to be able to enter the public sphere and to increase their personal autonomy (Ask & Tjomsland, 1998).

The hijab also has political meaning, being a “political statement of women, an active reappropriation on their behalf of Islamic religiosity and way of life rather than its reproduction by established traditions.” (Göle, 1997: 4 cited in Charrad, 2011, p. 429) This reflects the modern attributes of the hijab that are sustained by political discourses, which are often not recognised within Western discourses.

Criticism was already present in colonial times, where European women considered the veil to be a marker of women's subjugation by men in Egypt society (Enloe, 2000). However, it is difficult to reach a consensus about such a widespread 'cultural symbol' as the hijab (Geertz, 1971), which Wadud (2006) considers the 'sixth pillar' of Islam. The meanings of the hijab, or the different forms of veiling inscribed throughout Islamic societies, are negotiated signs of identity. These signs cannot be easily understood, due to their variously situated meanings that reflect relational forms of social-identity and individual expressions of faith. Women are increasingly taken the active decision to live their faith as they 'themselves' deem appropriate, without following prescribed gender norms, or succumbing to criticism of the hijab (Ahmed, 1992; Wadud, 2006), which represents a public symbol, but its
personal meaning differs from woman to woman (Ask & Tjomsland, 1998). This reflects that social-identity can be adapted, resisted, and negotiated through expressions of self-identity (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993).

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter illustrated how ‘gender activism’ exists in different forms within Islamic societies and at the same time, it highlighted the strong opposition it faces. Islamic feminism is often portrayed as an oxymoron within secular feminist approaches. However, religion is a basic cornerstone of Islamic societies and to promote the gender debate within these societies requires an engagement with Islam. This aspect is illustrated in the continuous engagement of Islamic feminists with the religious scriptures. Their aim is to interpret them from a gender conform perspective, a practise mentioned before, called ijihad. This endeavour represents a new phenomenon within Islamic society, where the interpretation of religious sources was seen as a male domain. Islamic feminists engagement with the Qur'an and the hadith as well as the Shari'a represents a revolutionary act, which over time will promote gradual change and new social realities. These endeavours are mirrored in Irigaray's (1985) argument for an interpretive rereading of philosophical discourses, which challenges the structures sustaining systematicity.

“What is called for (...) is an examination of the operation of the “grammar” of each figure of discourse, its syntactic laws or requirements, its imaginary configurations, its metaphoric networks, and also, of course, what it does not articulate the level of utterance: its silences.” (ibid, p. 75)

The “grammar” sustaining gender relations within Muslim societies has been analysed in its different forms of operation in the preceding sections, with the next chapter continuing this analysis within the context of tourism. The underpinning of this “grammar” in Muslim societies has strong religious connotations, being further interweaved with locally situated notions of social and cultural norms, in addition to the diverse interpretations and applications of religious law. These discourses entail symbolic meaning, traversing the boundaries between physical territory and the individual and collective. Therefore, it can be argued that the structures of systematicity are rooted within religious discourses that travel across time and space in the Islamic ummah, finding varying expression within each society affecting community life, as well as, state politics.
These gender politics also shape tourism practise within these regions, which calls for an active engagement with Islam to understand and to critically engage with the role of gender in Muslim societies and to apply this knowledge to research on gender within tourism. This would contribute to a more effective integration of tourism in the gender agenda within destinations and potentially foster a more politicised and responsible way of doing tourism. It has been noted by Kinnaird and Hall (1996) that the tourism industry is highly gendered, though this also applies to the societies within which tourism is practised. This emphasises the need to contextualise tourism studies within manifestation of gender relations, not only from the perspective of the tourism industry, but also from the perspective of the destination community. By supporting global flows of people between and among societies, tourism has the ability to influence local dynamics of place, supporting heterogeneity and multiculturalism within destination communities. These processes of exchange also influence tourism practise through the “immanent experience of the everyday” (Edensor, 2001, p. 62), which supports constant (re)negotiations of gender relations. The next chapter now turns to discuss the role, relations and representations of gender within the tourism industry.
4. Tourism and gender

4.1 Introduction

Tourism is increasingly being adopted as a development strategy, also within more religiously conservative Muslim countries (see e.g. Henderson, 2003; Kalesar, 2010; Timothy & Iverson, 2006; Zamani-Farahani & Henderson, 2010). To assess how this development can benefit both, men and women, an increasing sensitivity and understanding of the underpinning religious discourses is required. The previous chapter engaged in a thorough study of the interrelationship between Islam and gender, building the foundation for the subsequent discussion of the opportunities afforded for the promotion of gender empowerment through capacity building. In addition, a gender-aware analysis of tourism requires an engagement with the gendered practise and foundations of tourism. The missing consensus on the meaning of gender within tourism studies illustrates the different and varying understandings of gender depending on the political and socio-cultural settings in which it is determined (Butler, 1990; Swain, 2002). Incorporating the role of gender in tourism studies requires addressing the social meaning of gender as a starting point, instead of seeing it as a form of conclusion (Jackson, 1991). This chapter, therefore, engages in a critical analysis of the diverse forms in which gender is performed, negotiated and articulated in tourism.

Enloe (2000), Sinclair (1997) and Swain (1995) highlight that feminist inquiry supports addressing some of the inequalities existing in the tourism industry, with Enloe (ibid, p. 40-41) tracing these inequalities back to the Roman Empire:

“From the Roman empire to the eighteenth century European grand tour, the rise of Cooks Tours and Club Med, travel for pleasure and adventure has been profoundly gendered. Without ideas about masculinity and femininity – and the enforcement of both – in the societies of departure and the societies of destination, it would be impossible to sustain the tourism industry and its political agenda in their current form. (...) The very structure of international tourism needs patriarchy to survive.”

The quotation reflects that the social construction of gender shapes power relations in society and to understand these requires an engagement with the representations of
masculinity and femininity to enter into a critical discussion of tourism as a foremost gendered practise and industry that builds on and engages with the gendered foundations of diverse societies. This chapter starts with an exploration of the meaning of gender, including the different debates surrounding gender, such as the sex/gender divide. Then follows a depiction of the development of feminist thought and theory, which leads to a discussion of gender issues within tourism. Drawing connections to tourism allows situating the gender analysis in specific spatial locations, exploring aspects such as gendered work relations, sexuality in tourism and tourism promotion. The author acknowledges her own positionality, being female herself and coming from a geography study background. This has influenced the analysis, though; the intention was not to represent a ‘woman’ standpoint, but to illustrate gender as a relation between male and female subjects moving away from a dichotomous positioning of gender perspective to represent multiple standpoints.

4.2 Conceptualisation of gender

Gender is not about the female subject alone, it is about the relations between female and male subjects (Rose, 1993). It is through these relations that each subject’s position in society is shaped. This is reflected in the predominant discourses about gender that are premised on the notion of innate differences between women and men. These discourses support unjust distributions of power and control, which are further imbricated by other differences, such as class and ethnicity. The acculturation process that produces and maintains this social discourse is based on a dual gender system proclaiming heterosexuality as the norm. However, Wittig (1993, p. 103) argues that “One is not born a woman”, following Simone de Beauvoir’s words. She contends that a lesbian is neither a man nor a woman. “For “woman” does not exist for us: it is only an imaginary formation, while “women” is the product of a social relationship” (ibid, p. 106). The argument by Wittig that women are the outcome of social interaction can be connected to Butler’s (1990) view that gender is formed and constantly remade through repetition. Critics hold that the theory of performativity on which Butler bases her argument, assumes an abstracted subject who does not allow the subject-self to be reflexive and to negotiate the own position (Nelson, 1999). It can be argued that these repetitions are based on societal processes, though; they do not preclude an individual’s agency. Rather, the focus is set on the broader transformation of society that reflect how the concept of “women” is produced. This is often
associated to the concept of hegemonic masculinity, which shapes power structures at the societal level.

The existence of a master subject is symbolic for the predominant hegemony of the masculine subject (Haraway, 1991). Rather than a subject, this reflects an invisible position rationalised through discourse, which does not reflect the multiplicity of femininities and masculinities and their dynamic relations. The symbolic master subject endorses hegemonic masculinity within society (Connell, 2005), which is defined as an ideology "based on a hierarchy of dominant alignment roles, especially men over women, but also men over other men. The white, corporate, wealthy heterosexual cultural model tops this hierarchy" (Kiesling, 1998, p. 71). Butler (1990) argues that the emphasis placed on heterosexuality within gender discourses, requires a complete rethinking of gender narratives, in order to understand experiences that lie outside the normativity of heterosexuality expressed through the coherence of the female and male form. Acknowledging these different expressions of gender is crucial, with the gay and lesbian movement representing an important part of contemporary feminisms (Adkins & Merchant, 1996).

This analysis, however, focuses on gender relations between men and women, as they represent the primary focus of this dissertation. The previous chapter has already highlighted that the individual and collective expressions of agency, negotiation and reflexivity, or the lack of opportunity to practise them, are influenced by the wider social and cultural processes shaping gender relations. The definition by Swain (1995, pp. 258–259) reflects these wider processes underpinning gender, with gender being:

"[A] system of culturally constructed identities, expressed in ideologies of masculinity and femininity, interacting with socially structured relationships in divisions of labour and leisure, sexuality, and power between women and men."

This definition illustrates how gender identities are formed through their social and cultural context, further permeating the everyday life of an individual. Scott (1986) argues that the increasing interest in gender as a category of analysis, along class and race in academic research, broadened the understanding of the multiple expressions of power. She describes gender as "a primary field within which or by means of which power is articulated" (ibid, p. 1069). This is also reflected in Swain’s definition, which represents a post-structural view of gender as constructed through socialisation processes. However, Hanson (2010) highlights the need to be aware of the opposing view, which regards gender as "an innate source of
fixed and universal male/female difference” (ibid, p. 8). This fixed representation of difference based on the innateness of gender justifies gender inequalities in society through adopting a deterministic view of gender relations. This removes gender from the political and social sphere and dis-acknowledges how gender impinges on the divisions of power and control.

To understand gender discourses also requires understanding sexual discourses. Butler (1990, p. 6) argues that “gender is culturally constructed: hence, gender is neither the causal result of sex nor as seemingly fixed as sex.” Gender is a fluid concept and gender identity is reflected through different femininities and masculinities (Page, 2006). This opposes the essentialisation of gender through relating it to sexual categories. However, it has to be noted that also the category of sex has been constructed through the imposition of heterosexuality as the norm (Wittig, 1993). Discourses of gender and sex are inextricably linked, not only through the social constructions of gender, but also through the social placing of the sexed body. This emphasises that gender cannot be reduced to a subject’s sex and that it does not form an extension of a pre-given sex. Gender is rather concerned with the overall production of the discursive means by which gender relations, including the construction of sex, are being shaped, intersecting with other categories such as race, ethnicity and class.

Foucault (1976) argues that the sexual discourse has been used to institutionalise sexual relations and to organise our civilization. Sex is not a natural category that comes before gender; he describes sex as the ‘master key’ providing the answer to who we are (ibid, p. 78). This highlights how sex becomes intertwined with identity. Foucault does not discuss gender as such, however, his work hints at the fact that sex has been used as part of the hegemonic language to justify and perpetuate gender relations within society. This does not allow projecting identities through spatial and temporal trajectories; it rather reduces them to predetermined roles and relations. The use of the symbolic association of sex with the ‘master key’ further resonates with the heterosexual norm emphasised through the master subject, which reinforces fixed representations of sexual relations based on inequality. This rests on the limits set to women’s domain, being primarily portrayed as the private domestic sphere focusing on women’s reproductive role and child rearing (Bowden & Mummery, 2009), as emphasised in the previous chapter. Societal expectations often perceive men as the providers for the family, although, these features are differently
emphasised from society to society, the ideal image of women and men forms an integral part of patriarchal discourses.

Patriarchy is understood in its original sense, as the "rule of fathers over their families" (ibid, p. 8) reflecting at the same time men's ideal image as providers for the family, translating that image into one of power over their family. These enacted values and roles have become inscribed on female and male bodies. Challenging these representations classifying values requires an understanding of how these have become institutionalised through history, shaping power relations that encode and evaluate gender. The institutionalisation of these relations is exemplified in Henry's (2011) article discussing institutional sexism in Egypt. He highlights that women are not provided with the same social opportunities as men, due to the institutional barriers impeding their further development, such as access to higher education and paid employment, which also impacts on their feelings of self-esteem and self-fulfilment. Further, within the labour market gender relations become inscribed by sexualised representations (Adkins & Lury, 1996) and stereotypical understandings of women and men's roles. This has an impact on the identity of the individuals concerned, with Adkins and Lury (1996, pp. 220–221) describing this process as followed:

"these identity practises are rendered intrinsic to women workers through relations of appropriation. That is to say, the gendered relations of production in these sites ensure that women's labour (including the production of workplace identities) is always embodied as part of their selves. (...) In this sense they are not individuals at work, but rather they are gendered workers, that is, the social group 'women workers'."

This quotation highlights the relational and embodied experience of gender in the labour market, expressed through the interweaving of women's experience of work and their workplace identity. Their identity is attached to concepts of femininity underpinning 'women's work', which imposes a male defined role and image on women strengthening unequal relations of production (Irigaray, 1985). Salmenniemi and Adamson (2015) contribute to this argument outlining the labour of personality, the labour of femininity and the labour of sexuality characterising the contemporary self-help literature in the Russian post-feminism landscape. Through these different forms of labour femininity is construed as a strategic 'weapon' that becomes disarticulated from 'women's work' or the labour of
identity as a historically shaped category (Adkins & Lury, 1996; Salmenniemi & Adamson, 2015). To challenge the naturalisation and the uneven distribution of values attached to different forms of labour as well as the sexualised discourses accompanying them, women’s predominantly silenced position within history has to be questioned (Scott, 1994). Haraway (1991) argues that women were not included for example in Marx’s elaboration of work in his book ‘Capital’, due to the naturalness attached to their position within the family.

The relational and situated ontology of gender as depicted by Swain (1995) brings into question these assumed naturalness. Swain highlights how gender influences divisions of labour, leisure, sexuality, as well as, power, supporting a politicised study of the experiences of men and women in their ‘unstable space of betweeness’ (Katz, 1994). The inherent instability of these relations lies in the complexity surrounding gender “whose totality is permanently deferred, never fully what it is at any given juncture in time” (Butler, 1990, p. 16). However, to accept that gender relations have cultural meaning and express political power, allows challenging the biologically deterministic view of gender. Sensitivity is required to not impose implicit assumption of values and norms (Kabeer, 1999; Singh, 2007) and to remain receptive to other forms of experiences, as gender also intersects with other forms of differences (Wittig, 1993).

4.3 Feminist thoughts and theories

Feminist research supports the understanding of the evolving meaning of gender (Aitchison, 2005). In an early stage, during the nineteenth and early twentieth century a form of first-wave feminism started to grow, aiming at extending women’s rights, particularly women’s suffrage (Freedman, 2003). This approach to feminism can be termed feminist empiricism, which forms part of the trilogy of feminist epistemologies devised by Harding (1986). Feminist empiricism is described as operating within the structures of society to attain reforms, rather than to challenge society itself (Letherby, 2003). In the early 1960s second-wave feminism became apparent, in which the former political aims were broadened to encompass wider socio-cultural goals. Second-wave feminists supported the idea that ‘the personal is political’, meaning that all aspects of women’s personal life are interlinked with the political power structures (Wheelhan, 1995). This is also expressed in the book ‘The Feminine Mystique’ by Friedan (1963), which is considered to be one of the crucial starting points of second-wave feminism. In her work Friedan talks about ‘the
problem that has no name’, referring to the unhappiness resulting from women’s seclusion to the private domestic sphere.

The political tensions of the seventies and eighties also contributed to nuanced and diversified articulations of feminism, with Salmenniemy and Adamson (2015) arguing that there was no direct counterpart to second-wave feminism in the Soviet Union. Rather, the UN decade for women was accompanied by dissonances between Eastern and Central European and American representatives over what experiences and issues were considered to form part of the feminist debate. The political pressures and disagreements between communist and capitalist as well as liberal interpretations of feminism marked the world conferences in Mexico City, Copenhagen and Nairobi. Ghodsee (ibid) argues that the disintegration of the Soviet Union contributed to advancing American feminist perspectives through the platform of the 1995 UN World Conference on Women in Beijing. However, tensions still persist in contemporary feminism (see Calas & Smircich, 2006), due to the plurality of feminisms that cover “a multitude of theoretical and political stances and a wide diversity of practices” (Cornwall et al., 2007, p. 1) as well as standpoints.

Third wave feminism began to grow in the mid-1990s, where advances in technology and globalisation were marking the social environment (Page, 2006). The movement critiqued the notion of ‘women’, who were primarily considered to be white, heterosexual and from the upper-middle class (e.g. Friedan, 1963). Page (2006) traces the origins of the movement to the beginnings of black feminism in the 1980s, which contributed to the critique of feminism as representing a homogenous women’s standpoint. The changing discursive landscapes characterising different perspectives and experiences in feminism also became apparent in the second feminist epistemology of standpoint feminism (Harding, 1986). Standpoints arise out of the locus of power within the material, ideological and cultural conditions of society. The engagement with different standpoints questions the neutrality of science with their inherent multidimensional subjectivities allowing to dismantle the “limitations of the dominant conceptions of methods and explanations and the way the conceptions constrain and distort results of research and thought” (Haraway, 1990, p. 53). This multiplicity of positions also raises the importance of engaging with the role of reflexivity and the self-identity of the feminist researcher (Katz, 1994).

The third feminist epistemology termed post-structural feminism is particularly concerned with revealing the power relations governing society (Aitchison, 2005). For that purpose an
emphasis is set on language and the way it provides meaning as well as imposes discourses that become “a site of political struggle” (Weedon, 1997, p. 23). In the political sphere, gender often intersects with other differences, such as race and class. Connell (2005) for example refers to black masculinity, which in many ‘white’ political discourses is depicted as a social threat. Public politics are defined as ‘masculinity politics’ by Connell (2005, p. 205), “where the meaning of masculine gender is at issue, and, with it, men’s position in gender relations. In such politics masculinity is made a principal theme, not taken for granted as background”. This illustrates how political debates become a struggle over meaning that conforms to the politics of the ‘master subject’, portraying a white, heterosexual and bourgeois worldview.

This worldview is given meaning through the use of language, which as DeVault (1990) argues, is primarily reflective of male experiences. She uses the example of ‘work’ and ‘leisure’, two words that in their one-dimensional meaning do not comply with a female experience of work, or leisure. This becomes visible in Enloe’s (2000) examination of diplomats or soldiers’ wives, whose work is considered to be invisible. This extends further to the household, where women’s work is less accredited than ‘public’ work. At the same time, it is still uncommon for men to perform household work and to raise children. In many societies this is regarded as primarily the woman’s responsibility (Ibrahim et al., 2007; Tucker & Boonabaana, 2012). However, leisure also becomes entangled with work, in the case of women having to care for their family and particularly children’s well being, also when on holidays. These forms of understanding question ascribed gender roles and norms, which do not meet evolving femininities and masculinities, which are being gendered in the process of being enacted and legitimised through language. These gendered categories and associations have to be analysed and their meaning traced back in history (DeVault, 1990), to understand how certain concepts have evolved and have become inscribed in today’s society.

Connell (2005, p. 191) notes that the “history of European/American masculinity over the last two hundred years can broadly be understood as the splitting of gentry masculinity, its gradual displacement by new hegemonic forms, and the emergence of an array of subordinated and marginalized masculinities.” This raises the need of also confronting changing masculinities and their effect on distributions of power, as an understanding of gender requires embracing both, femininities and masculinities. Connell (ibid) writes about the transformations accompanying the growing working classes and the development of the
factory system in the mid-1900s, which led to an increasing division between the household and wage-work. This formed new understandings of masculinity and fostered the bourgeois thought of separate domains and “domestic patriarchy” (ibid, p. 196), which further contributed to the “gendering of the labour market” (Adkins & Lury, 1996, p. 204). This illustrates how historic evolutions have accompanied the development of a hegemonic masculinity, which in contemporary European and American society is interwoven with capitalist gender regimes.

Capitalism portrays a gender-neutral society, based on economic relations, which through their patriarchal structure and history formed a society marked by gender inequality (Sinclair, 1997). Capitalism has also become part of feminist movements in Russia since the demise of the socialist world, with Salmenniemi and Adamson (2015) arguing that capitalism is symbiotically related to post-feminism. In its Russian expression, post-feminism emphasises “the heterosexual relationship as the measure of proper feminine personhood” (ibid, 2015, p. 101). This reflects how sexuality becomes part of the discourses impinging upon the power relations underpinning gender relations. De Beauvoir (cited in Butler, 1990) contends that only the feminine gender has been identified as such and that the masculine gender in comparison has been taken as the ‘universal personhood’. Contrary to that argument, Irigaray (1985) argues that women are not represented at all; they are the sex ‘which is not one’. On the one hand, reducing the feminine subject to their sex is explained as the sex which is not one, because it can be argued that you cannot ‘be’ a sex (Butler, 1990). By being reduced to their sex, on the other hand, women become the one that is not the master subject.

Foucault (1976) contends that resistance exists where there is power. Resistance is performed in and out of, as well as, in opposition to power relations embedded in discourses and articulated through language. Feminism can be described as such a resistance to the existing inequality and the continuing oppression governing gender relations, being foremost an ‘adaptive responsive movement’ (Bowden & Mummery, 2009). However, an increased sensitivity to the multiple subjectivities underpinning the diverse feminist movements is required, including the need for self-reflexivity in the process of knowledge production. This further relates to the epistemological approach employed when undertaking research, which has to acknowledge the positioning of the researcher. One major critique of analytic strategies is the predominant use of the same theories and methods that created the discourses feminists attempt to critique. However, “there is a
plurality of resistances” and “by definition; they can only exist in the strategic field of power relations” (Foucault, 1976, p. 96). Resistance is not independent of the power relations governing society, with the seed of resistance being born out of the same ‘strategic field’. It is the awareness, reflexivity and critical engagement with these discourses that characterises feminisms and allows questioning dominant philosophies.

The associations made between the development of feminisms and feminist epistemologies in this section are not definitive. Different terminologies have been devised for feminist epistemologies (see e.g. Di Stefano, 1990) and there exist further feminist approaches, like post-feminism (see e.g. Modleski, 1991; Wright, 2000), as illustrated in the Russian context in a previous passage. The development of feminist thought and theoretical foundations provides useful insight to the meaning of gender and to the different expressions of gender experience. This includes an increased attention to the politics of representation, which have been a common theme of study within feminist ethnography (Frohlick, 2013). The next sections focus on gender issues in tourism, this includes aspects of production and consumption in tourism, as well as, the gendered representations used within tourism promotion and social interaction in tourism, which influences and is influenced by gender norms and relations.

4.4 Gender and tourism employment

Tourism is increasingly being described as the service sector with the highest level of gender-segregation, as well as the most sex-role stereotyped sector (Adkins, 1995; Jordan, 1997; Kinnaird et al., 1994). Female employment in tourism is relatively high, however, women occupy predominantly lower positions, while men are in the middle and top ranked position of the employment hierarchy (Enloe, 2000; Richter, 1998; Timothy, 2001). Pritchard et al. (2007) have argued that there are social transformations occurring within employment patterns in tourism, though, these are mainly visible in developed countries and less in developing nations. Wall and Norris (2003) further note that employment in tourism can provide women with a heightened economic position. However, often cultural traditions and missing governmental actions as well as women’s associations inhibit women from ascending to higher positions and from gaining increasing political power. The political representation of women, particularly within policy positions, is an important factor influencing women’s political empowerment through giving them access to decision-making areas they have been most excluded from (Richter, 1998). Ferguson (2011) argues
that instead of supporting gender equality, the common policy goals are set on participation. However, women’s participation in tourism work intensifies gender subordination through the positions women enter the workforce (Chant, 2002). Women predominantly occupy positions that resemble their traditional gender roles within society, these positions are considered to be ‘women’s work’, such as receptionist, chambermaid and kitchen personnel (Kinnaird et al., 1994; Timothy, 2001).

In an article studying tourism, gender and development in Northern Laos, Flacke-Neudorfer (2007) uncovers that the traditional local gender roles subscribed a rather passive role to women and therefore, they were not allowed to actively participate in tourism. To protect the “traditional image of the culture and traditional gender roles which tourists long for” (ibid, p. 135), gender equality was obviated in local sustainable tourism projects. However, there still exists the prevalent argument that small-scale tourism, such as agrotourism, is a more beneficial type of tourism development for women (Gibson, 2001). This also represents the typical argument made within alternative development, which holds that “Small Is Beautiful” (Friedmann, 1992, p. 139). Family enterprises in particular are seen as supporting women in gaining additional income and increasing their status within their family and outside their homes (Gibson, 2001; Tucker, 2007). However, these types of tourism enterprises also enforce women’s traditional roles, being the reason they are able to participate in the first place, an argument which also extends to other informal tourism work opportunities (Tucker, 2007).

This is further compounded by women’s reproductive and domestic responsibilities, which influence women’s access to paid employment (Kinnaird & Hall, 1996; Wall & Norris, 2003). This is often referred to as the ‘double-burden of work’ resulting from the combination of women’s domestic and wage work (Elmas, 2007; Momsen, 2002; Tucker & Boonabaana, 2012). Wilkinson and Pratiwi (1995) analyse tourism practise in an Indonesian village, highlighting that tourism has induced changes in traditional approaches to child raising, while at the same time, providing women with a higher influence on economic decision-making within their family. Friedmann (1992) further argues that women’s ability to earn an income supports them in gaining relative self-reliance within household politics. Tourism can also offer new or alternative employment opportunities compared to those offered in local economies (Swain, 1989). However, Wilkinson and Pratiwi (1995) comment that the patriarchal assumptions underpinning women’s access to tourism work in the local village also implies that many tourism-related positions, such as being a guide or driver, are
associated to prostitution. This reflects that tourism interacts with local gender norms and relations, which can have repercussions on cultural institutions in destinations, such as the family (Wall & Norris, 2003).

Miller and Branson (1989) stress the importance of including religious and political ideologies in tourism studies, when analysing gender relations in specific locations. This is particularly relevant in Muslim societies, where religious beliefs significantly influence political power structures. Reflexivity and sensitivity are required when studying gender as cultural and social norms differ across societies. In many Muslim communities strict interpretations of Islam prescribe the segregation of women and men, with clear guidelines for gender acceptable economic and social activity. However, tourism takes place primarily in the public realm of social life and this can lead to conflicts between tourism practise and traditional gender relations. Tucker and Boonabaana (2012) analyse such conflicts resulting from tourism development in Göreme, a small town in Turkey. Women in this town have only limited access to the public sphere and their employment in tourism is against local norms, such as the notion of virtue and honour. This cultural barrier has to be understood not only as external, as a form of prohibition, but it also forms an influential factor on women’s self-perception and beliefs. Women might choose not to work in tourism, because working in public spaces and interacting with men is against their religious beliefs. These boundaries have slowly shifted in the region, with one important factor being the increasing education available for women and girls in Turkey (ibid). However, women’s access to (higher) education and employment opportunities is still highly influenced and controlled by men in Turkey (Elmas, 2007).

The former examples illustrate how the division of benefits derived from tourism development reflects local gender norms and relations (Tucker & Boonabaana, 2012). Women’s access, autonomy and power within tourism employment are not determined by the scale of tourism development, but rather by the gendered power structures at the national and local level (Scheyvens, 2000; Wall & Norris, 2003). Particularly women’s access to education and specialised training represents a determining factor influencing women’s ability to access higher positions within the employment hierarchy, with education having further effects on their productivity as highlighted in the case of Africa (Dieke, 2001). The gender gap in employment is directly related to the unequal gender divisions in schooling (ibid), with Pritchard et al. (2007) noting that there are almost twice as much girls as boys having no access to education. This emphasises the importance of
studying capacity building through the lens of gender, to assess how capacity building can contribute to wider processes of empowerment. In many traditional societies, where cultural notions of gender norms and relations inform access to (higher) education and paid employment, women are almost completely excluded from tourism work (Scheyvens, 2000; Tucker & Boonabaana, 2012; Tucker, 2007).

These employment patterns are particularly visible within Muslim societies, where gender norms and relations are governed by religious beliefs and practises. Ibrahim et al. (2007, p. 290) notice that within these cultural contexts research and statistics on women's employment in tourism is very limited. This is also true for female Muslim travellers consuming tourism services (Sönmez, 2001). This study contributes to limited existing research on the role of gender in processes of capacity building within tourism development in Muslim destination communities. Capacity building is inextricably linked to community members’ ability to access, participate and benefit from tourism development (see e.g. Beeton, 2006; Choi & Sirakaya, 2005; Moscardo, 2008; Scheyvens, 2002). An increasing access to specialised training and education for women could support decreasing persistent inequalities and lead to a re-negotiation of stereotypical notions of ‘women’s work’, or even question the way gender and gender relations are understood. However, these processes have to be understood in relation to the local social and cultural environment and the way this shapes benefits derived from tourism, in addition to creating potential conflicts and challenges. The next section now turns to discuss the role of sexuality in the realm of gender and tourism.

4.5 Gender, tourism and sexuality

Sexuality plays a key part of the discourses shaping gender relations in tourism employment. However, sexuality and its interrelations with gender relations in the labour market have been largely denied. Adkins (1995) traces this rejection of sexuality within work relations to the 1980s, where different frameworks were applied to studying gender within the labour market and sexuality. The role of gender within work relations has been studied predominantly from an economic perspective, whereas sexuality has been addressed from a rather Foucauldian and social interactionism perspective. However, in these two areas of study gender inequalities abound and several of the issues underpinning gender within tourism overlap with issues concerning sexuality. Adkins and Lury (1996) have argued that processes of appropriation shape women’s identities in the workplace.
These processes are constituted through the sexual notions underpinning ‘women's work’ in tourism. These are often expressed through the expected sexualised appearance and performance of women, which conforms to traditional gender norms and roles underpinning heterosexuality (Adkins, 1995; Sinclair, 1997).

Adkins (1995) notes that sexual objectification is primarily attributed to women’s work within tourism, while men are not subsumed under the same sexualised expectations. However, the sexualisation of women within tourism relations contrasts with the example given before concerning tourism employment in many Muslim societies. It can be argued that there exists a form of continuum that ranges from the sexualisation of the (visible) female body towards a denial of the (invisible) female body. The process of being gendered forms part of being laboured and this serves to limit women’s power within the labour market, being at the same time a central feature of job segregation in tourism employment. This fits with the description of tourism work as being characterised primarily by service work, which emphasises social relations at the point of production and consumption (Urry, 1990). This is also reflected in the development of sex tourism, which has thrived through the active demand and supply of this form of tourism in international travel, becoming part of the tourism ‘menu’ in many Southeast Asian destinations (Enloe, 2000). This sheds light on the capitalist politics underpinning the development of this form of tourism, which has not been discouraged by some governments, particularly those in Southeast Asian countries seeking foreign exchange (Hall, 1994).

Sex tourism can be considered a form of tourism that highly reinforces unequal gender relations (Apostolopoulos & Sönmez, 2001). Enloe (2000) offers an insightful exploration of the gender relations governing prostitution and sex tourism. She highlights the unequal treatment of prostitutes, particularly through law and regulations, compared to those consuming their sexual services, such as tourists, soldiers and locals. Prostitution can be understood as the selling of sex as a service, whereas sex tourism is a form of tourism based on the consumption of sexual relations (Dahles, 2002). However, sex tourism cannot be reduced to simple ‘money exchanges’ and often sexual relations are not the sole purpose of travel (Oppermann, 1999). The sex tourism framework developed by Oppermann (ibid, p. 255) illustrates the different parameters of sexual encounters, which include intention, time, money and type of sexual encounters, as well as, the person travelling. He further highlights that there is not always a clear answer to who is being exploited and who is being empowered.
Sex tourism does not only cover aspects of female prostitution, as male prostitution and homosexual sex tourism is also practised (Dahles, 2002; Oppermann, 1999). These aspects have not been given in-depth attention within the tourism literature (Dahles, 2002). The emphasised focus on heterosexuality in tourism discourses might be one of the reasons underpinning this partial interest. However, the increasing attention given to romance tourism provides an insight to the role of local men in romancing foreign tourists coming mainly from developed countries. In comparison to sex tourism, these forms of sexual relations are claimed to be empowering for women, as they allow women to resist traditional-gendered roles (Gibson, 2001). However, Frohlick (2013), in a study of romance tourism in Costa Rica, notices that these romantic encounters are dominated by a form of normative heterosexuality, which entails ‘money exchanges’. Heterosexuality is further compounded by the sexualisation of bodies, which intersects with racial and class discourses. Local men are being stereotyped in their sexuality, a process which is linked to racial overtones by referring to their ‘native’ sexuality, further reflecting relations of dependence based on the often unequal socio-economic standing of the sexual partners within these romantic encounters (ibid). There are features of romance tourism that do not comply with more equalized gender relations, including both men and women’s standing within these relations. Dahles (2002, p. 192) writes in the case of romance tourism in Indonesia:

“there is increasing evidence that men getting involved with tourist women find themselves isolated from local social life. To make a living in tourism often implies that a young man has to leave his community to establish himself in one of the major tourist resorts in Java or Bali. As a consequence, the man has to give up his social and religious responsibilities as an adult member of his community, not only losing the support of his family and neighbors, but also his cultural identity.”

In Indonesia, which is a predominantly Muslim country, romance tourism stands in controversy with local culture and religious beliefs. This reflects the strong linkages between tourism, being characterised by service work and the cultural expectations surrounding these relations (Urry, 1990), which do not always lead to harmonised and equally beneficial encounters between tourists and local people. The local men participating in these often-transient romantic encounters can gain in economic standing, but this does not guarantee empowerment within their community. Further, the loss of their cultural identity resembles some of the aspects mentioned in relation to women’s work and identity
(see Adkins & Lury, 1996). These cultural identity constructions, as in the case of women’s work identity, are interwoven with gender constructions in tourism, reflecting wider processes of social inequality. Although, the ‘relations of appropriation’ are most emphasised within sex tourism, the sexualised relations enacted in romance tourism bear some of the marks of appropriation. It cannot be assumed, if prescribed gender norms are inverted that this will lead to more equal gender relations. However, there are spaces of empowerment and resistance created within the practise of tourism, which challenge stereotyped notions of femininity and masculinity. This has been highlighted in romance tourism, but also in other forms of travel, such as solo independent and business travel (Harris & Wilson, 2007).

As argued by MacCannell (2002, p. xi), changing gender relations in the name of tourism fun is a “bold social experiment”. This ‘experiment’ has long lasting effects on gender relations, as well as representations within societies of departure and destination societies. The social exchanges characterising tourism practises require respect and sensitivity towards different cultures, as expressed in the example of Indonesia, to minimise conflict and cultural misunderstanding. This also requires an increasing attention to the behaviour and type of work that is considered acceptable particularly for women within Muslim cultures, to avoid the loss of reputation, which could lead to wider negative community and societal consequences (Sönmez, 2001). This reflects that the cultural expectations underpinning tourism work entail the “(re)production of the social structure” (Adkins, 1995, p. 7), which is marked by patriarchy. This form of (re)production of patriarchy forms an integral aspect of the processes shaping gender divisions and inequality in tourism. Taking the example of Morocco, this study analyses how these patriarchal discourses are (re)produced and sustained in Muslim communities to gain a better understanding of the gendered division of tourism benefits, including its disbenefits.

This chapter has highlighted that representation is not an innocent act; it entails political and economic interests reworking and legitimating patriarchal structures. In both forms of tourism discussed, erotic images prevail and these images are “perpetuated within the social institutional structures of the destination” (Hall, 1994, p. 146). The eroticisation of gender is particularly visible within tourism promotion, which Hall (ibid, p. 145) refers to as the “self-confessed selling of hedonism by the tourist industry”. The following section will analyse these gendered representations of masculinity and femininity used within tourism promotion.
4.6 Gender, tourism and representations

This chapter has highlighted that stereotypical representations of masculinity and femininity have a normative effect on gender relations. Representations are, on the one hand, produced and, on the other hand, gazed upon, with tourist destinations being created through images rather than being territorially defined (Baerenholdt et al., 2004). However, there is a third dimension to representations, which is that they are also experienced in a way, through their influence on tourist expectations and the effects this has on social interaction in the destination society. This can be related to the expectations people hold, which can significantly influence their interaction and communication with others (Reisinger, 2009). These expectations are created through knowledge and information available to tourists about destinations and their communities, a process which is significantly influenced through tourism promotion, such as brochures and advertising. Tourists’ performances in destinations, which are linked to their expectations, shape the places they visit, reflecting the interactive relations characterising tourism. Frohlick and Johnston (2011) illustrate how tourists travelling to Costa Rica incorporated the “no artificial ingredients” advertising logo into their expectations of experiencing a purer lifestyle and sexual desire. However, some of the interviewed women were disappointed by their experiences, due to the incompatibility of their ‘pure’ expectations and the machismo behaviour of their local ‘boyfriends’. This illustrates that stereotypical notions underpin both, femininities and masculinities.

These gendered performances are further influenced through the politics of production, with tourism advertising firms being primarily situated in developed countries (Pritchard & Morgan, 2000b). However, as seen in the case of Costa Rica, the state also plays a significant role in producing specific masculinities and femininities within destination branding campaigns. In Costa Rica and New Zealand these serve to emphasise ‘straight’ forms of tourism (Frohlick & Johnston, 2011), which highlights the prevalence of the master subject, white, male, heterosexual and bourgeois, in framing images of destinations. The gendered discourses underpinning tourism promotion further intersect with other discourses related to race, class and age. Enloe (2000) for example, discusses how race and gender are portrayed in French colonial postcards, depicting eroticised indigenous women. These women are made part of male adventurers’ conquests, reflecting at the same time, the predominant emphasis on female subjects within representations of destinations (Richter, 1998). This influences concepts of nationhood and identity, with these women being
objectified and subsumed into wider narratives of sexual and territorial conquest. This 'circle of representation' does not include aspects of self-representation. Instead, it relies on specific discourses “embracing particular combinations of narratives, concepts and ideologies become so powerful that – reinforced over time by a variety of cultural forms – the images generated of different gazes come to constitute a closed self-perpetuating system of illusion or ‘way of seeing’ particular people and places” (Pritchard & Morgan, 2007, p. 160).

This ‘way of seeing’ is strongly embedded within the tourist gaze, which is underpinned by aspects of masculinity and a missing feminine response (Swain, 2002). Cheong and Miller (2000) highlight how the tourism system itself is maintained through this powerful gaze, which resembles the self-perpetuating nature of the representation of destinations and their society. The following exploration of tourism advertising centres on the equation of women’s attractiveness with the natural beauty of destinations, through the use of primarily gendered and sexualised images as well as language. Pritchard and Morgan (2000a) take the example of the Caribbean and Asia-Pacific region, to analyse the gendered discourses accompanying advertising in the tourism industry. The sexual imagery used within this promotional material does not only support the continuing naturalisation of gender relations, it also legitimises the representation and reduction of the feminine to mere sexual imagery in the name of marketing. Pritchard and Morgan take as an example the construction of female landscapes in Jamaican tourism promotion, which integrate several discourses:

“Rugged cliffs give way to pure white beaches, making a luscious mixture of seductiveness and innocence. The sun is so warm it’s almost sinful. As it melts into the tranquil Caribbean sea, tempting sunsets appear as girls with cinnamon-coloured skin walk the beach wearing bikinis the size of butterflies. This is your Eden. Welcome to Negril.” (Jamaican Tourist Board cited in ibid, p. 127)

The depiction of the Jamaican landscape reflects a ‘geography of imagination’, which gives clear sexual connotations to the natural landscape, making the temperature ‘sinful’. This is directly connected to the female subjects that appear to wear almost nothing, fostering particularly the sexual image of local women. Further, the religious connotation accompanying the language through words such as sin and Eden is reflective of a naturalised heterosexuality (Frohlick & Johnston, 2011). This illustrative language alludes
to local girls bringing sin in the form of sexual pleasure to tourists. Jamaica is being depicted as a ‘tourist Eden’ to address predominantly the male heterosexual gaze. The feminine subject has no voice in this context and seems to exist only in the form of a ‘cinnamon-coloured body’. Hence, their femininity is reduced to their body, which is related to the exotic landscape of Jamaica. However, Rose (1993, p. 89) contends that “[l]andscape’s meanings draw on the cultural codes of the society”. This meaning is challenged in the codes used within advertising, which rather than expressing cultural codes, expresses the normative master/masculine subject gazing at a landscape of sexuality.

There further exists a form of ‘male landscape’ within tourism marketing, related mainly to adventure, whereas the female landscape is related to seductiveness (Pritchard & Morgan, 2000a, 2000b). However, both landscapes are directed towards the male gaze, which can be related to Irigaray’s (1985) argument that women are the sex that is not ‘one’. In tourism promotion women are predominantly depicted as the sexual object for men in female landscapes and are not present, nor addressed (not ‘one’) in male landscapes. The use of language and images as bearers of meaning is important in this context, reflecting the normative function this has on constructing gendered and sexualised tourist expectations. Due to the overarching emphasis placed on the masculine gaze, the feminine gaze is being subsumed to the former, or left with being the object of the gaze (Nash, 1996). The extent of this subjugation cannot be reduced to mere imagery, as it influences long-lasting representations of cultures and societies in tourism through the circle of representation.

These almost self-contained forms of representation call for a hermeneutic circle, recognising agency by drawing on interpretations of the representations and the development of understanding arising from the social and cultural context of places. Wearing and Wearing (1996) refer to the concept of chora and choraster to address the limiting perspective represented by the normative male gaze. Chora refers to the “concept of the tourist destination” or the space of interaction occurring within tourism (ibid, p. 229), where meanings and definitions of gender are actively confronted, shaped and created. This is further compounded by choraster, which is the tourist that forms part of this interaction. Tourists have their own understanding of gender and through meeting other people in destinations; these are being reworked, further influencing their own sense of self. This knowledge becomes part of their subjective identity and allows resisting the proliferation of the dominant male gaze (ibid). The concept of chora and choraster taken from Plato by Wearing and Wearing, show how these seemingly fixed representations can be resisted.
within tourism practise, drawing alternative spaces of gender empowerment through social interaction in tourism. This further resembles the concept of ‘heterotopia’, described as a space for active resistance to governing discourses (Harris & Wilson, 2007). Tourism, hence, represents an opportunity for interpersonal encounters across cultures (Pearce et al., 1998), which can challenge the constructed image of destinations through an embodied co-construction of places. This can lead to a gradual renegotiation of beliefs and stereotypes associated to gender, as well as, to a critical engagement with social gendered roles of both, the destination and departure society.

This analysis has focused on some of the aspects underpinning gendered tourism promotion, with the aim of highlighting that social change starts with the active engagement with the beliefs, values and assumptions underpinning gender in tourism practise and research. This engagement is seeded within the social interaction-taking place in everyday touristic encounters. An increasing emphasis on and self-representation of local people participating in these social exchanges taking place within the tourist encounter is required, in order to address the hierarchical structures governing tourism promotion. Frohlick and Johnston (2011) further call for a more critical engagement with heterosexuality in tourism research, which is shaped in the realm of nature, tourism and gender relations. The imagery and language used within tourism promotion clearly intensifies commonly held gendered and sexualised stereotypes of women and men. This emphasises the traditional image of women, which is born out of the natural roles ascribed to women and the cultural acquired role of men. However, as shown in the case of Costa Rica, these stereotypical notions are also associated with men, who are seen as the object of sexual desire in the case of romance tourism. This reflects that dominant discourses are naturalised through tourism promotion, shaping performances in touristic encounters. It has been argued before that achieving social change requires changing the normative images underpinning gender and sexuality. Tourism, as a form of heterotopia, allows challenging these discourses through embodied social encounters that over time might change the circle of representation.

4.7 Conclusion

In feminist studies there is a recurring discussion, whether to argue for equality or emphasise difference between female/male subjects (see e.g. Bowden & Mummery, 2009; McDowell, 1992; Scott, 1994). Gender equality is based on the argument that women and men are equal, whereas the latter standpoint highlights the difference between men and
women, arguing that their needs and interests are essentially different (Bowden & Mummery, 2009). These diverging interpretations of what experiences constitute gender have also accompanied the struggle between Western feminists during the UN decade for women (see Ghodsee, 2010). This discussion is further extended by the questioning of the subject itself, seeing women no longer as a valid, or abiding category. Butler (1990, p. 2) argues that:

“It is not enough to inquire into how women become more fully represented in language and politics. Feminist critique ought also to understand how the category of “women”, the subject of feminism, is produced and restrained by the very structures of power through which emancipation is sought.”

This suggests that women are already constrained by the use of language, which defines what women are and the implications this has for gender relations. The language used within tourism studies might not reflect women’s experiences as highlighted by DeVault (1990). Post structural feminism represents a useful approach to studying the normative role of language, focusing at the same time on the underlying configurations of power. However, understanding the multiplicity and diverse women’s standpoints existing in contemporary society requires studying gender relations and not women as a category. Women are a diverse group and their positioning in society will vary depending on the social and cultural norms influencing gender relations in the respective society. This has been highlighted in contemporary analyses of the ‘domestication’ of post-feminism within capitalist Russian society (see e.g. Salmenniemi & Adamson, 2015). An understanding of gender, hence, can only be achieved through a situated and relational study. The framework itself within which gender is analysed in tourism has to be part of the critical analysis. It is argued that a more gender-aware framework within tourism studies requires questioning the framework itself, to be able to achieve a holistic analysis of gender relations. This research, therefore, aims to transcend dominant interpretive frames by engaging in a reflexive and inclusive research praxis to facilitate a (self-) critical engagement with situated knowledges through the adoption of an Islamic framework, as outlined in the previous chapter.

The debates surrounding the subject of femininity illustrate that there exist many feminisms that search for ‘truth’ from different angles. Whether the focus is set on equality and/or difference of gender relations in tourism depends on the specific subject of study.
Gender is not a pre-fixed concept; it is rather conformed by a dynamic set of gender relations. There does not exist ‘one’ valid approach to studying gender in tourism. Rather, the combination and adaptation as well as progressive development of past and current approaches stemming from different disciplines allows addressing these multiple standpoints. As de Lauretis (1986, p. 12) has argued, feminism “remains very much a politics of everyday life” and so does gender.

To address the experiences of (dis)empowerment and (in)equality within tourism requires an engagement with the causes and effects of the gendered and sexualised practise of tourism, exemplified in the images and language used in tourism promotion. Incorporating gender in tourism further requires situated studies, which acknowledge the particular context within which gender relations are being shaped, to reach a shared knowledge of gender experiences within tourism. The previous chapter, therefore, engaged an in-depth exploration of gender and gender relations within a Muslim societal context. This chapter contributed to an evolving understanding by exploring the diverse ways in which gender is performed, negotiated and articulated in tourism. The following chapter engages in an exploration of capacity building facilitated through tourism, to explore the role of education in promoting gender equality and empowerment in destination communities.
5. Capacity building and empowerment in destination communities

5.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the opportunities afforded for capacity building through education to contribute to processes of empowerment within destination communities. Capacity building has been identified as a vital process for implementing tourism as a development strategy (Beeton, 200; Moscardo, 2008; Scheyvens, 2002), though; gender issues in capacity building have only been addressed sporadically within the academic tourism literature. Tour operators are increasingly supporting projects in destination communities as part of their responsible business practises, with their work drawing together a spatially diverse web of stakeholders. This allows them to promote a wide range of projects across different spaces. Their involvement is identified as crucial to the long-term viability of tourism projects (Cheong & Miller, 2000), while their strong bargaining power can also have negative effects on destination communities. This chapter analyses their vision and approach to responsible action to explore the opportunities afforded for promoting capacity building through tour operator engagement.

First, a conceptualisation of capacity building is provided identifying different levels and dimensions of capacity building. Second, the concept’s foundation in community capacity is discussed, building the basis for the subsequent discussion of capacity building strategies promoting tourism and community development. Third, tour operators are situated as key players within this context and their dominant approach to capacity building is analysed. Fourth, the role of capacity building in processes of empowerment is explored, leading to a discussion of the interconnections between empowerment and gender equality. Fifth, capacity building through education is discussed, alluding to the importance of developing intangible resources within communities (Kabeer, 1994). These are mirrored in processes of network formation, strengthening self-confidence and social transformation through the development of critical consciousness (Freire, 1974). Throughout the chapter a narrative emerges that elucidates that capacity building forms part of local power structures. A gender-sensitive approach to education might contribute to raising critical consciousness that has the potential to transform ideological beliefs and norms. This interweaving of
responsible action and community politics provides insights to professional ethics and ideological frameworks, which will be discussed in more detail in the subsequent analysis and discussion chapters drawing on empirical evidence.

5.2 Conceptualisation of capacity building

Capacity building is often related to community development and empowerment, with all three concepts being described as “a process that increases the assets and attributes which a community is able to draw upon in order to improve their lives” (Gibbon et al., 2002, p. 485). Drawing on health literature, capacity building is defined as a process having different dimensions or levels, complemented by a specific aim for which capacity is being built (Simmons et al., 2011). The assets and attributes of a community constitute its capacity and the dimensions of capacity building often resemble those of community capacity, with the latter building the foundation of capacity building processes. Kwan et al. (2003) have identified three levels of community capacity, the organisational, the individual and the community level. The authors emphasise that their conceptualisation of community capacity stemming from health literature is applicable to other fields, as well. The individual level displays attributes of community capacity applying to the personal level. The same applies to the organisational level, which integrates community capacity aspects that apply to organisations. Finally, the community level “includes those characteristics of community capacity that are broader than either individuals or single organisations” (ibid, p. 17) This illustrates that all levels depart from community capacity referring to different levels where capacity building can occur, as depicted in Figure 14.

![Figure 14: Three levels of capacity building (Developed by Author)](image-url)
Community capacity is most commonly described as being based on specific characteristics or capitals (see e.g. Bennett et al., 2012; Koutra & Edwards, 2012). “The word capacity includes the idea of both containing (holding, storing) and ability (of mind, of action)” (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 7). This reflects that there are some resources or capitals, like human capital or physical capital that are readily available within the community. Several authors have identified a series of characteristics or domains usually ranging from seven to nine aspects (see e.g. Aref et al., 2010; Bopp et al., 2000; Gibbon et al., 2002; Labonte & Laverack, 2001). The eight characteristics employed in Aref et al. (2010) are external support, resource mobilisation, skill and knowledge, community participation, community leadership, community power, sense of community and community structures. In another article by Aref (2011) these characteristics are used to analyse barriers to community capacity building. The author divides these eight characteristics into the different levels of community capacity. External support, resource mobilisation and community leadership are related to the organisational level. Skill and knowledge as well as sense of community pertain to the individual level and community participation, community structures and community power represent the community level. The following paragraphs examine these eight community capacity characteristics in more detail, relating them to capacity building processes as well as tourism development.

5.3 Tourism development and capacity building

External support and resource mobilisation refers both to access to resources, be this either from outside agents, the community or other sources. Nepal (2004) highlights the importance of outside funding and technical support to allow long-term feasibility of tourism projects. Skills and knowledge provided through educational or training projects are highly important for individual as well as business development. Weiler and Ham (2002) argue that in the case of tour guide training in developing countries an increasing focus on training local trainers is required, to allow for an on-going training process to be sustained after capacity building projects have finished. Further, Moscardo (2011, p. 434) emphasises that fostering “resident knowledge of tourism is critical in empowering them to develop new and more appropriate social representation of what tourism might be for their destination.” Therefore, building community capacity can also enable local communities to participate and increase their control over tourism development processes.
Community participation is a widely discussed topic within the academic literature (see e.g. Cole, 2006; Cornwall, 2008; Manwa, 2008; Tosun, 2000) and its absence represents a serious barrier to effective community capacity building (Aref & Redzuan, 2009a; Chaskin, 2001). Wide community participation enhances community capacity by providing access to resources and initiating processes of knowledge sharing and learning, which are essential for community and individual development (Connell, 1997). However, Simpson (2008) argues that participation in community tourism initiatives will not automatically lead to benefits accruing to the local community. This note of caution reflects that participation does not equate to empowerment (Laverack & Wallerstein, 2001). Empowerment is about self-determination and emancipation and it is this transformative nature of empowerment that distinguishes it from participation (ibid). Participation does not necessarily challenge local power relations as reflected in the following quotation. “Power relationships reproduce themselves, regardless of how ‘participatory’” (Connell, 1997, p. 248) a process might be. To alter local power relations a thorough examination of the power bases within a community is required. In Arnstein’s (1969, p. 217) ladder of citizen participation it is further illustrated that participation takes many different forms, ranging from non-participation to degrees of tokenism and reaching degrees of citizen power. The latter can be described as a stage where community members either hold delegated power resulting from negotiations between the community and outside agent, or they have achieved actual control over the operations and decision-making processes (ibid).

Available leadership skills within communities have been identified as an important factor influencing in particular the initial stages of capacity building projects (Manyara & Jones, 2007, p. 409). However, leadership within a community might not have a single ‘source’ and might emanate from different power bases such as formal and informal leaders within a community (Bopp et al., 2000). On the one hand, this highlights that local leadership might reflect local power positions such as elites and relying solely on those leaders to advance capacity-building initiatives might defeat the purpose of the project in the first place. On the other hand, it is important to implicate local leaders in the development process, as their approval and support of the project is decisive for its future success. There might also be destination communities that are not accustomed to participatory procedures, as exemplified in the study of community-based tourism initiatives in Romania by Iorio and Corsale (2014). In this particular case the authors highlight the key role that a local leader had during the development and mediation processes. However, capacity building should
also foster the development of local leadership skills to promote increasing self-reliance within projects and to support community members to become leaders within their communities (Chapman & Kirk, 2001).

Community capacity building supports building a shared vision within the community that further strengthens the sense of community, which has been identified as a key element in tourism development (Aref et al., 2010). This is further complemented by the local sense of place, which provides insights to destination communities' cultural values and livelihood concerns (Tuan, 1977). The meaning of the term community has a geographical, as well as, socio-cultural underpinning (Singh et al. 2003). However, it is difficult to reach an all-encompassing definition accounting for the multiplicity of meanings underpinning the term. This may be due to the fragmentary and uncompleted nature of the stories underpinning individual places inhabited by 'communities' of people (see Massey, 2005). For the purpose of this study the understanding of community is based on that of a geographically situated group of people, who share a common culture (and religion) and social interconnections that are structured around patrilineal kinship relations (see Charrad, 2011). This definition does not imply that a community is static or geographically determined; rather, it draws on the acknowledgment of the fluidity of place, adhering to an on-going process of community formation. Having a shared vision for the future of a community is crucial for this process and it includes identifying current challenges and tensions, and trying to change them by taking action (Bopp et al., 2000). Therefore, a shared vision in which tourism is adopted as an alternative for the community can foster more supportive attitudes towards tourism development.

Sense of community further links the individual with the community level, which can be related to the sense of belonging and nurturance within a community that builds the foundation and bridge between an individual's sense of being and a sense of collective identity, with a previous chapter highlighting the importance of the latter within Muslim societies. Community structures become relevant in this context through their influence on individual and social agency. These structures become engrained over time in local discourses representing accepted ideologies that build the foundation of power relations in the community (Baker et al., 2004). These can shape the local 'sense of community', displaying the interrelationship between agency and structure. Community structures are represented in local organisations and institutions, as well as, in local culture in the form of norms, formal or informal rules and customs governing destination communities (Kleine,
2010). Kleine (ibid) displays the interrelationship between agency and structure in her Choice Framework, where development outcomes are a result of the relationships between agency, structure and the dimensions of choice. In Liepin’s (2000, p. 30) model of communities of people, spaces and structure “affect how practises can occur” and “enable the materialization of meaning”. This highlights the important role of community structures, which can either aid or hinder the development of community capacity building projects, as they represent the parameters within which these projects are developed.

In a study by Erskine and Meyer (2012) development agencies and tour operators’ involvement in three tourism projects in Ecuador were analysed. The authors discuss the dualistic relationship between agency and structure and they show “that tour operators have equal, if not more, propensity to contribute to poverty reduction through their roles as agents who are capable of altering traditional institutionalised structures” (ibid, p. 354). This highlights that tour operators are in a ‘flexible’ position, which allows them to address structural barriers. This also indicates that tour operators might take a key role in fostering capacity building opportunities within tourism development. To strengthen collaboration between communities and tour operators it is important to develop conflict resolution skills and processes as well as a shared vision between stakeholders (Murray & Dunn, 1995). The latter relates to the conception of capacity building as the “collective knowledge and ability (...) to define problems and options from within the community” (Moscardo, 2008, p. 9). This emphasises the need for devising capacity building initiatives in collaboration or negotiation between industry stakeholders and local communities. Such an approach supports addressing wider development objectives of the local community, avoiding a one-dimensional ‘education for tourism’ approach (Berno, 2007). Next, the role of tour operators in fostering capacity building in destination communities is discussed.

5.4 Tour operators and capacity building

The ethical climate in the UK tour operating business has been changing, gradually embracing the notion that “ethical cultures result in good business practises” (Fennell and Malloy, 1999:47). An example of this development has been the establishment of the Travel Foundation in 2003, which was created in cooperation with industry, NGO and government actors (Goodwin, 2011). This UK charity works in partnership with the industry engaging in a range of projects around the world, which include capacity building projects that support local stakeholders in developing their entrepreneurial and customer-focused skills (Travel
Foundation, 2016). Holden and Kealy (1996) and Tapper (2001) identified employee and customer interests, in addition to market differentiation and marketing advantages as the main drivers of responsible action of UK tour operators. This supports the argument that visions of responsibility in tourism development tend to be market-driven (Fennell, 2006), while the understanding of what responsible practice means varies. Some see it as a way of doing tourism by referring to it as an outcome or an attitude (Buckley, 2012; Goodwin, 2011; Husbands & Harrison, 1996). Others allude to the normative power of the concept of responsibility (Grimwood et al., 2015) and again others see it as a tautology and are sceptical about the value and effectiveness of this approach (Hall & Brown, 2006; Wheeller, 1991).

These different views are also expressed in the way companies embrace Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) within their business practices, with Locke (2002) identifying a four-fold typology of CSR. First, a minimalist approach rests on an instrumental approach to CSR catering primarily for the direct stakeholders of the company. Second, a philanthropic approach focuses on specific projects that are not related to core business activities and are rather being supported for moral reasons. Third, an encompassing approach is more embedded within management values taking a wider stakeholder perspective, but the underpinning motivation is still aimed at profit maximisation. Fourth, a social activist approach recognises the moral obligation of the company to society at large and seeks to effect change in others. Hall and Brown (2006, p. 159) argue that at its widest sense “CSR encompasses all the ways in which an organisation and its services and products interact with society and the environment”. A thorough analysis of all the different realms related to CSR expands the limits of this study.

This research, therefore, focuses on the ways in which tour operators support projects in destination communities as part of their responsible business practises. Goodwin (2011) conceptualises responsible business practise by identifying an active strand based on responsiveness and the capacity to act, in addition to a more formal strand requiring accountability for effected actions. Tour operators are actively involved in responsible action through the support of projects in destination communities. Tearfund (2001) identified that 75% of the tour operators in their sample were donating to charities predominantly overseas. This could be regarded as a philanthropic approach to responsible business practise, though depending on how these projects are selected and incorporated into overall business practises these engagements could also resemble a encompassing or
even social activist approach (Locke, 2002). However, responsible action in the tourism industry originates from spatially diverse relationships underpinned by multiple layers of responsibility, which is further emphasised through tour operators’ role as intermediaries.

Their role as intermediary in the tourism system provides them with high economic bargaining power. This is associated to the prevalence of oligopolies in the tour operating business dominating the supply of consumers and/or facilities (Tapper, 2001). There has been an increasing vertical expansion particularly among larger tour operators based on the integration of different services into their core business including those, available in destination areas (Bastakis et al., 2004). Tour operators further count with access to different markets and market knowledge, as well as control over demand highlighting their role as ‘gatekeepers’ (Ioannides, 1998). This imbues them with social bargaining power, as they become vital conduits of information not only within the ‘mass tourism’ market, but also within niche markets. The latter rely upon expert “knowledge of overseas consumers, their market segmentation and effective marketing techniques to reach such segments” (Scherle, 2004, p. 238). Through this position tour operators can motivate as well as promote specific tourism development outcomes (Budeanu, 2005; Tapper, 2001), for example by offering sustainable products and contributing to local development through the support of environmental and social practises and projects. Erskine and Meyer (2012) argue that tour operators have a heightened degree of flexibility compared to development agencies, which allows them to “be more effective in altering traditional tourism structures” (ibid, p.339) However, their flexibility also allows them to easily switch between destinations.

Tour operators’ often low allegiance to destinations can have detrimental effects on tourism dependent destinations (Carey et al. 1997; Curtin & Busby, 1999). This alludes to a ‘vulnerability of places’ that can result of tourism development, resonating with Krippendorf’s (1987, p. 20) critique that tour operators’ main interest “is the short term growth of their business and not the long-term development of a well-balanced tourist trade”. This low allegiance can also be disadvantageous for the longevity of destination projects, with the short-term nature of funds provided leading to “a plethora of failing tourism projects” (Erskine & Meyer, 2012, p. 350). As mentioned before, outside funding is often key to allow long-term feasibility of tourism projects (Connell, 1997; Nepal, 2004). Part of the debate on tourism development surrounds the issue of how benefits can be maximised within local communities (Rocharungsat, 2008). Capacity building has been
identified as a vital process for increasing destination communities’ ability to participate and benefit from tourism (Beeton, 2006; Choi & Sirakaya, 2005; Moscardo, 2008; Scheyvens, 2002). Capacity building projects raise destination communities’ knowledge about tourism processes, support their engagement in tourism and decrease adverse reactions towards tourism (Andereck et al., 2005; Sammy, 2008).

Tour operators often promote capacity building projects in destination communities through training (Aref & Redzuan, 2009a). In a study of capacity building in Uganda it is shown how tourism excellence is fostered through development of skills and institutional linkages at the community level. This enabled local entrepreneurs’ increasing and more effective participation in tourism (Victurine, 2000). This is an example of tour operator engagement with community stakeholders, though; tour operators form partnerships with a diverse set of stakeholders, including NGOs and other tour operators, as illustrated in the Tour Operators Initiative for Sustainable Tourism Development (TOI, 2011). Tour operators also engage in in-house capacity building, in addition to providing training for their tour guides. Weiler and Ham (2002) identify interpretive tour guide training as vital for a sustainable approach to tourism development. However, responsible practise is also dependent on tour operators’ capacity to act responsibly, with many particularly smaller tour operators not having the necessary financial and/or human and technical resources to engage in destination projects. Further, a strategic approach to capacity building at the national level is often missing, with developing countries frequently lacking a well-coordinated education and training strategy for tourism (Mayaka & Akama, 2007). This is particularly the case in developing countries, with Mayaka and Akama (ibid) taking the example of Kenya, with this problem becoming more acute in rural areas where only limited access to education and training opportunities exist. Rural communities often display a “lack of human resource capability” (Victurine, 2000, p. 222). This raises the importance of targeting particularly those areas and communities that are most in need of education and training projects.

Capacity building, however, has rather been employed instrumentally to achieve short-term benefits, instead of fostering long-term empowerment processes within communities (Koutra & Edwards, 2012). In the case of UK tour operators, market advantages and differentiation are predominantly the main drivers for ethical action (Holden & Kealy, 1996; Tapper, 2001), which was emphasised at the beginning of this section. This suggests that tokenism, rather than altruistic motives, is driving tour operators responsible behaviour.
This form of involvement does not provide a long-term vision for the development of tourism programmes within destinations. Long-term planning of tourism projects would require monitoring and assessment of outcomes. Particularly for specialist tour operators, who tend to “take tourists ‘deeper’ into marginal economies and sensitive cultures” (Curtin & Busby, 1999, p. 144), monitoring would provide valuable information on their own performance and issues affecting destination communities (Khairat & Maher, 2012). On the one hand, this suggests that specialist tour operators’ allegiance to destinations is higher than those of particularly lower-price mass tour operators. On the other hand, Briedenhann (2011) analyses small tour operators’ involvement in rural development and critiques that local projects tend to be conceptualised in an ad hoc manner based on supply factors, rather than existing demand. This undermines the potential of these projects to support long-term developmental goals and to become self-reliant over time.

“[C]apacities will not just trickle down” (Eade, 1997, p. 25) and to use capacity building as an effective approach to development requires monitoring and evaluation of outcomes. Monitoring allows assessing, whether these projects are providing any form of benefits to the local community or are just a means to achieve project goals defined by outside agents. Gibbon et al. (2002) argue that community capacity building could also be seen as the lacking strategic link to assure long-term viability of projects. Bennett et al. (2012) developed a ‘Capital Assets Framework’ that can be used to assess, as well as monitor progress in capacity building initiatives in tourism. The framework is based on seven forms of capital: human capital, political and institutional capital, social capital, physical and built capital, financial capital, natural and cultural capital. The latter two capital assets also form part of the destination’s tourism product. These capital assets form the basis of a community’s capacity, which is interlinked with capacity building, as the latter builds on the former (see e.g. Aref et al., 2010; Gibbon et al., 2002; Koutra & Edwards, 2012)

Tour operators undertake limited monitoring within destinations, with only half of the 39 tour operators interviewed by Holden and Kealey (1996) reporting some form of monitoring. Forms of monitoring included feedback either from tour leaders or clients, meeting with local stakeholders or cooperation with local conservation groups and to a limited extent government controls (Holden & Kealy, 1996, p. 62). Relying on feedback of ground handling agents was the most prevalent form of ‘monitoring’. This suggests that trust is used as a proxy for monitoring by tour operators. Increasing monitoring activities can be costly and monitoring decreases trust in relationships (Ferrin et al., 2007). On the
contrary, mutual trust is described as a mechanism for more effective work relationships that foster participative approaches (Mayer et al., 1995). Mayer et al. (ibid, p. 712) define trust as "the willingness of a party to be vulnerable to the actions of another party based on the expectation that the other will perform a particular action important to the party". Therefore, trust as a substitute for monitoring implies a degree of vulnerability of tour operators’ reputation, as they rely on the trusted party, in this case the ground-handling agent, to ensure that e.g. funds are not being mismanaged. However, trust-based assessment of projects can increase collaboration and have a positive influence on participants (Kadefors, 2004). It has also been noted that there exists a form of ‘trust transfer’ through the development of trust on an interpersonal, institutional and inter-organisational level (Schilke & Cook, 2013, p. 289). However, trust might not prevent conflicts and problems to arise, like the mismanagement of funds within projects, which can have serious implications for tour operators’ public image.

The high reliance on trust in monitoring projects suggests that tour operators’ selection of projects might follow similar patterns. This raises the importance of examining tour operators’ selection and engagement in these projects, in order to provide insights to how gender equality and empowerment can be fostered through tourism-supported capacity building initiatives. The next section explores the interrelationships between empowerment and tourism-related capacity building opportunities facilitated by tour operators.

5.5 Capacity for empowerment in tourism

Empowerment as well as disempowerment can be related to the social exchanges characterising tourism practise (Ap, 1992; Sofield, 2003). Beeton (2006) argues that a lot of ‘empowered’ community projects have not been successful, because community members could not sustain the initiative in the long-term. The author traces the reason for this back to the missing “community capacity for empowerment” (ibid, p. 88). Empowerment processes are key to achieve sustainable tourism development (Sofield, 2003), with the previous argument elucidating the importance of self-reliance within these processes (see also Sharpley, 2000). This is also reflected in an early definition of community development as a “process designed to create conditions of economic and social progress for the whole community with its active participation and the fullest possible reliance on the community’s initiative” (United Nations, 1955, p. 6). Since then an increasing emphasis has been placed on participatory governance as well as sustainable and rural community development (see
e.g. Bennett et al., 1999; Chambers & Conway, 1991; Lane, 1994; Sofield, 2003), with the SDGs forwarding a vision that encompasses gender equality and empowerment (see goal 5, United Nations, 2015).

Sustained empowerment processes need to be based on an understanding of the social, cultural, economic and political foundations of a community to integrate them effectively within development processes. In line with this argument, there has been an increasing focus on developing community capacities to facilitate local strategies to emerge, instead of imposing a top-down approach to development (Brohman, 1996; Cornwall, 2003; Joppe, 1996; Moscardo, 2005). Capacity building can be considered a tool as well as a process that enables people to reflect on, engage with and act on concerns relevant to their lives and their community (Gibbon et al., 2002; Kabeer, 2005; Moscardo, 2008). However, Telfer (2003, p. 160) argues, “[u]nless funds are targeted to assist in community tourism development projects then the potential for community development may be lost in the pressures of the global economy.” This emphasises the crucial role of tour operators, i.e. external support in facilitating capacity building opportunities in destination communities. This concurs with Wearing and McDonald (2002), who see tour operators as facilitators of community-based tourism planning. In addition, Laverack and Wallerstein (2001) argue that fostering empowerment through capacity building requires that the stakeholders in the process act as facilitators and not as experts.

This study positions tour operators as facilitators of capacity building opportunities. This does not depoliticise the role of tour operators, it rather places them as central agents within processes of development and exchange in tourism’s tripartite system (Carey et al., 1997; Cheong & Miller, 2000; Hall & Brown, 2006). However, development “is not a neutral, benign process but one that takes place within a context of global restructuring, of which gender inequalities are a fundamental component” (Ferguson, 2009, p. 10). In the contemporary tourism industry gender considerations do not form part of dominant approaches to tourism (Swain, 2002), though, there exist exceptions, such as the EfA project in Morocco. There is also an emergent strand of NGOs targeting gender inequalities within tourism, like the NGO Equality in Tourism (Equality in Tourism, 2013). A reframing of the current approaches is necessary to increase the available potential to promote gender equality and empowerment through tourism development (Ferguson, 2011). This requires regarding gender empowerment not only as an outcome of a capacity-building initiative,
but also “a component to be embraced prior to and during the set-up phase of an initiative” (Simpson, 2008, p. 12).

Implementing a gender dimension to the study of capacity building supports addressing some of the inequities existing in tourism (Sinclair, 1997; Swain, 2002) as well as in destination communities. Moser (1993) outlines a number of methodological tools to increase gender-awareness within development processes as well as in the planning of projects. She argues that it is crucial to identify gender roles within the local community. This builds the necessary foundation for conducting a gender needs assessment. Relying on gender disaggregated data further supports assessing resource allocation within households and the community, providing a more thorough insight to local gender dynamics. In addition, fostering gender equality within the decision-making process requires a participatory planning approach that includes both men and women (ibid).

A gender-sensitive approach to capacity building is about gaining an insight to the conditions that sustain gender subjugation and to address these within the project conceptualisation, design, operation and evaluation, in order to challenge these conditions. Gender issues, therefore, have to be considered throughout the development process of community capacities, to identify potential barriers to participation in effective capacity building and to assess the distribution of benefits among community members. As mentioned in a previous section, community structures might prevent a gender equal access to capacity building projects, while experiences of inequality often intersect with other differences such as age, class and ethnicity. This study explores experiences of women’s empowerment and education from a grassroots level, to study the often-subtle transformations of power occurring at the local level. This, in turn, allows assessing the ways in which individual capacity building can lead to wider community development. The next section now turns to discuss gender equality and empowerment.

5.6 Gender equality and empowerment

An increasing focus on empowerment started to proliferate within the alternative development paradigm around forty years ago with a predominant focus on poverty issues (Friedmann, 1992). Friedmann (ibid, p. vii) describes empowerment as a process which supports local autonomy, democratic decision-making, as well as, “experiential social learning”. Empowerment forms part of learning processes, transformative politics, as well as, economic forces, which can limit local mobilisation. This further resonates with the
power position of larger tour operators in destinations, whose financial support often plays a key factor in the successful realisation of tourism projects (Cheong & Miller, 2000). Friedmann (1992) argues that empowerment has to transcend the local scale, in order to gain political relevance. This concurs with Sofield's (2003) view that empowerment is based on an integration of communities and governments highlighting the relation between politics and empowerment. However, the prevailing socio-political structures in developing countries often limit community participation in tourism development (Tosun, 2000). In addition, development processes are often governed by local elites, highlighting that approaches that do not take into account the local context tend to support those already in power (Syed, 2010).

An economic focus has largely prevailed within empowerment approaches, with this also being the dominant approach of the Moroccan tourism strategy vision 2020, as outlined in the context chapter (Moroccan Agency of Tourism Development, 2014). This economic notion is also reflected in the World Bank's approach to gender issues within tourism, where "gender inequality is viewed not so much as a problem in itself, but rather as a barrier to economic development and poverty reduction" (Fergusson, 2011, p. 243). Friedmann (1992) moves away from this logic, towards the unit of the household to describe the social, political and psychological level of empowerment. Scheyvens (2000, 2002) draws on these levels in her study of empowerment in tourism, highlighting the relational character of empowerment, which has been noted across different fields (see e.g. Rappaport, 1987; Riger, 1993; Sofield, 2003; Syed, 2010). These relations are embedded in "the structural inequality of gender that is rooted in household relations" (Friedmann, 1992, p. 107), as well as, within the wider society, as noted in a previous chapter. Israel et al. (1994, p. 153) argue that Freire's concept of conscientization links these different levels together through "a dialectical process of collective reflection and action (…), individuals, organizations, and the community as a whole develop the capacity to act effectively to create social change".

Empowerment like capacity building is a multilevel construct with the different levels of empowerment being interrelated and overlapping. However, empowerment has often been described in masculine terms relating it to the concepts of control, power and domination (Riger, 1993), further emphasising a tone of individualism. This is also reflected in the common definition of power, as power over somebody else (Barbalet, 1985). Power therefore includes the notion of imposing one's own will over that of others. Jacobsen and
Cohen (1986) provide a more dynamic model of social power, highlighting that it does not only rest on a collective’s endowment with control/power over others, but also includes their resources. In their integrative model they differentiate between power resources and power potential, highlighting that the capacity to exercise power depends on both. Resistance plays a key role within power relations (Barbalet, 1985); further highlighting that power is not a static concept. Resistance can lead to empowerment, if it achieves to change governing power relations. This stands in stark contrast to powerlessness, which can be understood as the absence of empowerment (Gibson, 1991). Sofield (2003) argues that powerlessness takes two different forms, alienation or marginalisation. He argues that feeling alienated as a result of powerlessness leads to attaching a sense of meaninglessness to life, which reflects disempowerment.

Gender inequality can be linked to a form of systematic disempowerment, which is rooted within social institutions (Friedmann, 1992). This requires an increasing attention being placed on the opportunity structure and “the bases of social power and productive wealth” (ibid, p. 12). Therefore, an analysis of gender equality and empowerment has to be context-specific to account for the relational character of the concepts and to address the “institutional and structural dimensions of power at multiple levels” (Syed, 2010, p. 291). Subrahmanian (2005, p. 394) highlights three key aspects pertaining to gender equality, which are “equality of treatment as well as equality of opportunity”, which rests “on a commitment to non-discrimination to ensure the erasure of social norms that construct women and men as unequal in value”. She uses a conceptual mode to depict that equal treatment and opportunity function as mechanisms to enable women’s agency and autonomy, which play a key role in achieving equality of outcomes. Subrahmanian (ibid) terms this substantive gender equality, which is based on freedoms and choices being equally available to men and women. In this study gender equality is defined as gender equal access to social opportunities. It does not focus on gender equal outcomes gained through access to these social opportunities, as this cannot feasible be assessed within the case study’s time frame. However, these opportunities are reflective of the processes entailing access to increasing social power and productive wealth, with education being a determining factor in both.

Processes of empowerment underpin the changes promoted through access to social opportunities. However, this study aims to move away from a conceptualisation of empowerment as rooted in the concept of power. Rather, it adopts the conception of Kabeer
(2005, p. 13), who defines power as the “ability to make choices” and to “be disempowered means to be denied choice, while empowerment refers to the processes by which those who have been denied the ability to make choices acquire such an ability.” Fostering the ability to make choices is key to capacity building processes. The definition further relates to that of gender equality outlined before, highlighting the importance of access to choices in life, to be able to achieve meaningful changes resulting from that choice. This conceptualisation guides the analysis of capacity building in this study, with Figure 15 reflecting the two key dimensions of empowerment, choice and change. The organisational level analyses the social and physical environment in which an increasing ability to make choices is developed. The individual level analyses the processes through which such ability is acquired and the effects this has on personal, academic and professional development. The community level gauges the wider effects of individual empowerment and education on the community, focusing particularly on the effect this has on gender relations. This approach supports an inquiry that is open to difference, fostering the emergence of emic understandings (see Figure 15). The following section explores the opportunities and potential for building capacities through education, embedding this within the need to address persistent gender gaps in education.

Figure 15: Empowerment model of capacity building (Developed by Author)
5.7 Capacity building through education

In the realm of education gender disparities still persist, also within the UK Higher Education geography (Maddrell et al., 2015). Testimonies given by respondents of the study of Maddrell et al. (ibid) allude to a gender differentiated perspective on caring roles and responsibilities within institutions, which can undermine equality. Gender equality is a global concern with women predominantly taking care of children and housework as well as over half of the women worldwide doing unpaid work, e.g. in subsistence production and caring for relatives (UNESCO, 2012b). This emphasises the importance of the concept of care for a grounded understanding of gender relations and (in)equalities in everyday life (see e.g. Conradson, 2003; Lawson, 2007; Tronto, 1987, 1993). This further resonates on a broader societal scale, with Razavi (2007, p. iii) highlighting that: “How problems of care are addressed by society has important implications for the achievement of gender equality, by either broadening the capabilities and choices of women and men, or confining women to traditional roles associated with femininity and motherhood.”

Issues of gender equality in access to education are particularly pertinent in regions where traditional gender roles and norms influence access to opportunities. Equality in access to education might not be seen as equally beneficial by all members of a community (Chambers & Conway, 1991). This controversy is reflected in the intersection between gender and access to education in many Muslim countries (see e.g. Dieke, 2001; Nussbaum, 2003; Sadiqi, 2003; Sönmez, 2001), which was also alluded to in the context chapter. Wilson (2004) further notes that in countries where education has a limited effect on girls’ opportunities such as employment, families can be discouraged of investing in girls’ education. There are also some countries reporting that girls are outperforming boys in education, like France or some South American countries. However, women are still largely disadvantaged in earnings, occupation and political participation (Subrahmanian, 2005). Therefore, access to education does not imply similar outcomes of education, while this study focuses on the former aspect; it acknowledges the contextual factors that can significantly limit equal outcomes of education. Some contextual factors have been mentioned before, such as community structure and the social relationships it embodies and ‘reproduces’, which influences people’s opportunity to choose (Narayan, 2005).
The emancipatory role of education is reflected in Freire's (1974) concept of critical consciousness. He highlights the role of education (and literacy) for building individual and collective capabilities for creating social transformation. The concept of conscientization links education with increasing awareness and the ability to question 'received' knowledge. This highlights the key role of education in changing people’s cognitive ability, which contributes to their personal development through fostering people’s “capacity to question, to reflect on, and to act on the conditions of their lives and to gain access to knowledge, information, and new ideas that will allow them to do so” (Kabeer, 2005, p. 16). Nussbaum (2003, p. 335) terms this the “cultivation of powers of thought and expression that might otherwise go neglected”. Some authors, like Piaget emphasise the cognitive realm of personal development (Inhelder & Piaget, 1958), while others emphasise the link between the social realm and cognitive development (see e.g. Bandura, 1977; Vygotsky, 1978, 1987). Social learning theory holds that social interaction is key to a person’s cognitive development, emphasising the role of guided learning, for example through mentors. It further acknowledges the influence of local culture on construction of knowledge and meaning making (Vygotsky, 1978). This emphasises the interactive relationship between the social and cultural realm, learning and wider empowerment processes.

Education empowers people by providing them with the necessary 'tools' for engaging with dominant discourses and it is key to women's empowerment (Nussbaum, 2003). Arai's (1996) concept of personal empowerment illustrates how learning forms key part of empowerment processes, with empowerment increasing from an initial awareness raising, to connecting and learning, leading towards actual contribution. In the context of social learning theory these are all stages that are achieved through social interaction and an increasing engagement with underpinning cultural values and beliefs. This hints at the less tangible effects that education has, for example through the creation of extended social networks within the educational environment and strengthening people's self-esteem and self-confidence. Nussbaum (2003, p. 335) relates this to the influence that education has on “women's ability to form social relationships on a basis of equality with others and to achieve the important social goal of self-respect”. This connects education further with the prestige and social status it conveys within society. Overall, education represents the basis for an increasing access to opportunities in life (Baker et al., 2004) and it has an important influence on people’s mobility, including their social-mobility and their personal development.
5.8 Conclusion

Tourism-community relationships are characterised by the social, economic and cultural exchanges, as well as, the wider changes accompanying tourism development (Ap, 1992; Pearce et al., 1996). These exchanges are governed by power relations, which shape experiences of (dis)empowerment within tourism and influence opportunities for empowerment. Tour operators’ economic and social bargaining power places them in strategic position to contribute to spatially diverse responsible action within the tourism system. Goodwin (2011) differentiates between an active and a formal strand of responsibility, with the former being enacted by tour operators’ support of a wide web of projects around the world. However, it is also noted that tour operators’ engagement in monitoring is limited, with trust becoming a viable alternative to effective monitoring. This alludes to the potential of trust also becoming an important dimension in project selection processes. Building on limited existing research, this thesis expands on tour operators’ vision and selection of responsible action and how their business practises are shaped by trusting behaviour.

Large parts of the literature in tourism development have focused on the creation of infrastructure, or developing other parts of community, such as water supply systems. This research expands upon previous work to focus on tour operators’ involvement in capacity building, connecting different fields of literature to include gender empowerment and education as key considerations. Particularly in rural areas in developing countries, such as in many African nations (Mayaka & Akama, 2007), there exists only limited access to education and training opportunities, with communities often displaying a “lack of human resource capability” (Victurine, 2000, p. 222). Capacity building initiatives have been identified as key for enabling effective and long-term community empowerment (Beeton, 2006; Choi & Sirakaya, 2005; Reid, 2003).

This chapter provided a conceptualisation of capacity building identifying eight different community capacities that build the foundation of capacity building processes. The relevance of each was discussed in relation to tourism development, although, it was argued that the identification and development of local community capacities or support thereof, is a controversial process. An uncritical approach to capacity building in local communities does not challenge the status quo and might rather exacerbate local inequalities, particularly gender inequalities. The support of traditional power structures is at odds with
the aim of fostering gender equality through capacity building. Therefore, the research focuses on an in-depth analysis of the gender dynamics governing community life to provide a holistic assessment of the opportunities and challenges underpinning capacity building projects in destination communities.

This chapter has drawn on tourism literature and literature from other fields such as health and development, to analyse different experiences of (dis)empowerment and (in)equality. This has been related to the potentials lying within capacity building to promote gender equality and empowerment within destination communities. When relating gender with the concept of gender equality and empowerment, it is crucial to remain sensitive to the implicit assumptions that often guide the values, beliefs and norms underpinning gender relations. This relates to the research approach, as well as, the tourism-related community projects themselves, whose development or even successes are influenced by local customs, politics and traditions. These aspects become particularly relevant when studying gender equality and women’s empowerment within Muslim societies. To gain an understanding of the intricacies and complexities underpinning gender equality within Muslim cultures, it is important to employ a nuanced research approach without imposing a normative understanding of gender relations (Kabeer, 1999; Singh, 2007; Syed, 2010; Tucker & Boonabaana, 2012). Therefore, a culturally and religiously sensitive study of gender equality and empowerment is pursued throughout this study, contextualising the analysis within Muslim societies where adequate.

This chapter highlighted the key connections between education as a form of capacity building supporting learning opportunities that facilitate a broadening of life skills, education and literacy levels. This, in turn, opens up spaces of empowerment through providing alternative future pathways and promoting personal development. Tour operators are positioned as facilitators of capacity building opportunities in destination communities, reflecting the dynamic interplay of different stakeholders in advancing community and tourism development. The following chapter presents the methodology guiding this research.
6. Methodology

6.1 Introduction

Methodology is concerned with the principles and procedures of social inquiry being at the same time entwined with the discipline guiding the research project (Guba & Lincoln, 2008). The latter reflects the political nature of any inquiry, which interacts with different perspectives and ways of knowing, shaping the understanding of tourism's place and relations within that (Aitchison, 2005). This understanding is underpinned by ontological and epistemological assumptions that link a particular view of the world with what constitutes accepted knowledge. This research follows an interpretive ontology that is embedded within a feminist subjectivist epistemology, acknowledging that the researcher and the research participants co-produce knowledge. The researcher aims to move away from a top-down research approach to engage with lived and shared experiences in knowledge creation. The adopted case study research strategy enables a critical and empathetic study of local reality, set within the social and cultural context in which social interaction between tour operators and community projects occurs. This builds the foundation for the data collection process, which is based on a five-month fieldwork period in which the researcher conducted participant observation as a volunteer and researcher at the educational project and lived among the local communities. This was paired with qualitative interviews undertaken with tour operators and in/directly involved community members, using visual methods in the interviews with younger research participants to facilitate communication and knowledge sharing. However, this also raises a range of ethical concerns, which are addressed at the end of this chapter.

The main motivation to undertake this research is rooted in the desire to contribute to knowledge on capacity building and gender in tourism and to address prevalent issues of (dis)empowerment and (in)equality within tourism. This is reflected in the research aim and objectives outlined below, which are followed by a discussion of the underpinning ontology and epistemology guiding this research. Afterwards the research design is presented, including the research timeframe, process and methods employed in the study. This leads to a discussion of the challenges faced during the fieldwork, while embracing researcher subjectivity as an integral part of feminist qualitative research. The subsequent
part details the analysis approach and the final section outlines the ethical concerns underpinning this research.

6.2 Research aim and objectives

The research aims is to investigate gender equality and empowerment facilitated by tour operators through capacity building in destination communities. Using the example of the ‘Education for All’ project in Morocco, this project seeks to:

1) Critique selection processes through which tour operators identify opportunities for capacity building promoting gender equality in destination communities,

2) Analyse spaces for, and experiences of, gender empowerment within tourism-supported educational projects,

3) Analyse the consequent intended and unintended effects of women’s empowerment and education on wider community development,

4) Develop recommendations for stakeholders to facilitate the promotion of gender equality and empowerment through tourism-supported capacity building initiatives.

6.3 Methodological foundations

Ontology is concerned with the nature of reality, as well as, of human being in the world (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008b), with the Greek word ‘ontos’ meaning being and ‘logos’ referring to theory or knowledge (Duberley et al., 2012). This research rejects the notion of one single objective reality and rather perceives reality to be intersubjectively constituted, with the knowing self being regarded as situated and partial (see Haraway, 1988). This corresponds to an interpretive ontology, which requires a critical positioning of the researcher within the research process to gain an understanding of how reality is negotiated and interpreted in everyday life. This approach is rooted in an emic understanding of reality, being concerned with the “relationship between the ideas actors hold, the inter-subjective discourses and traditions on which they draw in developing such ideas, and, crucially, the institutional and extra-discursive context in which those ideas and traditions come to acquire and retain resonance” (Hay, 2011, p. 168).

An emic approach requires understanding the meanings attached to social action (Schwandt, 2003), which corresponds with a feminist research practise, as it allows accounting for symbolic relations between material and ideological spheres, which are
embedded in experiences of the social world (see e.g. Hartsock, 1983; Letherby, 2003; Stanley & Wise, 1990). However, a reliance on experience as key to understanding has been critiqued, as it may replicate instead of assess critically the prevalent system (Olesen, 2008; Scott, 1991). This reflects the importance of engaging in a critical account of local realities to avoid perpetuating local inequalities through essentialised research accounts and instead, facilitate social change. The latter is a core concern of feminist research, though; this also raises "problems about how change for the better is conceived, by whom, for whom and why" (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002, p. 7). These questions require addressing the epistemological underpinnings of the study and the moral responsibilities that accompany research practise and politics, which are discussed next.

Epistemology forms a key part of the philosophical assumptions guiding this study, as it outlines how knowledge is understood, further engaging with the relationship between the knower and the known (Campbell & Wasco, 2000; Duberley et al., 2012). This research adopts a subjectivist feminist epistemology, which corresponds to a situated and partial, as well as, transitional conception of knowledge (Haraway, 1988). The researcher seeks to co-construct knowledge with research participants, recognising the fluidity of standpoints and the partiality of perspectives. This connects with the ontological basis of the research, which lies in lived experience that becomes part of shared experiences during the fieldwork, where “knowledge is produced, relational, conversational, contextual” (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 52) and embodied (Coffey, 1999).

A situated approach to knowledge allows taking into consideration, on the one hand, the local social, cultural, political and economic conditions, without claiming to represent a universal perspective (Haraway, 1988). On the other hand, it supports studying gender relations across class, social standing, age and other factors, which enable a multifaceted and thorough investigation of the different social frameworks within which gender is articulated. Scott (1994, p. 358) describes the traditional approach to research as a hierarchical construction, calling for "alternative ways of thinking about (and thus acting upon) gender without either simply reversing the old hierarchies or confirming them". This reflects the wider feminist argument that science is not neutral and that knowledge creation is linked to authority and power (Bowden & Mummery, 2009; Riger, 1992). Therefore, this research engages in a power-sensitive research practise, attempting to decrease hierarchical relations to share academic authority, connecting academic knowledge and knowledge of the everyday.
6.4 Research design

Using the case of the EfA project, this research connects tour operators’ responsible business practises with destination communities’ experience of capacity building. The research was funded by a case studentship from the ESRC and conducted in partnership with Explore Worldwide. They were the principal point of contact during the fieldwork, facilitating not only access to the EfA project, but also supporting the researcher in the logistics and planning of the fieldtrip. Their contribution in kind to this study, including the advise and support given during the research project were invaluable. The partnership with Explore also provided the opportunity for a collaborative knowledge exchange between the academic and industry realm. However, this research does not explicitly state their experiences, but rather is reflective of a range of experiences that several tour operators involved in this process have been committed to.

The research adopts a feminist approach, which allows unearthing the tacit levels of power and politics underpinning social interaction and gender relations in everyday life (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002; Smith, 1997). This corresponds with the employed research strategy, an embedded case study, which supports the understanding and not only the explanation of social phenomena (Stake, 2000). The case study is positioned within the context of tour operators’ involvement in destination communities, identifying the ‘Education for All’ (EfA) project in Morocco as an example of a tourism-supported educational project. Often there are no clear lines between the case and the context in which it is being analysed (Yin, 2009), with Creswell (1998, p. 61) referring to a case study as a “bounded system [...] by time and place”. The particularity of the case interweaves with the cultural context in which it is situated and where symbols can be ‘thickly-described’ (Geertz, 1999, p. 355). The researcher learnt about the case in its context through immersion (Harper, 1992), with this process being facilitated through the researcher’s continued interest in Muslim culture, having participated in intercultural Arab language classes over the course of her studies.

The pilot study represented a crucial time in which the researcher learnt about the cultural specificities of Morocco and the Berber communities of the High Atlas Mountains, allowing her to adapt the research design to the local conditions. This was followed by the main fieldwork period in which the researcher actively participated in the daily routines of the boarding houses and spent a prolonged period of time living in local communities, with the
research process being explained in more detail in the subsequent sections. The research timeframe consisted of four research phases ranging from November 2013 to June 2014. These are presented in Table 1, providing an overview of the research, while highlighting the research objectives that are being targeted through each respective research phase.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Timeframe</th>
<th>Research Overview</th>
<th>Objectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phase 1: Nov - Dec 2013</td>
<td>7 Interviews with tour operators, a local community leader and an agent to analyse project selection processes</td>
<td>1, 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 2: Jan - Feb 2014</td>
<td>Pilot Study: Volunteering at the boarding houses being a participant-as-observer</td>
<td>1 - 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 3: Mar - April 2014</td>
<td>43 (Paired) Interviews with 75 school children, to elicit the direct effect the project has on their lives</td>
<td>2 - 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Interviews with employees of the EfA project, to explore how gender empowerment and learning is facilitated through the project</td>
<td>2 - 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase 4: May - June 2014</td>
<td>23 Interviews with parents (and close family members) of EfA girls, to elicit the direct effect the project has on their lives</td>
<td>3, 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40 Interviews with community members not directly involved in the project, to assess the wider effects on community development</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Research timeframe

6.4.1 First research phase

During the first research phase interviews with tour operators and related stakeholders were conducted, focusing on their involvement in destination projects. To identify relevant tour operators and industry stakeholders purposive sampling was employed (Saunders et al., 2012). Criteria for selection of respondents were based on their involvement in the EfA project, with staff members being identified on ground of their participation in the selection processes of projects. In total, seven qualitative interviews were conducted with a ground-handling agent, a local community leader and staff members from three different tour operators, with one tour operator respondent participating in two consecutive interviews. The positions occupied by the tour operator respondents were either that of director or
operations manager of the company. All respondents are involved in the EfA project to different degrees, with the local leader and one of the tour operators forming an active part in the foundation and management of the EfA project, while the other tour operators mainly provide financial support. The ground-handling agent, on the other hand, is not providing direct support to the EfA project, but forms part of tour operators’ project selection processes.

The interviews were scheduled for November to December 2013, but due to the busy work schedule of respondents some of the interviews were conducted at a later stage. This allowed for the inclusion of related stakeholders, which provided additional insights to local negotiations and cooperation in the process of establishing and/or selecting suitable tourism-related projects. Five interviews were conducted through face-to-face interviews, one through a telephone interview and one through a Skype interview. The interview with the ground-handling agent took place in the agent’s headquarter in Marrakech, while the interview with the community leader was conducted in his tourism resort located in the High Atlas Mountains. Two tour operator interviews were conducted in their headquarters in Britain, with the consecutive interview of one respondent taking place at the University of Surrey. There were also two interviews conducted via electronic devices as mentioned above, one using Skype and the other via telephone. These alternative interview modes were selected, due to time and cost considerations, as both tour operators are situated in other countries.

The preferred medium for these overseas interviews was Skype, as this software allows overcoming visual barriers associated to telephone interviews. Hanna (2012, p. 241) argues that Skype facilitates “a neutral yet personal location” for both respondent and interviewer. However, due to network connection problems one of the interviews was conducted via telephone. This allowed the respondent to adapt the interview to his work commitments, reflecting the flexibility of telephone interviewing (Holt, 2010). However, the researcher also experienced difficulties, due to missing visual cues limiting access to informal communication (Creswell, 1998), which often aid in the maintenance of the direction of the interview. Still, Sturges and Hanrahan (2004) suggest that there are no differences in the quality and depth of respondents when comparing telephone and face-to-face interviews.

All interviews were tape-recorded and the average length of the seven interviews was 56 minutes. One challenge represented the signing of the consent form, with tour operators being hesitant to give their consent. This illustrates the sensitivity of the research topic and
the concern of sharing confidential information. Respondents were assured that all information would remain anonymous, with telephone interviews providing an additional layer of privacy for respondents (ibid).

The qualitative interviews were semi-structured (see Appendix A for an interview topic guide), which allowed exploring emerging topics during the conversation (Bryman, 2008; Longhurst, 2010). The collaborative nature of these interviews acknowledges that the researcher questions shape the meaning-making process (Holstein & Gubrium, 1999), with the distinguishing feature that “the answers given continually inform the evolving conversation” (Paget, 1999, p. 91). Sensitivity within the interview situation was promoted through paying attention to the expressiveness of the interviews (see Flick, 2011). This was done through an active engagement with body language, as well as, feelings and moments of silence encountered throughout the interviews. Body language was not visible during telephone interview, though, the researcher was able to note verbal cues, such as that expressed through voice intonations or the promptness of answers given. Part of these experiences was annotated in the field diary, which allowed the researcher to read through these entries again, while analysing the interviews (see also analysis section 6.7.3).

During the interviews, relevant community projects were identified and discussed, to explore the reasons for choosing specific projects. The degree of involvement of local stakeholders in identifying opportunities for capacity building was addressed, identifying the crucial role of community leaders and ground handling agents in this process. In addition, the tour operators’ understanding and sense of responsibility was explored, identifying that it was rather a form of distance caring than specific considerations that were driving their investment in destination projects. Therefore, aspects deemed important by tour operators in the selection process were identified and explored during the conversations, such as the role of trust and intuition. For this purpose, different tour operator initiatives were discussed, talking about the historical development of relations with these projects. This further allowed exploring potential causes of failure of less successful/failed projects, providing an element of critical sampling (Yin, 2009). However, tour operator awareness about these factors, including factors of success, was very limited. Other aspects with regard to capacity building that were discussed included the supportive practises and longer-term strategies for continuing or withdrawing support and the importance of these projects for wider community and tourism development (see Appendix A).
The interviews addressed particularly research objective one and also provided insights for potential recommendations for promoting tour operator involvement in capacity building initiatives, as expressed in research objective four. However, tour operators are less integrated in the daily operations of the capacity building initiative, which is illustrated through their role almost becoming removed from the next research phases.

6.4.2 Second research phase

The pilot study was conducted in the second research phase ranging from January to February 2014. The researcher stayed one week volunteering and living at each of the three (secondary school) boarding houses in Asni, Quirgane and Talaat-n-Yacoub, participating in the daily routines of the boarding houses. The researcher also visited and spent some time in the surrounding communities. This supported gaining an increasing familiarity with the location, providing her with an initial insight to the local way of life. Her function as a volunteer at the boarding houses transcended the role of observer becoming a participant-as-observer (Flick, 2009). This allowed the researcher to actively engage with research participants and facilitated the subsequent return to the boarding houses in the main fieldwork period, due to the personal connections established during that time. The embodied experience of fieldwork further draws attention to the corporeal aspects included in fieldwork and the need to analyse aspects related to body, gestures and movement within everyday life performances (Coffey, 1999). Spaces for affective participation were created through the ‘closeness’ and emotional involvement of the researcher fostering empathy in relationships with research participants (Coffey, 1999; Finch, 1999; Gans, 1999). This is simultaneously the strength and the challenge of being a participant-as-observer (Flick, 2011). Therefore, being transparent and reflexive about the research process and the researcher’s positioning within the research, is indispensable, with this being addressed in more detail in the section on researcher subjectivity.

Before embarking on the pilot study the researcher had engaged in a lengthy process of relationship building with different gatekeepers at the project, including the EfA founder and supporter, the leading housemother and the fundraising and communications director, sending detailed information about the intended study. However, this more ‘textual’ approach to gaining access clashed with the rather oral culture predominating in the fieldwork location. This led to a reframing of the access to the boarding houses, as the local gatekeeper did not agree with the intended research design. The latter was premised on the
researcher staying as a volunteer at the boarding for a three-month period. This reflects the sensitivity and ethical underpinning of combining and negotiating different roles, such as that of volunteer and researcher. However, the researcher also felt that there was a degree of misunderstanding of the nature of qualitative research, with local gatekeepers emphasising the use of surveys and ‘targeted’ interviews to collect the necessary information, suggesting that this could be done during the pilot study. This reflects the general problems associated to the at times preconceived notions of what research means (Sturges & Hanrahan, 2004). After further discussions with the housemother and other relevant parties, where they voiced their concerns and preferences, the research design was changed accordingly for the subsequent main fieldwork period.

The main fieldwork phase was adapted to a one-week visit to each of the four boarding houses, followed by the research conducted within the local communities. To not inflict upon the school children’s exam period the starting date of the third research phase was scheduled for March 2014, instead of April 2014. Further, due to the fasting month of Ramadan starting at the end of June that year, the researcher was advised to finish her research beforehand. Therefore, the time spent living in the surrounding communities was scheduled for May to June 2014. This reflects the crucial function that the pilot study had in shaping the main fieldwork, as it allowed the researcher to gain the qualified support and informed consent from local stakeholders. It also introduced and sensitised her to the local culture in which oral communication takes prevalence over pre-established plans, while Ramadan was identified as an unsuitable month for conducting research. The new timeframe, however, provided limited time for re-negotiating access to the boarding houses and adapting the research design accordingly. It is suggested for future studies to leave enough time between the pilot study and main fieldwork to account for possible changes, while also being sensitive to oral communication with local gatekeepers in similar cultural contexts to enhance mutual understanding.

6.4.3 Third research phase

The third research phase ranged from March to April 2014 and it was aimed at analysing the spaces for, and experiences of gender empowerment within the tourism-supported educational projects, as reflected in research objective two. The researcher spent one week at each of the four boarding houses, living in three of the boarding houses with the fourth being visited during the day to conduct the research. Before starting with the research, the
researcher identified a suitable female translator with most of the translators available in the region being men. However, the sensitivities underpinning the research study and the focus on predominantly younger girls in a gender-segregated environment made the reliance on a female translator vital. Finch (1999, p. 73) highlights that ‘woman-to-woman’ interviews allow shared “gender specific” identification, with the research participants placing the researcher as a ‘woman’. Such arguments have to be regarded tentatively, as being a woman does not equate to a shared personal identification, particularly due to the different social and cultural contexts the researcher and participants are from. There is no one “woman standpoint” (Ali et al., 2004, p. 27), but being a woman and relying upon a female translator supported access within the research process and enhanced communication through the development of trust and rapport. Further challenges and opportunities underpinning the use of translators within the research are discussed in a subsequent section.

Before undertaking the research with the children the researcher obtained a Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS) check, which was made available to all responsible parties. The researcher conducted semi-structured qualitative interviews with the girls and staff members, to assess the project’s effects on their lives, paying particular attention to studying different experiences of gender (in)equality and forms of empowerment. The interviews with the staff members included three housemothers and one assistant. Three of the four interviews were conducted in French without a translator. This made the conversation more fluent and interrelated as there was no need for translation and the follow up questions of the interviewer could directly be related to the answers of the respondent, as expressed in the field diary extract.

“During our conversation [in French] I realised that I preferred much more to talk to somebody directly, instead of relying on a translator. This gave me the opportunity to engage more thoroughly with what the person said and use their words to make a question. This changes the communication and makes it more personal, enabling a ‘miteinander’ (togetherness) instead of a triangulated communication.” (Field diary extract, slightly amended, 22 April 2014)

During the conversations with staff members the opportunities and challenges encountered within the project were explored (see Appendix A). These were related to the employees’ perceptions of the EfA project, the involvement of tour operators and the responses
received from the wider community. This allowed assessing the development of the project over time, in addition, to gaining an understanding of the experiences of the housemothers and the assistant of living with the girls at the boarding houses. This also provided insights to the responsibilities of the housemothers and their professional development at the EfA project, which has led to an incipient drive for leadership.

Next, a short introduction to the use of visual methods in research is given to then continue outlining how these have been applied within the interviews and extra-curricular activities conducted with the girls.

**Visual methods**

Visual methods provide a different qualitative 'voice' in research (Walker, 1999, p. 295), which supports reflexivity in the use of language. This is exemplified in the study of Collier (1957), who employs photographs to transcend traditional categories of quality of housing, further noting that images can bridge language barriers. This highlights the potential of images to add to a 'multi-layered vocabulary' in research (DeVault, 1990), while at the same time questioning pre-inscribed categories and allowing the shaping of new meaning. Collier (1957) highlights four areas in research, which can be informed by the use of photographs: recording observations, informing survey patterns, supporting interviews, and supplementing field-notes. He highlights the distrust existing in the mid-1950s towards the visual in scientific research (ibid), a critique that is still relevant in contemporary academic research. Scarles (2010) for example, has called for an integration of the visual with wider sensory experiences, noting that tourism research has only given limited attention to other senses. Visual images are interwoven with different fields of knowledge (Pink, 2001), but they are also associated to bodily experiences, memory, feelings and emotions. Allowing these to develop in the research process enriches the study and contributes otherwise potentially undetected experiences and knowledge.

Combining the interview process with respondent-led photo-elicitation means that the research participants are given the responsibility to take their own pictures in relation to the research topic, which are then discussed in the interviews. This provides research participants with an added sense of agency and ‘photo-voice’ (Ali, 2012; Vince & Warren, 2012), while at the same time decreasing power imbalances in the research process. This supports the wider aim of feminist research to decrease hierarchical research relationships. Harper (2002) describes the use of photo-elicitation along a continuum, from a focus on
highly scientific images, to a middle position centring on the institutional/collective dimension and the family/intimate dimension being situated at the other end of the continuum. This research will focus on the institutional/collective and the family/intimate dimension, to connect with the research participants’ life worlds. This also applies to the use of drawings, which support accessing participants emotions and feelings, which sometimes are difficult to describe (Vince & Warren, 2012).

Using images produced by research participants decreases researcher biases through giving the research participants the ‘power’ to frame the research process to a certain degree (Kearney & Hyle, 2004). However, photo- and drawing-elicitation are also inherently collaborative methods, which enable transcending cultural barriers in research (Harper, 2002). This does not only apply to the researcher ‘accessing’ the cultural domains of the research participants, but also enables the latter to engage with their social reality from a different perspective that is incited through the images. A photograph can be referred to as “a cultural map”, which can be read by the knowing participants (Collier, 1957, p. 846). The study by Walker (1999) ‘Finding a Silent Voice for the Researcher’, further alludes to the centrality of research participants in the photo-, as well as, drawing-elicitation process and the potential for new forms of engagement that is created through these methods. The next section now turns to discuss how these methods have been applied within the boarding houses.

**Interviews combined with photo-elicitation**

The research conducted with the school children was paired with visual methods as mentioned above, relying upon respondent-led photo-elicitation to support the interview process. In addition, extra-curricular research activities were conducted using respondent-led drawing to provide alternative spaces of communication. Purposive sampling was employed to identify research participants (Saunders et al., 2012), with respondents having the opportunity to opt-in to the research, including the interviews and drawing-activities. At each of the boarding houses the researcher arranged a meeting where the research was presented to the girls, providing a detailed explanation of the research aim and objectives, the nature of the involvement of participants and their opportunity to withdraw from the research at any time. This included an explanation of the use of photography within the research further giving the girls the opportunity to use and play with the cameras prior to the interview (see Figure 16). Most of the girls had never used or owned a camera;
therefore, instructions were given on how to take and delete pictures and how to change camera settings. It was emphasised that it was not the quality of their pictures that was important, but their intention and explanation of why they had taken the picture.

![Figure 16: Girls playing with camera (Picture by Author)](image)

The research conducted at the boarding houses assessed the direct effects of the EfA project on involved community members, with the children’s experience of education and its influence on their present lives and their future opportunities representing key research interests (see Appendix A). In total 43 qualitative interviews with 75 schoolchildren were conducted, spreading almost equally among the four different boarding houses. There was also an interview conducted with an EfA girl that has already graduated from high school and is now attending university, though, this interview did not rely upon photo-elicitation. Most of the interviews were conducted in pairs (with two girls participating) and usually ranged between 30 and 60 minutes of length. Three main topics were explored during the interviews; first, the spaces, and persons shaping their educational experience, second, their personal, academic and professional development and third, the opportunities realised through the project. The conversations shed light on alternative forms of empowerment, emphasising the importance of lived experience and informal education.

Visual methods were used to provide the girls with an added sense of agency, giving them the opportunity to frame the research by inscribing their subjective experiences and understandings on the knowledge-creation process (Kearney & Hyle, 2004; Scarles, 2012b). The girls were afforded relative autonomy to take and select the pictures they deemed important in relation to the research topics, with the instructions being outlined in Table 2.
The girls' photographs depicted aspects of their home and community, their school and the EfA environment, as well as, their friends. This opened alternative ways of understanding social relations, informal and formal educational spaces and the role of cultural norms in their life. The pictures further elicited stories of the students feelings with regard to the opportunities obtained through schooling and the role of education in empowering them.

This form of 'photo-voice' created alternative forms of engagement (Ali, 2012; Vince & Warren, 2012; Walker, 1999), enabling a 'multi-layered vocabulary' that transcended a normative understanding of knowledge (DeVault, 1990, p. 111). This was exemplified through the “sounds of silence” encountered during the conversations articulating hidden meaning through embodied experiences (Scarles, 2010, p. 905).

This different qualitative 'voice' of images (Walker, 1999, p. 295) is reflected in Figure 17, with the girl arguing that this image captures her personality. She explained, "who wants to know her just looks at this picture" (Girl27, EfA1), with the importance of the spoken word receding to the meaning captured in her embodied presence in the picture. This led to a silence in the interview where the interior of the picture, the presence of her personality was felt. This illustrates that images do not only bridge language barriers (Collier, 1957), but also
dominant forms of knowledge and understanding, creating alternative spaces for communication. Moments of silence became vernacular forms of expressions through sharing sentiments with participants that did not find their way into the spoken word. This is exemplified in Figure 18, with girl 60 (EfA2) commenting, “the girls stay at home and help their parents in the work of the home. The other parents send their girls to cities to work for rich families, at her age (16) and also as young as ten years old.” This led to long pause that expressed a shared sadness and consternation between the respondent and the interviewer.

The sharing of experiences also reflects the inherently collaborative nature of photoelicitation (Harper, 2002; Pink, 2001), opening spaces for spontaneous associations, mutual reflections and shared understandings. These associations also provided an 'entry' point to the participants lives through the depiction of the realms of the everyday. This is illustrated in Figure 18 that depicts traditional gender roles of women in the rural communities. “The other girls in her community do like this all the time, because they don’t have the opportunity to come and finish studies” (Girl60, EfA2). This provides the researcher with the opportunity to access the participants' lifeworlds and cultural domains, while simultaneously encouraging the respondents to engage with their social reality and to reflect upon their experiences. In these spaces of reflexivity (Scarles, 2012a), the visual image becomes interwoven with different fields of knowledge (Pink, 2001), including bodily experiences, memory, feelings and emotions. Allowing these to develop in the research process has contributed to and enriched alternative understandings, highlighting particularly the significance of friendship as part of the lived experience of education. This is exemplified in the picture below (see Figure 19), with girl 12 (EfA1) arguing, “this picture expresses what education gives for her life, education gives for her life the true relationship and love and happiness.”
Research limitations

There were also limitations underpinning the use of photography within the interviews, which were mainly concerned with the limited adherence to instructions given, time-limitations and the unease expressed by some respondents of using photographs to convey experiences. Firstly, the girls often took much more than ten pictures for the interviews, at times, also sharing their camera with other girls. This expressed the novelty, as well as, enjoyment for them of having their own camera to take pictures. To address this issue the researcher asked the girls at the beginning of the interview to select the pictures that they felt were most important for them and that they had taken themselves. This aspect was also considered in the analysis of the data, which only included the pictures that the girls talked about. Secondly, there were also time-limitations underpinning the research, as the researcher was only given one week per boarding house. Therefore, the researcher identified the girls that wanted to participate in the interviews on the first day, drawing a time-map over the week to distribute the cameras accordingly. Each pair of girls participating in one interview received one camera and usually had one to three days to take the pictures. In one boarding house the researcher was able to distribute the cameras before the girls went on a holiday, which allowed them to take the cameras home and to photograph their community. Finally, there were also some girls who felt uncomfortable in talking more about their pictures and conveyed mainly their content. At times, this was also underpinned by the girls’ limited reflections on the reason for taking particular pictures. This was often articulated through arguing that they took the picture, because it was nice.
This required a degree of flexibility and openness during the interview process, adapting the conversations to the respondents’ personality and preference for communicating and expressing themselves.

**Research activities combined with drawing-elicitation**

The researcher employed an original approach to investigate the girls’ future aspirations and conceptions of self, using extra-curricular research activities combined with drawing-elicitation (see Stiles, 2004). The activities were designed by the research herself, with there only being limited research in tourism relying upon drawing-elicitation (Hunter, 2012). The researcher took care that the activities would not interfere with the girls’ studies by scheduling them during their leisure time, with each activity taking approximately one to two hours. Participation was voluntary with the researcher inviting the girls to attend, giving them the opportunity to opt in to the research. The drawing activities were repeated at three of the (secondary school) boarding houses, exploring the girls’ present perspectives of self and of their potential future pathways. The instructions given to the girls are presented in Table 3 and Figure 20 shows a group of girls during the drawing activity. A total of 26 girls participated in the drawing activities, with the drawings produced at each boarding house ranging between seven and eleven.

![Figure 20: Drawing activity (Picture by Author)](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instructions for drawing-elicitation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Present</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How do you see yourself now?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who or what is important in your life now?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Drawing-elicitation instructions
This method provided spaces for creativity and “self-reflexive expression of [the] individual’s subjectivity” (Hunter, 2012, p. 127). It was also a collaborative and cooperative experience with the girls helping each other and asking the researcher for her opinion and support. The researcher abstained herself from giving direct suggestions about the content of their drawings, but gave advise on, for example the use of colour. During the activity the researcher went around and talked with the girls about their paintings and the associated meanings and interpretations. These insights contributed to the researcher’s understanding of the intended meanings with the subsequent interpretation relying mainly on the visual as ‘text’ (Ali, 2012; Flick, 2009).

This ‘text’ is exemplified in Figure 21, where the representation of body and dress provided an insight into negotiations of self and the desire for alternative expressions of self. The drawing activity and the use of respondent-led photography transferred responsibility to the girls to create their own images. This is particularly important in research conducted with children, where power imbalances between researcher and research participants can be more salient than in research conducted with adults. This is not to argue that power relations were absent, rather they became less pronounced.

![Figure 21: Negotiations of self (Drawing by Girl54, EfA1)](image)

**Participant observation**

The researcher also conducted participant observation at the boarding houses to observe and experience the relationships between the girls and the employees at the project, as well as, the use of facilities and the daily routine of the girls. This allowed assessing the overall
social and physical environment provided by the EfA project, with the researcher's involvement in the daily routines stressing social interaction and participation. Flick (2009) highlights that participant observation is a process, which on the one hand supports an increasing familiarity and access to local people and the location. On the other hand, the observations themselves become more substantial and concrete over time. The latter process is described by Spradley (1980, p. 34) through the three phases of observation, moving from descriptive, to focused and in the final stages of the research project, towards selective observations. This method acknowledges the need for a situated study through observing the everyday life at the boarding houses as well as the local communities.

The researcher transcended the role of observer as aforementioned, being a participant-as-observer through volunteering at the boarding houses during the pilot study and through actively engaging with the research participants (Flick, 2009). This enabled the researcher to gain knowledge about representations and interpretations of local values and traditions through observing the behaviour of the girls and through actively engaging in these interactions. The goal was to "draw upon the actors' interpretations and local inside knowledge of the meaning of the behaviour under study", which is described as an emic approach by Pearce (cited in Pearce et al., 1996, p. 91). Keeping a field diary supported the researcher in maintaining a self-reflexive approach throughout the data collection process, allowing her to reflect on her own values, assumptions and beliefs. This allowed embracing the self and the role of the researcher, by highlighting observations from the field and reflecting on personal thoughts and impressions, at the same time (Coffey, 1999).

The lasting perception of the researcher as a volunteer at the boarding houses also entailed the difficulty of 'maintaining' the role of researcher (Walsh, 2004), while spending time with the girls and supporting them with their studies and schoolwork. However, this positioning of the researcher as part of the supportive everyday environment built the foundation for the ensuing trust with the girls, with this always being a gradual process (Alderson & Morrow, 2004). During the visit to the girls' homes in the subsequent research phase, the researcher was often received warmly by the parents and at times, was also thanked for her commitment to the girls. This illustrates the mutual recognition, respect and friendship that accompanied some of the research relationships, with the following section turning to the discussion of the fourth research phase conducted in in the surrounding communities.
6.4.4 Fourth research phase

In the fourth phase of the research lasting from May to June 2014, the researcher visited the surrounding communities of the EfA project, while living within the valley of Imlil (see Figure 23). The small villages composing the valley area spread around the area, with Figure 22 showing one of the villages called Mazik. The researcher was usually accompanied by her translator and at times a friend and/or gatekeeper, such as a local teacher (see Figure 22). Most community members were hospitable, inviting the researcher into their home for drinking tea or having lunch, with a common dish being tagine (see Figure 24). This provided the researcher with the opportunity to observe and experience gender relations, focusing on “how people actually do gender” (Speer, 2002, p. 520) and how this intersects with other experiences of age, class, ethnicity and religion. Spending an extended period of time living within the local communities was crucial to developing a better understanding of how gender empowerment and wider development processes can be facilitated through capacity building.

Figure 22: Research visits to villages (Picture by Author)

Figure 23: Valley of Imlil (Picture by Author)
Obtaining 'official' access for the study was more difficult, as the researcher was only authorised to conduct the research at the boarding houses, but not within the local communities. When the researcher moved to the valley of Imlil she had to re-negotiate access talking with the local governmental representatives in Imlil, Asni and Tahanoute. She was told that she would need to go to Rabat to obtain an official permit to conduct the research and that the government would also provide her with an official research team and translator. This would have had a strong impact on the overall research process, apart from not being feasible time-wise. However, the researcher’s persistence led to the local governmental official granting her an oral approval for conducting the research, which was also accepted by the local officials in the valley of Imlil. This reflects again the importance of the orality of the local culture, which also inflicts upon the governmental functioning, while the official approach would have required a centralised approval from the capital in Rabat.

The researcher’s participation in community life allowed her to conduct participant observation by going to the local market, attending literacy classes, visiting community events, such as marriages (see Figure 26) and interacting with people across public and private spheres. The researcher visited local associations and cooperatives, with almost each village having their own mostly male-run development
associations, while there were also some women’s associations providing spaces for women to learn how to make cookies and handicrafts (see Figure 25). The Argan Oil Cooperative, situated in the village of Imlil, became one of the main contact points of the researcher, who visited the women working there almost daily to sit and talk with them, drink tea or to have breakfast (see Figure 27). Over time the development of relationships with community members led to the establishment of friendships, with the researcher being invited to the marriage of a local cooperative member. The researcher also attended association meetings and in one occasion, a local association member invited her to a local school event (see Figure 28), with schools being usually more difficult to access. During the formal function of the event students were honoured for their achievements, with the researcher being invited to the front to commend and deliver the prize to one of the students.

Figure 26: Marriage celebration (Picture by Volunteer)

Figure 27: Sharing breakfast with the women of a local cooperative (Picture by Author)
Contrary to the research conducted within the boarding houses, security was a key concern for the researcher while staying in the local communities, particularly while moving around the different villages. On the first day, the local police approached her, telling her that she should not walk around alone outside of the main village area, particularly after five pm. The paths across the valley often passed through desolated areas and there were some instances where the researcher felt frightened and nervous. Therefore, the researcher decided to walk only in the company of the translator. Letherby (2003) argues that issues of power in fieldwork are sometimes exacerbated by the local gender system, with the researcher not being sure where she was positioned within this system. However, this experiential element of ethnographic fieldwork also supports the understanding of respondents’ experiences, particularly those of local women, who had commented about similar experiences of fear.

The identification of community members was based on purposive sampling, as in the other research phases, with this approach being combined with snowballing technique (Saunders et al., 2012). The latter supported the purposive sampling approach, as the researcher was able to identify relevant participants through previous respondents and other community members. The selection criterion for the community members was based on the condition that they were not currently involved or employed directly within the EfA project. A total of 40 interviews with this participant group were conducted, including among others, association members, teachers, housewives, tour guides and farmers. In addition, 23 qualitative interviews with parents of the school children, including fifteen mothers, five fathers, two sisters and one grandmother, were conducted. The identification of parents (including close family members) was not paired with the school children interviews. Rather, they were conducted independently, with the researcher having already visited
some of the girls’ homes during the second and third research phase. This facilitated the establishment of initial contact with parents. In addition, the researcher had asked the girls at the boarding house during the third research phase to request permission from their parents to visit them for research purposes. This allowed the researcher to identify a list of names and associated villages of those who agreed to a visit.

The interviews with the parents and wider community addressed research objective three, assessing the broader effect the girls’ education and empowerment has had on the household, peer and community level (see Appendix A). The qualitative semi-structured interviews with the parents of the EfA girls were conducted at the parents’ home and explored the parent’s perceptions of tourism and the EfA. Further, the opportunities resulting from the project, as well as, the effect the children’s education has had on the immediate family, were addressed. They were asked about their daughter’s contributions to the community and about their aspirations for the future pathway of their child. In addition, some of the underpinning issues related to gender equality and empowerment were discussed during these interviews, with the parents also forming part of the wider community. This reflects the fluent transition from the individual to the household and community level of capacity building and potential empowerment, connecting the second and third research objective.

The interviews with the wider community were aimed at exploring the community member’s responses and attitudes towards the tourism-supported project and the perceived effects the project has had on community development. The girls’ potential contribution to the community through their education was explored as well as the potential challenges or conflicts. However, many community members were unaware or had only limited knowledge about the project. Therefore, their perception of tourism in the area was assessed, as well as, their access to opportunities, including training and education within their community. Different aspects emphasised by respondents during the conversations were discussed, including conceptions of gendered responsibilities and care discourses, in addition to intersections between tourism and community development. This reflects that data collection and analysis are fluid processes that occur at the same time, allowing the researcher to adapt and alter the interview questions (Esposito, 2001), while new meanings are discovered and alternative areas that require further investigation are identified.
Recapitulating, the third research objective provides a thorough insight to the wider effects of the tourism-supported educational project on directly (parents) and indirectly involved community members. Both participant groups were crucial for gaining a more thorough understanding of the opportunities provided through the educational project and its wider effects on the community. These knowledges are supplemented by the insights gained from the tour operators, which together with the qualitative evaluation of research objective two and three, provide the basis for developing effective and locally applicable recommendations. The next section now turns to discuss the researcher subjectivity underpinning the research.

6.5 Researcher subjectivity

The fluid co-production of knowledge draws attention to the identity of the researcher, which affects not only how the researcher situates herself within the research context, but also how the researcher is ‘situated’ by research participants (Pink, 2001). Rose (1997, p. 314) argues that this process implies “that the identity to be situated does not exist in isolation but only through mutually constitutive social relations”, positing a “relational understanding of position”. The researcher felt that her identity as a white female Western academic significantly influenced her interaction with research participants, with the axes of difference being mainly around issues of religion and culture, education, and age. While the research participants came mostly from small rural towns, the researcher herself has lived in large cities across different countries, coming from a multicultural relatively affluent background and being highly educated. This contrasts with the pervasiveness of poverty among local communities, with many respondents only having limited or no education. This also had an influence on the interview accounts, with answers often being given in a short and descriptive manner, with the researcher being in a privileged and advantaged position, due to her heightened discursive knowledge (see Skeggs, 1994). This was most pronounced in the interviews with the younger participants, with some being shy and hesitant to talk. This supports Kvale and Brinkmann’s (2009) argument that ethical considerations in interviewing mainly arise due to the often uneven power relations characterising interview situations.

To reduce hierarchical relations the researcher adopted participative methods within the research process, such as respondent-led photo elicitation (see Vince & Warren, 2012). This helped counter the notion of the researcher as the expert (Campbell & Wasco, 2000),
facilitating conversations while sharing academic authority. For example, in the interviews with the girls the reliance on visual methods and paired interviews, i.e. two girls being interviewed at the same time, helped to reduce potential hierarchies and barriers within the conversation. The researcher further engaged in a process of self-reflective writing in her field diary. This encompassed thoughts on her self and her role as a researcher reflecting upon observations from the field as well as personal feelings and impressions (Coffey, 1999). The researcher also relied upon her field diary to consider wider ethical issues and politics underpinning research relationships. This included reflections on the influence of age and status differences on research power relations, which led the researcher to reconsider her initial approach to identifying and selecting research participants in the boarding houses. At first, she was assisted by a staff member to organise the interviews with the girls. However, based on a critical reading of her field diary the researcher decided to organise the interviews independently to assure that all girls opted-in to the research by taking a fully informed decision, instead of being assigned to the research by a staff member. Further ethical considerations underpinning the use of visual methods and the inclusion of school-aged children in the research are discussed at the end of this chapter.

Reciprocal relations between researcher and research participants further support a power-sensitive research approach based on non-exploitative relations (Bryman, 2008). Reciprocity does not have to be based on material terms and can also encompass exchange of information, with some of the women visited asking for help, for example, in understanding the instructions of an electric oven, as they could not read them. Another experienced feature was mutual respect and recognition, with some women and girls being happy about their opportunity to express themselves as knowledgeable members of their community. When appropriate, the researcher also tried to encourage or advise research participants generally related to any life matters, but particularly in relation to education. This form of reciprocity and exchange fostered the development of a fluid dialogue with research participants, promoting a socially and culturally sensitive approach and the ‘visible’ positioning of the researcher (DeVault, 1996).

In the field, the researcher had to negotiate different roles and responsibilities as aforementioned, with the ‘self’ and the ‘researcher’ becoming enmeshed in ethnographic research (Tucker, 2003). Simultaneously, the borders of self and researcher become blurred through sharing own experiences and emotions with research participants, with the girls at the boarding house often asking about the researcher’s relationship status and her
perspective on marriage. This means that the researcher was no longer a distant observer, but rather became a ‘vulnerable observer’ (Behar, 1996). These vulnerabilities were based on shared connections, emotions and experiences, which persisted outside the ‘field’, with particularly the transition between fieldwork and analysis of the data being very difficult for the researcher. She felt that she had left/’abandoned’ the field, while still having a sense of responsibility towards research participants. However, this also illustrates the form of holistic involvement and commitment underpinning feminist research practise, which can foster not only mutual connection and reciprocity within research, but also enables the development of empathy in relationships (Coffey, 1999; Finch, 1999).

Feminist qualitative research is also concerned with axiology, emphasising not only the moral responsibilities that the researcher carries, but also the potential influences that her values can have on the knowledge production process. Therefore, to critically and self-consciously position the researcher within the research requires acknowledging the inter-subjective nature of the research process, which influences the accounts that emerge from it (Smith, 1987). Guba and Lincoln (2008) argue that the axiological realm encompasses religion. The latter is particularly relevant within the context of the study, where gender roles and relations are embedded within a religious framework, which requires a non-secular approach to understanding gender. This study critically engages with what is considered to be authoritative knowledge, widening the understanding to encompass experiential, personal and religious realms. However, the embodied experience of fieldwork also encompassed an examination and redirection of the self (Harper, 2002), which included the adaptation of the dress code to the cultural and religious context as a sign of respect. This conscious experience of the self is tied to different forms of understanding, with the lived experience of fieldwork becoming an integral part of the knowledge production process. Gaining insight into situated knowledges is premised upon an increasing sensitivity towards local norms, beliefs and values, while experiencing gender relations in situ.

This can be exemplified through the researcher’s changing experience of space. At the beginning of the research, she was unaware of the market place (souk) being primarily a male space within local villages and conducted an interview with a local shop owner in midst of the souk (see Figure 29). However, over the course of the research she felt hesitant and less inclined to conduct research there, which indicates that she incorporated local politics governing community life within her own understanding and feeling of gendered
space. This reflects the potential influence that the researcher’s moral understanding can have on the theoretical understanding of the concepts and theories under study. Christians (2008, p. 205) contends that a researcher’s “[m]oral commitment constitutes the self-in-relation”, which can also represent a challenge as the researcher is engaging in “the same moral space as the people” (ibid, 2008, p. 206) studied. This can lead to difficulties within the field, which were expressed for example within interview situations, where respondents expressed views that the researcher strongly disagreed with, such as ‘no women should work’ or ‘women cannot learn like men’, which required a respect for difference to be able to understand difference.

Another aspect pertaining to the researcher’s influence on the study is the choice of concepts and theories driving the research approach. Within this theoretical realm the researcher shapes the knowledge production process through her understanding of the phenomena under study and the theoretical framework guiding the investigation. Therefore, the researcher emphasised gaining an emic understanding of social reality, engaging with local conceptions and constructions of knowledge moving away from a dominant interpretive lens (Pearce et al., 1996). Feminists have long critiqued normative concepts and labels, which justify and pre-establish meaning through language, including the common association of power with empowerment (see Riger, 1993). Rather, empowerment was perceived to emerge from lived experiences and relations of mutuality, which corresponds to the relational ontology guiding this research. This reflects the fluid transition between the researcher, the context and concepts under study, with these forming a dialogic relationship over the course of the research project, allowing for situated knowledges to emerge and guide the researcher’s understanding. However, this research has also been shaped through the reliance on translators, hence, the following section explores the opportunities and challenges underpinning the translation of meaning.
6.6 Translating subjectivities: Challenges and opportunities

Most of the interviews relied on translation from Berber or Moroccan Arabic to English to avoid miscommunication and misunderstanding between the researcher and respondents. Two translators accompanied the researcher over the course of the fieldwork, forming an integral part of the study. Both translators were made aware of the aim and objectives of the research project as well as potential ethical considerations underpinning the research process. These included issues of confidentiality and consent, particularly in relation to illiterate and younger participants. Security issues were also addressed, highlighting to the translators that they could let the researcher know at any time, if they felt unsafe or unwell. It was mentioned in a previous section that security was a key concern for the researcher and the responsibility for her own safety extended to that of the translator. In addition, the difficulties underpinning access were highlighted, with the pilot study leading to a significant re-negotiation of the research design and the researcher almost being denied access to conducting research within the local communities. However, these obstacles were overcome and the translators turned into core gatekeeper in the research settings. Therefore, emphasis was placed on choosing translators that were locally accepted and not associated to any dis-favourable political/power position. The commitment of time from each translator was crucial to establish contact and to develop relationships with potential research participants in the communities, with most of the community members only speaking Berber.

Both translators were young female University students, which supported identification with younger interview participants. Further, they both spoke Berber with one translator coming from a surrounding community. They also acted as cultural translators and shared similar experiences with research participants. This established a layer of proximity with the girls attending the boarding houses and community members, who trusted the translators as they came from similar cultural backgrounds. The researcher also engaged in lengthy discussions with the translators, sharing perspectives about life, education and religion with them, becoming confidants over time. In some instances, respondents felt hesitant to share some details with the interviewer and preferred to tell the translator, who subsequently reported these to the interviewer. For example, a women told the translator that men took advantage of women’s illiteracy by letting them sign contracts where they agreed that the husband could have another wife without being aware of this. The women felt embarrassed to tell this to the interviewer and hence, trusted the translator with these
stories. Also, in the interviews with male participants an additional layer of trust between the translator and respondents was established. Some male respondents focused mainly on the translator, making limited eye contact with the researcher, which might be due to her being non-Muslim and not wearing a hijab. This reflects the importance of conducting the research in accordance to local social and cultural norms, in order to comply with ethical standards of research and to facilitate communication, while ensuring the durability of research relationships.

There were also challenges underpinning the use of translators, with one of the challenges being that the translators were still very young (19 years old) and they were not always focusing on the research. One of the translators always played with her phone, including during interview sessions, which was impolite towards respondents and also expressed a degree of disinterest in their stories. In addition, the other translator was very sociable and had a strong character, which was beneficial to gaining access to different community realms. However, this also led to some disagreements in interview situations, where respondents and translator started having discussions, which exceeded the actual interview content. This was particularly pronounced in an interview where the mother and daughter were present and the latter also spoke English, hence, she started disputing with the translator her translations. The mother and researcher, who were the actual interviewer and interviewee, were sitting on the side unable to conduct their conversation.

Employing translators within research also requires an increased sensitivity towards the interview process and knowledge transfer, recognizing their active role in knowledge production (Berman & Tyyskä, 2011; Temple & Edwards, 2002). The translators were not professionally trained translators, which led to some difficulties during the interview process. The translations were often not literal translations, with the translators at times altering or reducing some of the information that respondent had given. They further engaged in prolonged conversations with respondents, whose content was not always translated or only partially translated. They argued that they were explaining the question further as respondents had not understood, which at times altered the initial answer. Further, they often adapted the researcher’s questions to a format they thought more understandable for respondents, though; this did not always express the original intention of the question. Esposito (2001) emphasises the importance of meaning-based interpretations compared to verbatim translations, as these might be closer to the community’s understanding. Still, this raises questions about the positioning of the
translator within the research, with Berman and Tyyskä (2011) calling for recognition of interpreters as co-researchers in qualitative feminist work.

The use of translators in research emphasises the need for "strong-reflexivity" (Harding, 1993, p. 69), taking into account not only the researcher's but also the interpreters' subjectivities. This extends to the analysis process described in the following section, as the translated origins of the accounts might not lend themselves to all types of analysis procedures, particularly those focusing on the use of language. To address some of the limitations of this research, the researcher employed triangulation of methods and respondents, which also supports minimizing translation errors as findings are assessed via different methods and respondents’ perspectives. Denzin and Lincoln (2008a) describe triangulation as a strategy to add rigour to research, further facilitating the understanding of new realities. This is supported by the researcher's prolonged engagement in fieldwork, conducting persistent observations to reduce potential misrepresentations in research (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 301). This allowed the researcher to engage in thick descriptions (see Geertz, 1999), involving a large set of experiences related to the phenomena under study to account for a multiplicity of perspectives within the conceptual framework. However, this requires acknowledging the space and time boundedness of experiences, which limit the transferability of findings to different contexts, though, still providing scope for theoretical generality (see Harper, 1992; Ridder et al., 2012; Walton, 1992).

6.7 Data analysis

The underlying epistemological approach of this study stresses an inclusive practise of social research, though; once the researcher leaves the field the respondents become almost removed from the sense-making process. This reflects the powerful role that the researcher has in the interpretation and abstraction of meaning forming part of the analysis and writing process, which represents a major concern in feminist research. “[I]nterpretation is a political, contested and unstable activity” (Maynard & Purvis, 1994, p. 1), which further merges into issues of representation (see e.g. Pink, 2001; Skeggs, 1994). Within the analytical realm this requires transparency to account for the inter-subjectivity of knowledge production (Stanley & Wise, 1990), which highlights the pervasive need for reflexivity across the personal, academic and epistemological realm.

The researcher chose thematic analysis to study the data, which is concerned with “identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (Braun & Clarke, 2006,
It is a useful approach to investigate a group's understanding and conception of the studied phenomena (Joffe, 2012), which is consonant with the ontological and epistemological underpinning of this research favouring an emic approach to knowledge production. It further acknowledges the translated origin of the interview data and focuses on the content, rather than the use of language within text. Emphasis was placed on grounding the meaning-making processes in everyday experiences, with themes being identified as “recurrent and distinctive features of participants’ accounts, characterising particular perceptions and/or experiences” that are relevant to the study (King & Horrocks, 2010, p. 150). Patterns represent a form of meta-code integrating different related themes into a holistic unit (Saldaña, 2013). The following sections outline the four phases of coding applied within the thematic analysis of this study, which are based on King and Horrocks (ibid, p. 153) three staged analysis approach, adding a preliminary phase of data familiarisation.

6.7.1 First phase of coding

This study follows a four-stage approach to thematic analysis, with the first phase being based on data familiarisation. The transcription of the 117 interviews formed part of this phase, taking around three months for the researcher to complete. This represented a vital phase in the analysis of the data, with Bird (2005, p. 226) highlighting that transcription forms a core part of an “interpretative qualitative methodology”. During this phase the researcher was able to immerse herself in the data, forming and writing down initial ideas that contributed to her understanding of the complexity of the issues under study. The researcher engaged in a verbatim transcription of the accounts without editing the grammatical errors of the translation. This approach ensured that no meaning was lost during the transcription of the interviews and only in the subsequent reporting of findings some of the errors were corrected to enhance understanding of the reader. In the interviews that relied upon photo-elicitation the researcher identified the pictures that were discussed during the conversation and introduced them into the transcript, which facilitated the subsequent analysis of data, providing a direct link between the ideas and feelings associated to the images.

For the analysis of the data, NVivo, a computer aided qualitative data analysis software tool was used. This supported the organisation of the large amount of data, allowing the researcher to engage in iterative coding processes of the data accounting for the recursive
nature of qualitative research (Braun & Clarke, 2006). However, the researcher also experienced difficulties with the software, particularly in the coding and retrieval of the visual data. Still, the software was crucial in handling the large amount of data and allowed the researcher to refer back to “the context of particular coded sections” (Marks & Yardley, 2004, p. 63). This ‘contextualised’ approach allowed the retention of contextual meaning, which represents a vital part of investigating situated knowledges.

6.7.2 Second phase of coding

The first phase of familiarisation with the data was followed by the second stage of initial coding based on the application of descriptive codes. The latter represent a primary categorization of the content of the interviews and is directly linked to the text (Saldaña, 2013). This represents a bottom-up approach to coding with this stage being primarily data-driven (see Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009), although, the overall direction of the analysis process is intricately interwoven with the research questions. This stage focused on a representative sample of the data corpus, selecting over 25% of the interview transcripts, which included all respondent groups. This approach was chosen to make this coding stage more effective and to keep within the available timescale (see Silverman, 2011). The descriptive codes were then arranged in clusters to form an initial overview of the diverse codes that emerged from this coding stage. This represented an essential foundation for the subsequent stage of interpretive coding (King & Horrocks, 2010; Saldaña, 2013), where the researcher progressed to derive interpretive themes that developed the initial content into more abstract concepts.

6.7.3 Third phase of coding

The third phase of coding relied upon a combined deductive and inductive approach to coding (see e.g. Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006), where the researcher developed the descriptive codes further by grouping different codes that were conceptually related together, interpreting their meaning in relation to the research questions. These were then applied to all interview transcripts, while continuing to identify and develop new concepts and interpretations that arose from the data. The coding of interviews was accompanied by a continuous reading of the field diary entry of the respective day, where the interview was recorded. This allowed the researcher to capture further elements of the interview setting, in addition, to the sentiments experienced during the day and the interview session. This also provided connections with initial ideas, interpretations and theoretical thoughts.
However, researcher produced texts such as memos, field diary and notes did not form part of the coding process and were rather used for personal and epistemological reflexivity and as illustrative material within the analysis and discussion of the findings.

The complexity of the emerging themes also increased the difficulty to neatly fit them into a thematic scheme, which was partly due to the multiple perspectives that were covered in the research. In line with the methodology guiding this study, the researcher adopted three strategies/principles to deal with this complexity, first, focusing on embeddedness (contextuality) by emphasising situated understanding of the issues under study. Second, openness - being sensitive and inclusive of difference and alternative interpretations and third, grounding the analysis in the literature by linking part of the content back to previous and new literature. The latter was for example the case with some of the meanings derived from the interviews with the tour operators, which referred to the intuitiveness and improvisation underpinning their approach to project selection. This led the researcher to investigate these issues further within the literature to improve the analysis through sensitizing herself towards more subtle elements of the data (Tuckett, 2005).

The visual material was also analysed using thematic analysis. The photographs formed part of the thematic analysis of the interviews, while the drawings were analysed separately and then, the derived themes were integrated into the overall thematic coding framework. The aforementioned insertion of the pictures in the interviews transcripts facilitated the coding of the images directly within the interview transcripts, instead of referring to them separately. The pictures were coded alongside the text, while the pictures that the respondents did not talk about were excluded from the coding process. This is justified by the use of the visual data (i.e. photographs) as supporting the interviews (see Rose, 2001), with the images encouraging alternative spaces for communication relying on the interpretation of respondents to identify meaning. However, this was not the case with the drawings, which were analysed on their own, focusing on the meaning transmitted through the drawings by recognising the visual images as a form of ‘text’ (Ali, 2012; Flick, 2009).

After an initial familiarisation with the drawings, the researcher applied descriptive codes to the drawings capturing their content. This was followed by the identification and development of interpretive codes. The third stage of coding was supported by the meanings and feelings associated to the drawings that were elicited during the drawing activity while talking to the girls in naturally occurring conversations (see Silverman, 2011).
Another important element in deriving the interpretive themes was accounting for the 'silences' represented through absences in the drawings, which became particularly evident through the girls' missing depiction of the self-in-relation in their future. The themes arising from the analysis of the drawings were integrated in the overall thematic structure, providing further insights to the themes concerning self-development, aspirations and role-modelling, with the latter being strongly related to the girls' career choices. Figure 30 illustrates the themes arising from the analysis of the drawings (excluding the descriptive codes) and shows an example of a drawing with the attached codes.

Aspiration: Continuum present-future
(In the present I want to go to school and in the future I want to be a teacher of geography)
Career Choice: Teacher
Self-perception: No change in self-perception, no depiction of self-in-relation

It was mentioned before that the triangulation of sources and methods supports the immersion in new realities (see Denzin & Lincoln, 2008a). However, it also represents a
challenge in the analysis process, as different perspectives and sources of data have to be integrated within the analysis process. This diversity can only be accounted for through an iterative process of analysis, which does not neatly lead from one coding stage to the next. Rather, the researcher took several months moving back and forth between analysed sections and the analysis of meaning, keeping reflective memos and developing her thoughts further through writing. To add rigour to this process the researcher engaged in a continuous discussion of the development of themes and concepts with her supervisors and trusted colleagues, which allowed her to identify misinterpretations, as well as, themes that were missing. This process of corroboration, refutation and further development of findings was accompanied by the previously identified principles of openness, embeddedness and groundedness (in the literature). These are not mutually exclusive, as reflected in the memo below, where the researcher combines reflections that are based on previous conceptualisations of empowerment rooted in the literature, with experiences of (dis)empowerment rooted within the familial and community frameworks.

"The woman equates the women's association to changing the position of women within society, which indicates that the position is, on the one hand, related to being able to learn - educate themselves. On the other hand, it is related to being able to move - access other opportunities in life, whereas the current 'position' of women in society is 'staying at home' [In Vivo Code]. This geographic position locates women not only in a certain place, but also influences their wider position within society and limits their ability to access other opportunities. The position of women describes the cultural construct of women as always being seen in relation to another person, who/which significantly shapes women's access to opportunities. Hence, empowerment in this context would require re-positioning the women not within a place, but in space, developing the ability to access opportunities without another person determining access. This requires not only amplifying physical spaces, but imaginative spaces with women developing the ability to perceive themselves as actors of change." (Extract from Reflective Memo, 7th May 2015)

The researcher accounted for the local meanings attached to particular themes by using in-vivo codes, which were based on the formulation that respondents themselves used within the text (Saldana, 2013). One example is given in the memo extract written in bold, namely 'staying at home', which was a formulation that women used recurrently to describe their gendered experiences of the everyday. Another important in-vivo code was 'learning to be
responsible for yourself', which was the common formulation the girls relied upon to describe their process of empowerment. This approach is in line with thematic analysis, as these codes captured an essential experience of the everyday. 'Learning to be responsible for yourself' reconceptualises the understanding of empowerment as responsibility, hence, it was also integrated in the final thematic structure identified in the fourth phase of coding, which underpins the identified patterns, as discussed next.

6.7.4 Fourth phase of coding

In the fourth phase of coding the overarching patterns were identified through an attempt to theorise further the thematic scheme identified in the third stage of coding. The process was underpinned by the continuous reformulation, reorganisation and adjustment of the derived themes across the data corpus, looking for similarities and differences to identify patterns that linked the derived meaning from the interpretive themes to broader constructs (patterns). This stage was not conducted through a re-coding of the whole dataset, rather the researcher re-read and re-interpreted previously identified themes and applied higher order codes (patterns), e.g. by grouping associated themes and sub-themes together under a broader representative concept. The fourth coding phase was conducted manually, by printing out each theme and associated sub-themes. This was facilitated through the use of NVivo, which allowed the researcher to extract all the data that was coded under a theme. The researcher then engaged in re-reading and analysing the associated coded sections of each (sub-)theme to condense the previous themes into a more conceptualised representation of themes that have wider implications for the understanding of the issue under study.

The transitioning phase from themes to patterns is captured in Figure 31, with the derived conceptual themes also being integrated in Figure 32, as part of the overall thematic structure. These frameworks are not explained in detail, as this is done in the subsequent three analyses and discussion chapters. It can be argued that credibility of the identified patterns is enhanced through the multiple convergences of different methods and respondents that underpin the thematic structure. This can be linked to a form of interpretive sufficiency, which is achieved through the representation of multiple voices rooted in the experiences of the everyday, further allowing the reader to form a critical consciousness (Christians, 2008; Stanley & Wise, 1990).
The level of abstraction forming part of the final thematic structure (see Figure 32) and identified patterns is based on the triangulation of sources and methods and the sample size, which facilitated the development of the conceptual case. The individual interviews do not necessarily provide the depth of differentiation that was gained through the consultation of a large number of directly and indirectly involved stakeholders, in addition to talking to more than half of the girls attending the boarding houses. The increasing layers of differentiation developed through the immersion in the different data sources and methods, with similar codes being identified across the pictures, drawings and interviews.
However, the development of themes was not separated by method or group, instead the researcher emphasised the integration of the different perspectives to develop a conceptual case that would simultaneously reflect the complexity of the issue under study as well as the particularity of the case.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final thematic structure</th>
<th>Patterns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Care</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caring at a Distance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discourses of Care and Respect</td>
<td>CARE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutual-Care and Self-Care</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Trust</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empowering Narrative of Trust</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disempowering Narrative of Trust</td>
<td>TRUST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Responsibility</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethics of Responsibility</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gendered Responsibility</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning to be Responsible for Yourself</td>
<td>RESPONSIBILITY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lived Experience of Education</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendship and Networks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multi-layered Role Modelling</td>
<td>LIVED EXPERIENCE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mentoring</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imagination and Abstraction</td>
<td>OF EDUCATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication and Cultural Exchange</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The researcher relied upon a continuous process of peer debriefing to corroborate and refute identified themes and patterns particularly with her supervisors. The latter are experienced researchers, who have further conducted repeated student fieldtrips to the specific context in which the study was conducted, which facilitated familiarity with the case. The researcher also arranged meetings and sent initial findings to tour operators to receive feedback on interpretations, as well as, analytic categories, such as trust. This allowed the researcher to assess part of the thematic structure with respondents. However, a more thorough reliance on respondents' feedback, for example, through the implementation of a fifth phase of coding relying on the discussion of themes with the different sub-groups could have provided additional insights. However, this was not feasible, due to the main part of the data corpus relying upon translations and the fieldwork
being conducted in remote villages of Morocco. Next, the ethical considerations underpinning this research project are discussed.

6.8 Ethical standards of research

Moral principles in academic research are often denoted through codes of ethics, which emphasise particularly the following features: informed consent, privacy and confidentiality, as well as, abstaining from deception (Christians, 2008). Particularly the involvement of school-aged children in this research required careful methodological design to ensure there were no adverse consequences to this research group.

6.8.1 Informed consent

The voluntary participation of participants was a core guiding principle of this research, particularly within the boarding houses where the girls could not decide over the researcher’s presence in the first instance. This required an increased sensitivity towards the girls’ personal spaces, providing them with the opportunity to opt in to the research, rather than following an approach of opting-out. As mentioned before, the research did not interfere with children’s school time and the head of the EfA project’s approval and consent was attained, before starting with the research. The researcher further obtained a DBS check, which was made available to all responsible parties before starting with the research. Participation was based on full and open information, with all participants being made fully aware of the aims and objectives of the project before they agreed to participate. Within the boarding houses the researcher arranged a meeting at the beginning of the research convening all the girls to explain to them the research and the implications and nature of their potential participation. They were also reassured of their right to withdraw from the project at any time. In the case of interviewing, informed consent of each interviewee was obtained also for being audio-recorded, before commencing the interview. Care was taken throughout the research to provide the girls with the opportunity to pause or stop the interviews at any time, being sensitive to their feelings and emotions. In addition, most of the interviews were paired; with two girls participating together in an interview to let them feel more confident and secure.

The ethical implications of obtaining informed consent are particularly relevant when employing visual methods. Research participants were made aware that the visual materials would be used for research purposes, further, instructing them to ask people first,
before taking photographs. Both, in the case of drawings and photographs created by research participants, their written consent was obtained at the start of the interview or drawing activity and re-confirmed at the end (see Appendix C). This meant that participants were asked again to reflect whether they would like their drawing to form part of the research or, whether they would like to exclude (delete) any of their photographs from the research.

Another sensitivity underpinning the research was the participation of illiterate people. Their comprehension of the research project was assured through explaining the research aims and objectives, as well as, the implications of their participation orally to them. They marked their consent on the consent sheet by copying their name as illustrated in Figure 33, or writing a sign. Other research has suggested the use of audio-visual recording of oral consent when working together with illiterate participants. However, this raises other ethical implications, for example, when videotaping participants’ consent (Benitez et al., 2002). This research therefore opted for an approach that emphasised comprehension by talking to and explaining interviewees the aim and objectives of the study, their rights and the implications of their participation, before asking them for their informed consent (see also Tamariz et al., 2013).

6.8.2 Abstaining from deception

All information regarding the research project, including participant information sheets and consent forms (see Appendix B and C), were made available in English, French, Arabic and Berber [orally], where appropriate. With regard to conducting participant observation, the researcher was transparent about her role as a participant-as-observer, engaging in an overt practise of participant observation. This corresponds to the moral principle of abstaining from deception, which required informing the research participants of the
researcher’s role as a participant-as-observer. The researcher further engaged in an open (visible) practise of writing field-notes within ‘the field’, which reminded participants of her role as researcher. Some looked at her writings with suspicion, which was further emphasised through the contrast of living in communities with high rates of illiteracy. However, the researcher was always open to share her notes with participants and in some instances, this led to lively discussions about the annotations. The researcher also informed local authorities on her research, which led to some complications and her almost not being able to conduct the research within the local communities. However, these difficulties were overcome through being persistent and gaining the ‘oral’ consent of local authorities, as explained in a previous section.

6.8.3 Confidentiality and anonymity

In addition to obtaining informed consent, issues of confidentiality and anonymity represent core aspects of ethical research practise. It is crucial to let participants feel that they are in a safe and confidential environment, where they can express their opinions and feelings. To ensure the anonymity of the research participants, all interview data was anonymised, hence, those reading reports from the research will not know who has contributed to it. Respondents are identified as followed: Tour operator (TO) respondents are identified by number (e.g. T01, T02), with one respondent participating in two interviews, hence, the interview number is noted after the identification as tour operator (e.g. T01/INT1). Other respondents from the organisational/institutional realm are identified by their role as agent, community leader, teacher or housemother, with the latter also being numbered. Community members are identified by a pseudonym and a short abbreviation, to differentiate between parents (PAR), which included siblings and grandparents living in the same house and community members (CM). The EfA girls are identified by number (e.g. Girl1, Girl2) and schooling level, with EfA1 standing for secondary school, EfA2 for high school and EfA3 for university (e.g. Girl75, EfA3). Further, photographs and drawings from participants were only used for research purposes, if participants have given their written consent, as emphasised before. All data is stored securely in accordance with the UK Data Protection Act 1998. This study has been reviewed and received a favourable opinion from the University of Surrey Ethics Committee (see Appendix D).
6.9 Conclusion

The methodological approach of this study follows a feminist philosophy, which emphasises the co-production of knowledge between researcher and participants, as well as, the need to identify and understand differences. This requires sensitivity towards ontological distinctiveness, acknowledging that knowledge is partial, situated, relational, as well as, embodied, with Blake (cited in Letherby, 2003, p. 55) noting that “differences are not only [...] culturally constructed, or politically imposed, but also ways of living in a body and thus of being in the world.” An interpretive ontology accentuates gaining an emic understanding of local reality, which was supported by the prolonged engagement in fieldwork and the researcher’s immersion in the local culture. This was paired with a continuous process of personal and epistemological reflexivity, highlighted in the reflection on the subjectivities underpinning this research. The researcher acknowledges her role as a white Western academic, being relatively affluent and highly educated, which positions her in an advantaged and privileged position. To address and reflect on the own positioning, the researcher kept a field diary, which also provided insights to the connection between the personal and the theoretical. The recognition and reflexive engagement with Western values and beliefs have shaped this research throughout, with emphasis being placed on transcending dominant interpretive frames through reflexive and inclusive research praxis to facilitate a (self-) critical engagement with situated knowledges.

The adopted research strategy was an embedded case study, which acknowledges the fluent transition between the case and the cultural context (Yin, 2009). The gendered subjectivities forming part of the politics of community life are studied through people’s experiences of the everyday, with the particularity of the case ensuring a situated understanding of the phenomena under study (Stake, 2000; Walton, 1992). The methodological design was planned carefully to decrease hierarchical relations within the research, being particularly sensitive to the research conducted with children. A power-sensitive approach was facilitated through the use of photography and drawing transferring control and academic authority to research participants. The visual further allowed transcending cultural boundaries, by embracing the particularity of the everyday (Harper, 2002; Scarles, 2010), representing simultaneously embodied performances (see Kearney & Hyle, 2004; Scarles, 2012b). Being a participant-as-observer, in addition to conducting semi-structured qualitative interviews aided in the exploration of values, relationships and practises shaping tour operators’ responsible behaviour and the grammar of politics.
governing community life. Perceiving the personal as political re-directs attention to the household and family level, enabling the study of the often-subtle transformations occurring at the local level. However, it also draws attention to processes where the personal is extended through trust, intuition and self-enlightened interest to account for wider relations of care between tour operators and distant communities.

The challenges and limitations of this research project are noted throughout the discussion of the research phases, further alluding to the central role that translators played in the knowledge production process. The researcher also encountered some difficulties in needing to rely on tripartite research relationships, noting that both researcher and translator’s subjectivities underpin the meaning-making process. This requires transparency and reflexivity throughout the research, including the analytical process. Therefore, the analysis approach was selected carefully, acknowledging the translated nature of the data sources. Thematic analysis was applied, relying on a four-stage approach to coding based on data familiarisation, descriptive coding, interpretive coding and patterning (see King & Horrocks, 2010). The research employed a qualitative data analysis software (NVivo) to support the analysis process, while maintaining the embeddedness of meaning (Joffe, 2012). The final thematic structure and identified patterns are presented in the analysis section of this chapter. Future studies could rely upon a fifth stage of coding based on respondents’ feedback, to discuss the thematic structure with different sub-groups providing additional insights.

In the following three analysis and discussion chapters a dialogic relationship between the context, partial perspectives and theory is established, with the overall trustworthiness of the case residing in the groundedness of the analysis in the data. The researcher recognises the situatedness of findings, which limits their applicability to other populations, though, while taking into consideration the particularities of the case, their theoretical transferability is emphasised (see Harper, 1992; Ridder et al., 2012; Walton, 1992). The subsequent chapter focuses on the business realm of care, which is followed by a detailed discussion of the lived experience of education underpinning the capacity building project. Finally, the wider effects that the girls’ education and empowerment has had on their communities is analysed, followed by the conclusion of the thesis, which also discusses the recommendations arising out of this research.
7. Care, responsibility and trust

7.1 Introduction

This chapter studies tour operators’ engagement in responsible action, to gain an understanding of their conceptualisation of and motivation to care and to analyse how this shapes their approach to capacity building projects in destinations. During the fieldwork and the subsequent analysis of the data, care emerged as a central thread mediating the spheres of everyday-life in communities, as well as tour operators’ involvement in destination projects. The patterns of meaning emerging from the coding process further include that of responsibility and trust, with gender becoming the lens through which the whole analysis is being conducted. The realms of care are influenced by these patterns, on the one hand, with trust being implicit in existing lived relationships, while evolving as enabling narrative in tour operators’ selection and subsequent engagement with projects. On the other hand, tour operators’ responsible behaviour reflects the manifestation of an ethics of care, whilst responsibility in the societal realm becomes subsumed under collective conceptualisation of care that also inform spaces for self-care and opportunities to take responsibility for the self. This chapter focuses primarily on the organisational realm of care, situating the discussion within the different realms of care to illustrate the diverging meaning of care in the societal realm compared to the business sense of care, which is strongly interwoven with the economic performance of companies.

The concept of care emerged in the 1980s based on a feminist understanding of emotive and relational morality (Gilligan, 1982). It complements the conception of morality as being rooted in rights and principles, by embracing the notion of care representing a “social ontology of connection: foregrounding social relationships of mutuality and trust” (Lawson, 2007, p. 3). Social relations are understood as contextual, which allows addressing the power relations underpinning them (ibid), while at the same time emphasising a morality that builds on the notion of attentiveness, responsibility and responsiveness (Tronto, 1993). Tronto (1987) argues that the development of a well-grounded ethic of care requires a consideration of the wider social and philosophical context in which this moral position is being voiced, to avoid a parochial understanding of care. Tourism represents a geographical practise spanning across sites and scales embedded in diverse social contexts, with encounters between different cultures raising philosophical questions about the value of
tourism and its ethical conduct as an industry. The spaces in which tourism takes place are lived social relations that build on mutuality and trust fostered through a network of relations, which includes, but is not limited to tour operators, suppliers, tourists, communities and governments. However, the understanding of care can differ depending on the realm in which caring ideals, actions and relations become manifest.

The following analysis focuses on the organisational realm of care, providing first a short introduction to the understanding and relationships of care within a societal, as well as, organisational context. These two spheres cannot be understood as mutually exclusive and rather overlap engendering a citizenship mandate for businesses, which are deeply embedded in the wider society (Godfrey, 2005). Businesses operate at the intersection of both, the organisational and societal realm, where caring ideals can be challenged - creating a space for caring relations and actions to flourish.

7.2 Realms of care

From a societal perspective care is understood as a relational concept, which requires sensitivity towards and understanding of social interrelationships and embedded responsibilities, which can differ from society to society. Care can be described as a shared disposition of humanity (Hamington, 2001), with the underpinning ethics being an expression of caring for others to sustain these connections (Gilligan, 1982). Hamington (2001, p. 108) defines care as “an approach to personal and social morality that shifts ethical considerations to context, relationships, and affective knowledge”, highlighting at the same time the importance of embodied care. This definition differentiates between the individual and collective level of caring, indicating the potentially diverging or complementing ethics guiding different spheres of caring. It also refers to the importance of caring knowledge being based on emotional ties arising out of the relationships and context individuals inhabit. This foregrounds the importance of embodiment, where the physical presence of people within a web of relationships allows them to experience care, as well as to give care to others and to care for themselves. However, it is crucial to remain critical to the underpinning discourses or implicit assumptions that are governing relations of care building on trust, love and connection. These relations are shaped by culture through the creation of divisions of caring roles and responsibilities between genders, further intersecting with age, class, ethnicity and religion. Therefore, to comprehend the complexity of care requires gaining an understanding of the cultural construction of gendered care and
the implications this has for different experiences of care, which is addressed in the following two chapters.

The embodiment of care has also been studied within the business realm relating it to the social sustainability of corporations (Simola, 2012). However, care is firstly understood as an economic responsibility within the corporate sector and is expressed through the need to maintain the financial viability of businesses. This conception of care, as being directed primarily to the shareholders, complies with Friedman's (1970) view that a business's primary social responsibility is to produce profits, which represents a minimalist approach to CSR (Locke, 2002). However, this narrow conception has been extended to encompass wider stakeholder groups, such as consumers, employees and communities. Hall and Brown (2006) argue for a holistic approach to responsibility, where each stakeholder has a share of responsibility, which is particularly relevant in tourism where different stakeholders take active part in the production and consumption of products and services. It can be argued that in the contemporary business environment CSR has become the standard, though, the term 'social' in CSR has always been loosely defined (Carroll, 1991). In the Pyramid of CSR Carroll (ibid) delineates different spheres of responsibility of businesses towards society, including economic, legal, ethical and philanthropic responsibilities. Making profits and complying with legal requirements can be regarded as the bottom-line of business practise, whereas an ethical business conduct demands striving towards a pro-active care for others, which can be expressed through philanthropic action. The ethic of care in this context is a manifestation of an ethics in terms of responsible behaviour, which complies with or surpasses the legislated or expected duty of care of businesses.

Trust, as a central part of caring relationships and engagements, interacts with the ethics of responsibility, which can be performed, shared or displaced. Education for All (EfA), as an act of responsibility motivated by the drive to care, provides meaningful insights to the embodiment of care and trust within projects. Further, the emerging caring narratives contrasts with the collective conceptualisation of care. These situated narratives engage with the notion of capacity building and access to opportunities, which are negotiated through community power, participation and structures (Aref et al., 2010; Chaskin et al., 2001; Chaskin, 2001). However, the corporate conceptualisation of care enacted through diverse projects does not always correspond with the conceptualisation of care at the community level. In the case of the EfA project the collective perspective of care is being challenged, enabling the project’s potential to engage in capacity building in the first place.
This process is being facilitated through the support of a local leader, which highlights the importance that local leadership has for advancing community-oriented capacity building projects. However, it is also noted that leadership within tourism companies plays a decisive role in shaping firms’ philanthropic engagement (see e.g. Campbell et al., 1999; Du et al., 2013; Hemingway & Maclagan, 2004; Maak & Pless, 2006).

This study engages with the processes through which the support of culturally sensitive projects in destinations is embedding an ethic of care between tour operators and communities. However, to comprehend the tour operators’ role within these processes it is necessary to understand their motivation to support these acts of care. The analysis starts with shedding light on the underpinning motives and expectations driving tour operators’ responsible behaviour. This is followed by an analysis of tour operators’ selection of projects, further discussing the role of leadership, personal values, as well as, intuition and improvisation. This leads to an engagement with the role of trust within these processes and the foundations of trust guiding tour operators caring acts and trusting expectations. However, a detailed analysis of tour operators’ subsequent engagement with projects exceeds the limits of this study.

7.3 Organisational realm of care

Corporate engagement in caring action can be described as a practise, rather than perceiving care as a disposition, which further prevents an over-idealization of care (Tronto, 1993). Tronto (ibid) specifies four elements of this practise: Caring about, taking care of, care-giving and care-receiving. The first two aspects are particularly relevant to the corporate notion of care, as companies have to first recognise and acknowledge the need to care to engage in caring actions. Lawson (2007, p. 1) recognises the increasing extension of “market relations into caring realms of our lives”, which highlights the gradual shift of responsibility from the public to the private sector, which Clarke et al. (2007) refer to as the corporate ‘transnationalisation’ of responsibilities. They argue that this accounts for the “appellation ‘ethical’ in the UK, in so far as the motivations and justifications that circulate through these practises tend to be less on political vocabulary of reciprocal rights and obligations and more on a vocabulary of responsibility, compassion and care” (ibid, p. 242).

This is also reflected in the tourism industry, where the need for more responsible business practises to maximise positive and reduce negative externalities accompanying tourism development, has long been recognised (Butler, 1995).
This raises the challenge of ‘caring at a distance’ (Barnett & Land, 2007, p. 1065), with Massey (2004) arguing for a relational and embodied conception of responsibility, which further denotes extension of this responsibility. This converts the motivation to care in a dialogical encounter, rather than a monologic consideration of duties (Barnett & Land, 2007). One way that companies have acknowledged their increasing responsibility to the wider society is through their engagement in CSR. A study by Graafland and van de Ven (2006) found that the financial motive for corporate engagement in CSR is particularly linked to caring about employee and customer relations. Philanthropy on the other hand, can be conceptualised as a form of care for community and environmental issues. It can extend to surrounding communities, but especially in tourism, it often encompasses ‘caring at a distance’, due to the geographically dispersed nature of tourism. Tourism links the global with the local, being at the same time a global practise and a locally grounded experience.

Philanthropy forms part of the pyramid of CSR, as conceptualised by Carroll (1991) and is also represented in Locke’s (2002) fourfold typology of CSR. It reflects a wider voluntary engagement of corporations in other-regarding acts of care. This engagement becomes evident in the multiple projects that are being supported by tour operators across the industry, which also reflects the way tourism companies are investing in CSR. These projects are frequently situated in the destinations that tour operators conduct their tours in and are often small-scale projects, such as local women’s cooperatives. This reflects the relational ethic underpinning care, with tour operators engaging in projects to signal their caring attitude to customers and communities alike. This further communicates to communities, tour operators’ longer-term interest in destinations. However, this connectivity also requires recognition of the responsibilities that form part of these relations and practises. These may vary depending on the type and degree of involvement, with Tronto (1993) emphasising that the responsibility emerging from caring acts necessitates continuous evaluation. There are different forms of engagement, with some tour operators donating money to foundations, such as the Travel Foundation in the UK, who operates a portfolio of projects across different destinations. Another form of social investment is to support a specific cause on a worldwide scale, rather than specific projects, through donating money, for example, to the children’s non-profit organisation UNICEF or the World-Wide Fund for Nature (WWF). This illustrates that caring can take many different forms and it can also be outsourced, by paying others for the performance of care. This
raises questions about donors’ motivations to support these projects, as well as tour operators’ commitment to these initiatives.

Goodwin (2011) argues that responsible tourism represents the CSR strategy of UK tourism businesses. This perspective does not address the multifaceted operationalization of elements of CSR and responsible practise within the industry and it might infer that it is the responsibility of some and not all tour operators to pursue responsible business practises. Therefore, it is crucial to remain critical why these acts of care are being performed and for whom, which touches upon the underpinning intention to care and to recognise that it is not the responsibility of some, but the joint responsibility of tourism actors to adopt more responsible business practises. A comprehensive analysis of all aspects pertaining to the CSR strategy of businesses would go beyond the scope of this study. Rather, this study focuses on the philanthropic engagement of tour operators to analyse their caring ideals and selection of projects in destination communities. To understand tour operators’ conceptualisation of care and manifestations of responsibility requires gaining an insight to why tour operators are motivated to care.

7.3.1 Care as an expression of altruistic intent

Tour operators’ motivation to donate money builds largely on a philanthropic orientation of giving something back to the communities as well as to do good and be good neighbours. “It is putting something back into the communities that we travel through that is the most appropriate way” (TO1/INT1). The altruistic intention driving the original idea can be defined as a caring act that “appears to be motivated mainly out of a consideration of another’s needs rather than one’s own” (Piliavin & Charng, 1990, p. 30). The tour operators emphasised that they are not gaining any direct benefits from supporting the projects; instead their main motivation to donate money is to benefit the projects. “[W]e only hope that the project will benefit [...] but it is absolutely not that it is benefitting us. [...] It is just for helping out that is the main reason.” (TO4) These findings are also supported in other studies, for example Du et al. (2013) identify individual social consciousness as a key determinant of firms charitable giving, with altruistic reasons being much more prevalent than business reasons for this behaviour. This practise foregrounds the role of individuals in taking decisions that shape companies’ responsible behaviour, although, critics hold that all human actions are motivated by a form of self-interest, which Baier (1993) refers to as psychological egoism. Godfrey (2005) argues that this can lead to negative moral capital, if
consumers, communities and interested stakeholders perceive projects to be targeted acts of ingratiation or a form of hypocritical care. Tour operators can counteract negative evaluations by being strategic in project investment, as this redresses the critique of being opportunistic and inconsistent (ibid). This alludes to a form of continuum between altruistic and strategic motives driving firms' responsible behaviour.

Hemingway and Maclagan (2004) include a scale for motivation ranging from altruistic to strategic motives in their two-dimensional CSR framework, further differentiating between the individual and corporate locus of responsibility. They situate the responsibility rather within the individual than the corporate realm, arguing that the personal values of decision-makers are driving CSR activities. This highlights the importance of responsible leadership in driving the altruistic impulse of companies (see e.g. Maak & Pless, 2006), which are further negotiated by company strategy. This reflects that leaders' decisions are informed by a sense of corporate responsibility, as they are not 'offsetting' their own actions, but those of the company in the form of a self-imposed restriction of business conduct to meet ethical and environmental standards. Still, due to the self-imposed nature of many of these activities, it is crucial to acknowledge the influential role of leaders/managers in shaping company's caring actions. Particularly on an individual level an important reason for donating money for people is to feel better or good about themselves (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011). Therefore, tour operators' inclination to engage in caring acts might consciously or unconsciously be driven by the individual expectation of deriving personal satisfaction from 'doing good'. The individual dynamics that are driving this behaviour have been associated to a 'joy of giving' (see e.g. Ribar & Wilhelm, 2002), which emphasises the embodied experience of giving, with not only the expectations, but also the potential drivers of this behaviour being rooted in people's feelings and emotions.

Respondents emphasise that their motive to care is embedded in their feeling that these are 'worthy' or 'right' causes. "We do that, because we feel that it is something worth supporting in a particular area." (TO1/INT1) Another respondent commented: "We more do it for what we think feels right." (TO2) This is also expressed as a form of concern for others, which Simola (2012) identifies as a crucial feature of embodied care within organisational life. "I think perhaps in a Muslim country we feel more closer to the girls than to the boys. I think that the girls in these countries they don't have that much opportunity" (TO4). In this quotation the tour operator identifies herself with the girls in a Muslim country context, who potentially have less access to opportunities, due to their gender. Her emotional
reaction is to ‘feel closer’ to these girls and hence, feeling the need to care. This emotional response positions caring action towards the altruistic end of the motivational continuum, although it represents an individual response, it can in turn drive organisational affiliation. Companies’ dynamic organisational structure provides opportunities for individuals to mobilise their personal desires through the organisation. This is also expressed in the quotation below, where support is given to a particular area, due to the directors’ personal connection with this region.

“[O]ne year [...] we just went in winter to Ait Bougemas valley and bought some food for the boarding school and it was given to the girls there, because our directors were originally from the area there, so they did that support there.” (Agent)

On the organisational level there can also be a sense of affiliation developing over time, which builds upon best practise and the continued engagement with different projects or businesses; “if you look at the volume of business, you can see that the Kasbah du Toubkal on a very regular basis is one of our favourite accommodations” and people behind the EfA “are the same trustworthy people” (TO4). Tour operators’ sense of affiliation is reflected through the mostly long-term support they provide to a number of projects, which has facilitated the emergence of a shared understanding based on past experience. Referring to a local hospital in Uganda, a tour operator commented how they developed a sense of affiliation through visiting the project with tourists, with one of their staff members falling ill and being treated there, as well. “[O]ur groups all used to go there and the doctors they used to give us a talk about what they were doing. It’s very, very small; it’s about a 112 people. So, after they looked after one of our staff we continued to help fund the project” (TO1/INT1). This reflects that developing shared understandings and affiliations are salient features of the "spatial extensiveness of care" (Lawson, 2007, p. 6), fostering the extension of care “over geographical space and to people different from oneself” (Barnett & Land, 2007, p. 1066).

The importance of caring across distance is crucial in tourism, which takes place in many different places. Embodied caring practises can foster identification with distant-others through a morality that builds on attentiveness, compassion and responsiveness to other people’s needs (Tronto, 1993). This further corresponds with the moral dimension of care as a ‘moral understanding’ of others (Blum, 1993). Blum (ibid) describes this as an understanding not only of the needs of others, but also as an understanding of the
connection of oneself in relation to others. This emphasises the affective and cognitive dimensions of care. However, the potential problem of regarding these as drivers of caring acts is that not all tour operators might have the same sensitivity towards the needs of others or take an active stance informed by care. Further, as mentioned earlier, tour operators’ approach to philanthropy is negotiated through their strategic orientation, with feelings being interwoven with their business motives driving their responsible behaviour. ‘Good projects’ were not only described as projects that would benefit the local community, but also provide a good experience for their customers. Tour operators saw it as their aim to be “responsible for everything that we will be welcomed back to community” (TO1/INT2). This reflects a more strategic approach to caring, where projects are perceived as actively contributing to building goodwill within local communities and enhancing customer experience.

7.3.2 Caring strategically

Corporations are adopting an increasingly strategic approach to philanthropy (Saiia et al., 2003), which indicates that altruistic intentions are renegotiated through the strategic directions of organisations. A good example of this wider shift of companies’ investment in CSR in the tourism industry is TUI Travel, which is aligning its philanthropic projects with its business aims (TUI, 2015). This highlights that care as an expression of altruistic intentions is strongly tied to business intentions and interests, with the latter being conclusive for the decision to support philanthropic projects. Tour operators’ approach predominantly takes the form of being responsible for strategy, with Khairat and Maher (2012) reporting that there is still a dominant gap between tour operators’ strategy and its implementation. A shift towards strategic responsibility requires not only a strategic approach to philanthropy, but also an increasing incorporation of these philanthropic projects into the overall orientation of the company (see Post & Waddock, 1995). This would allow the company to move from caring strategically to strategic care. In this study, tour operators appear to be strategic in their decision to support projects in destinations they travel to, as well as in their integration of some of these projects into their tours to strengthen their product value. This can be described as ‘good sustainable business sense’, if projects are aimed at building basic infrastructure in destinations, which also supports the smooth operations of tours, or if they are positively influencing community attitudes towards tourists. The latter aspect is something that tour operators cannot control, but
through the projects they can try to manage these and foster more benevolent community attitudes. The relevance of community goodwill for company success is emphasised as:

“I like to think that all our guests when they walk out of the door [...] are greeted warmly and I believe this can largely only take place, if you are welcomed in the society. [...] We want to, need to be liked in order for us to be highly successful”. (T03)

Tour operators’ motivation to care, hence, does not solely arise out of their desire to care, but also corresponds with their business interests. Their desire to care intersects with the necessity to care, in order to be liked, both going hand in hand with business viability and profitability. These findings also concord with other research reporting on a range of benefits that can result from responsible business action (see e.g. Leslie, 2012; Maak & Pless, 2006; Nicolau, 2008). The motivation to care strategically, hence, is rooted in businesses’ self-interest given that it is based on the expectation of some form of return. This has also been termed ‘enlightened self-interest’ in the literature (Campbell et al., 1999; Ryan, 2002), which Hall and Brown (2006) identify as a key determinant of socially responsible practise. The expected return is not conceptualised on an individual level, such as the previously alluded to ‘joy of giving’, but on the corporate level, having wider influences on the stakeholder network. Tour operators’ motivation to care is mainly rooted in cultivating customer and community relations. The expectations governing their behaviour were foremost about being welcomed back by the community, corresponding with the concept of being a good neighbour and providing customers with an interesting experience.

“I have talked to business people [...] where I could say that it is all in our self-interest that it is our self-long-term interest to be liked. I can easily argue how all this makes very good business sense. [...] A business that is successful for everybody involved and including people who are only slightly involved, but they are involved, because you are operating in their environment.” (T03)

Caring for the needs of the community can be understood as a ‘license to operate’ (Goodwin, 2011), with tour operators emphasising the need to benefit the wider community, not only those members of the community that are receiving a direct benefit from their operations. This is reflected in the previous quotations, where the conceptualisation of success of the tour operator corresponds with caring for the wider community. The tour operator recognises that his business is operating in a highly interdependent environment, where the
experience of customers correlates with the experience of directly and indirectly involved community members, who are ‘hosting’ tourists in their local villages. Therefore, by investing in projects that benefit the wider community, the tour operator is improving the competitive environment in which they are conducting their tours. Addressing the competitive “context enables a company not only to give money, but also to leverage its capabilities and relationships in support of charitable causes” (Porter & Kramer, 2002, p. 6). This reflects that tour operators are situated within a stakeholder network, where relationships cannot be understood as bilateral, but rather reflect multilateral relations of care.

“For me that is the Holy Grail to find worthwhile projects for them to be interesting for our customers, we are tour operators having tours after all. For them to be interesting not just worthy [...] that is something that I apply to build into our top fifty tours where it is destinations that encourage such projects.” (TO1/INT2)

Finding worthwhile projects for customers was described as the ‘holy grail’ by one of the tour operators, with the projects becoming part of tour operators’ responsible tourism agenda. “[W]e talk about responsible tourism as in that sort of projects, different projects we do, who come under responsible tourism” (TO2). It has also been highlighted in the tourism literature that responsible action is becoming increasingly geared towards providing more enjoyable holiday experiences for tourists (Spenceley & Rylance, 2012). This represents a form of product differentiation, with tourists on a tour visiting some of initiatives to learn about the project’s mission, to donate or buy something and/or to participate actively within the project. By the very nature of tourism, which is not an end product that is purchased from a shelf, the tourist has arguably more insights to the operational processes accompanying the performance of care. Responsible behaviour ‘on tour’ also serves to address the concerns that tourists have about their potential negative environmental and socio-cultural impacts, with their feelings of ‘guilt’ being mitigated through the opportunity to care.

“[T]he customers are always keen on that, so they always ask you: ‘We are tourists, do we have a bad impact on the environment or on the local custom? What do you think?’ Then you say no, because of this, this and this, and as part of our itinerary we will be visiting community work project, or cooperative, or such a thing.” (Agent)
The moral inclination of customers to care about their impacts is underpinned by an ethic of displaced responsibility. Customers do not situate the locus of responsibility within themselves, but rather expect from the tour operator to provide them with a responsible tourism experience, as expressed in the quotation above. This experience can be based on a visit to community projects reassuring customers that they are not having a negative impact on local communities and the environment. Customers are witnessing care whilst on holiday, while the responsibility is shifted from the tour operator to the projects they engage with, with the latter’s performed responsibility seemingly offsetting potential negative impacts that tours might have in destinations. This questions the actual commitment of organisations to responsible business practise, as they are ‘paying’ others for the performance of care. However, this reflects the multiple grey areas underpinning ethics, which also relates to the outsourcing of care and the degree of responsibility that accompanies this practise.

Still, tour operators’ approach reflects that the motive to care can be strategically linked to their product offering and positioning as responsible tour operators, offering the tourists a responsible tourist experience. Consequently, tour operators expectations are not only linked to the positive effect projects might have on local communities, but also to the effect this engagement has on their customers and their staff. This is reflected through the different layers of education underpinning the practise of care, with education not only being an outcome of capacity building projects. The practise of caring, in the form of performed responsible behaviour is itself a participative process that allows for experiential learning. This is not limited to the agent that is giving care (e.g. project leaders), but can also include tourists visiting the project, with their experience being aimed at educating them about responsible tourism practises (see e.g. Novelli & Burns, 2010). Performed responsibility becomes about experiencing and learning about different cultures and social issues. This process intertwines with people's senses, as they are able to actively participate, see and understand difference, with the learning process being explained as ‘eye opening’ in the subsequent example of a landmine project in Cambodia. However, these types of visits are not possible with all projects and the EfA project forms a clear exception.

“People go there and they listen to people talking about mine clearing and the impact of mines and the impacts on the economies of abilities when you have these kind of injuries, which stops people working basically and resources are needed to
Projects are also employed to communicate preferred company ethics to employees, as illustrated in the following quotation. This practise is aimed at educating staff members about the value of these projects and the morale of caring. This can strengthen corporate ethos by transmitting company values to staff members and it can also support staff retention (see e.g. Bohdanowicz & Zientara, 2008), if employees identify themselves with these practices. These different layers of education illustrate that caring can be described as a synergistic practise, which can have wider effects beyond the act of caring.

“For all the projects that we have now, I want to make sure that we educate our staff about them, not just about them, but why we support them, why they are a good thing. That is why we started to get some of the bigger charities in to our offices and they give talks about conservation” (TO1/INT2).

The previous arguments have illustrated that caring strategically can take many different forms and it can even become actively implicated in the product offering of tour operators. This multifaceted engagement in projects can strengthen company image and ethos, while displaying a caring relationship with communities. A strategic engagement in caring acts builds on an understanding of the tacit connections underpinning the societal and corporate context and recognition of the individual dynamics guiding this process. With care building on the emotions, understanding and actions of tour operators, it transcends the individual and business sphere by actively engaging with communities in destinations. This positions caring acts as strategic endeavours, which respond to the wider moral role of companies in society (Saia et al., 2003).

7.3.3 Obligatory care

Tour operators express a sense of moral duty to care, which is rooted in the responsible operation of their business. Their sense of responsibility follows a pragmatic business approach, which bases the need to care on the capacity to care, in terms of available resources that can be invested in projects. Tronto (1993) identifies attentiveness as the ‘initiating’ moral element of care, which requires sensitivity towards others and compassion (see e.g. Simola, 2012). However, in the business realm this form of attentiveness is paired with the economic imperative of ‘profit maximisation’, which can be understood as investing in projects that will have the greatest effect or benefit for the community. It could
be argued that this reflects a utilitarian perspective, which Fennell (2009) terms to be a prevalent approach in Western societies. Hall and Brown (2006) critique the ethnocentric application of this concept in tourism, which is mainly concerned with maximising tourists’ happiness. However, tour operators emphasise the maximisation of benefits for communities, which is underpinned by a sense of efficiency driving their motivation to care. This is expressed in relation to caring for specific groups in society, such as women and specific topics, such as education.

“[T]he people that are affected most often by poverty are women and [...] if you can help education, especially education with regards to women, then that is probably one of the most effective ways for spending money.” (TO1/INT1)

The previous quotation illustrates that tour operators’ perspective of care builds on the moral obligation to care for those most in need. The ethics underpinning this behaviour can be described as an internalised feeling of social responsibility, expressed through the notion of ‘how you ought to act’. This reflects an amalgam of ethical values and economic values (see e.g. Smith & Duffy, 2003), with the obligation to care in the business context arising at the intersection of both, as illustrated below:

“I think it is important, if you operate a business that you do so in a decent manner and you consider where there is the opportunity to improve the situation for people. If you make those decisions, you should not make those decisions lightly. They should be with a long-term consequence in mind and if you are fortunate enough to have money to be able to distribute it, then it goes without saying that this should be on projects that will maximize the benefits for those communities.” (TO1/INT1)

Rather, than stemming from an altruistic urge to contribute to society care is conceptualised as the need (obligation) ‘to give back’, due to established relationships within the destination through which businesses thrive. This reflects a wider stakeholder perspective based on the interdependent web of relationships in which tourism businesses are able to operate, which also relates to their role as intermediaries. This position also endows them with the capacity to engage other tourism actors in responsible action. This is reflected in the subsequent quotation, where a tour operator comments on the limited social engagement or investment of other tourism actors, arguing that they ‘should do more’. The motivation to effect change in others reflects part of the tenets of a social activist approach to responsible action (Locke, 2002), with the tour operator further reflecting on his own
inspiration to care. The latter resulted from the interaction with other people, including John Wood, who has established a non-profit organization called ‘Room to Read’ (Room to Read, 2015). This illustrates the capacity of care to inspire other people to care.

“[W]e got started with the association and EfA [...], because of people I have been involved with, in meeting John Wood’s and meeting other people in the tourism industry in Marrakesh and thinking they should do more perhaps of what they were doing [...] to give back a bit into the country in which they make their living.” (TO3)

Simola (2012) reflected on the role of caring imagination (see Hamington, 2001) in businesses, highlighting the importance of a form of caring knowledge to extend care to others. This embodied knowledge results from the experience of being cared for, which fosters an individual to develop the ability to care for distant others, who are not directly known to the individual. Within a business environment, care can be experienced, for example, by seeing other corporations engaging in social and ethical behaviour. This can then inspire others to aspire to the same standards within their businesses. However, Buckley (2012) observes that change within the tourism industry is rather initiated by changes in wider social attitudes and values, rather than through ‘best practise’, as a benchmark for performances between businesses. However, the boundaries between personal values, business values and wider societal values are fluid and change is driven across these different levels. Perrini and Minoja (2008) for example, emphasise the importance of corporate leaders’ value and belief system in shaping business’s responsible behaviour. It is crucial to understand the dynamic interplay between these levels to be able to foster a business environment in which caring becomes the underpinning morality driving business ethics.

Avoiding an over-idealization of care, however, requires investigating those motives that might be implicitly or covertly driving tour operators’ engagement in caring actions. On the one hand, organisations might be driven by the social obligation to care, rather than by the moral orientation of the company. Tour operators did not emphasise this reason in the interviews, but businesses which engage in philanthropy often do that to respond to societal expectations (Carroll, 1991). These societal expectations might also be expressed through customer demand, with around 50% of tourists being willing to pay more for responsible holidays, as reported in a study by Goodwin and Francis (2003). On the other hand, the need to care might arise, due to the structure of the tourism sector, which is
characterised by strong competition (Miller, 2001), with a form of non-price competition driving part of tour operators’ responsible behaviour (Goodwin, 2011). Therefore, a competition around the ethicality of business practise might enhance the overall ethical standards on which tour operators base the operations of their business. Goodwin highlights the role of Thomas Cook Group and TUI Travel, whose responsible business practises have “created favourable conditions to extend ideas across Europe” (ibid, p. 93). However, this perspective might also lead to the instrumental use of other-regarding acts of care to build a caring image of the organisation mainly to enhance brand reputation.

Public recognition plays a key role in this context, with some of the respondents’ companies having won awards for their social engagement. These companies position themselves as responsible tour operators in the market and through this positioning they have also become accountable to their customers and employees to operate their business responsibly. This indicates that to a certain degree their philanthropic giving is inspired by their expectation to be seen as a responsible tour operator and to secure a loyal customer base as well as to attract new customers. This raises questions as to how tour operators are selecting their responsible engagements, which is discussed subsequently.

7.4 Selection of projects

There exists no universal mechanism or methodology adopted by tour operators when selecting the projects and communities that they choose to engage with. Rather, the process of selection becomes embedded within a complex mix of purposive action, informal recommendation and serendipitous opportunity. This section now draws upon empirical evidence to critique these processes.

Tour operators’ support of projects in destinations, including capacity building projects, can be equated to the organisational level of capacity building, which emphasises the role of external support, resource mobilisation and community leadership (Aref et al., 2010). The main support tour operators provide is financial, which reflects their crucial role in providing outside funding to sustain the long-term feasibility of tourism-related projects. Nepal (2004) further highlights the importance of technical support, though, this was less emphasised in the interviews. Tour operators approach the selection of projects either directly, selecting projects themselves, or indirectly, delegating this task, for example to the ground-handling agents. The direct selection of projects was dominated by solicitation from non-profit organisations at the office of the tour operating company, or solicitations from
other interested parties. However, this approach to selecting projects may lead to systematic problems, as worthy, but non-articulated causes may not find their way into tour operators’ choice set. Particularly the larger tour operator participating in this study was often visited by non-profit organisations that were interested in receiving funding for their projects. “They came to me out of the blue, cold call basically, they came to the office and I sat with them for an hour.” (TO1/INT2). So, the selection process was not only about identifying projects, but also weaving out alternative options, being able to dismiss ideas as so much as to select ideas.

Within this process of selection, a form of basic continuum can be identified, with tour operators’ formality of investigation depending on the scale of the planned investment as well as on the degree of trust in the other party. The formality of investigation is higher, if the project’s concept will be applied to a whole range of tours and/or across costumers and ground handling agents. In this case, more formal selection criteria are applied and more time is spent on researching the particular project. However, if the project will only affect a small number of tours, informal criteria predominate, which build strongly on personal intuition and trust relations. Independently, if the tour operator trusts the counterpart, this also decreases the level of investigation prior to selecting a project. The prevalence of trust is exemplified in the trust relationship tour operators have with their local agents and/or tour leaders, although, the level of trust may vary. As the importance of trust in the selection process is emphasised across the interviews, the role of trust is addressed in an individual section, with the continuum of selection being exemplified in the quotation below.

“[I]f it’s a small project that applies to one or two tours that perhaps have two or three departures each year that is going to be fairly quick. But if it’s something that we think can be rolled out to most our African or actually its concept across to all our customers, to all our ground agents that is certainly worth while, yeah its worth a lot more time” (TO1/INT2).

Tour operators’ portfolio of projects in destinations can vary widely in the number and type of projects they support. Usually tour operators have a budget for charitable causes each year, within which they select a range of social and environmental projects. “It is part about numbers, there is a certain amount that I spent each year on projects and they are split in between sort of environment and people and animals” (TO1/INT1). Their involvement ranges from choosing a project to integrate it within the tours, or to point it out to
customers to providing actual contributions to the project. The project portfolio of the previously quoted tour operator includes fifteen projects, which receive direct financial support, with a much larger set of projects that are being included within the tours. Direct support is given to “about 15, but then we have at least another 100 projects overseas that we don’t support financially, but our customers visit and they make contributions or contribute when they return” (T01/INT1). The withdrawal of support is often associated to the business operating fewer tours within a specific area, which raises the importance of the appellation ‘destination’ communities in the selection of projects.

“We try to have a mixed portfolio of projects overseas; sometimes we have to pull away and not do things. I won’t mention the country right now, but there is a project we have been supporting for a long time, but we are almost totally disassociated with the area now. But, I kept it going for a number and years, because I don’t like to chop and change, but at some stage or another you have to reconsider what you are doing and decide whether you wish to continue or not.” (T01/INT1)

The final decisions over which projects are going to be supported or not is often taken by the director of these companies. The director “is the main person, everything in that respect you have to get [name of director] to sign of” (T02). This reflects the influential role that business leaders have on these selection processes. However, within capacity building it is often the role of community leaders that is being emphasised, whereas the negotiations taking place between the community and organisational realm facilitating these projects is highly dependent on business leaders.

7.4.1 Community and business leadership

The role of community leadership has been emphasised across the capacity building literature (see e.g. Aref & Redzuan, 2009b; Blackman, 2008; Chaskin et al., 2001; Manyara & Jones, 2007). In this research, the influential role of a local community leader became apparent through the cooperation between a tour operator and a community leader in establishing local projects. The community leader actively participated in the conception of the local development association and the EfA project, with his approval and support being decisive throughout the development stages, providing social legitimacy to these initiatives (see e.g. Iorio & Corsale, 2014). Manyara and Jones (2007) emphasise the role of leadership skills particularly within the early stages of founding a project, with the local leader himself commenting that “the idea for the association is his idea; because he sees the rubbish
everywhere and people they don't care about the environment [...] but the idea of EfA is for both of them" (Community Leader). With 'both' he refers to himself and the tour operator, who conceptualised the project together. The tour operator commented, “almost all that I do there up in the mountain starts with [name of community leader] and obviously, if he had objections [these] would have come from the local community, i.e. he passed them on” (TO3). Consequently, the participation of local leaders allows for an increased consideration of community demands, though, it is important to remain sensitive to the potential power position embodied by the local leader.

The overwhelming power of the community leader and the local association became apparent during the fieldwork, with community members being restrained in talking about the local leader or the association. However, some critiqued that the members of the association are using their position to their advantage and not to benefit the wider community and those most in need. Aref et al. (2010) also identify local leadership as a constraint to effective capacity building in their findings, due to local leaders’ failure to make resources and skills available to the wider community. Despite these critiques, it can be argued that consideration of local needs can be fostered through the cooperation with community leaders (see Iorio & Corsale, 2014; Manyara & Jones, 2007), with cooperation itself being identified as a useful approach to building local capacities (Monypenny, 2008). Cooperation is facilitated through the local presence of tour operators, with one of the tour operators basing his main operations in Morocco and France. A locally situated approach allows for an increased integration of the local community in the different project stages. “I haven’t tried to do a project without heavy local involvement” (TO3). This approach differs from the ‘removed’ practise of providing financial support for projects. However, in many cases this situated approach to caring is not feasible, particularly in the case of larger tour operators who operate tours around the world.

It can be highlighted that, although the role of community leadership is less emphasised in the selection of projects, the role of organisational leadership plays a key role in advancing companies’ responsible behaviour (see e.g. Du et al., 2013; Maak & Pless, 2006). Hemingway and Mclagan (2004) emphasise the key role that personal values of individuals have in shaping companies’ CSR approach, with a transformational leadership style being associated to an increased engagement in philanthropy, whereas a transactional leadership style is not (Du et al., 2013). One characteristic of transformational leaders is charisma (Bass, 1991), which is based on a concern for moral and ethical consequences of actions, as
well as, communication of values and beliefs (Du et al., 2013). It can be argued that these transformational leadership values are partly driving tour operators’ engagement in projects overseas, as expressed in the morally obligatory sense of care and the altruistic impulses influencing this behaviour. These values and beliefs are further communicated to the staff as illustrated before; by showcasing some of these projects to employees in tour operators’ headquarter. Therefore, an understanding of the selection processes guiding tour operators’ responsible behaviour requires an engagement with the personal values of leaders underpinning this process. Leaders, in this context, are referred to as the managers or directors of the firm, who are in charge of taking decisions over the organisation’s charitable project portfolio.

7.4.2 Personal values of leaders

The selection process is informed by the personal values of leaders and/or business philosophy. Leaders’ values are often expressed through the preferences guiding their selection of projects, which Hemingway and Maclagan (2004, p. 39) refer to as their “exercise of managerial discretion”. This relates to Buckley’s (2012) description of responsibility as an attitude opposed to an outcome, with discretion referring to the managers’ liberty to choose the projects they deem appropriate, or otherwise not to engage in philanthropic action. However, their personal values can also intertwine with company objectives, as reflected in the quotation below. The passage reflects a leader’s personal preference for educational projects and his recent decision to link the selection of projects to his business philosophy.

“[F]or me training and education is pivotal, if you can improve that in a country [...] that makes such differences than compared to just giving money for something [...] This year for the first time ever, what we decided was looking at everything that we do overseas internally. Everything has to link back to education [as part of business philosophy] in one way or another, because before it was a bit hotchpotch.”

(TO1/INT2)

Initially, projects were selected on a whole range of matters, referred to in the quotation as ‘hotchpotch’, including social, environmental and economic issues. The increasing rationalisation and adaptation of the selection of projects to the current business model, is associated to a number of factors, including the leader’s personal values and the desire to gain an increasing control and oversight over projects. Potentially it is also correlated to the
participation in this research, which might have raised an increasing awareness towards these issues. This is illustrated through the shift in responses from the first to the second interview, for example, being reflected in the formulation ‘for the first time ever’. This suggests that tour operators’ are beginning to see these charitable projects more as part of their company strategy, which reflects a shift from caring strategically towards strategic care. This is also mirrored in the wider shift of companies’ investment in CSR (Saiia et al., 2003), with charitable projects being increasingly employed to improve the strategic position and the competitive advantage of companies (Porter & Kramer, 2002). This requires the adoption of more formal selection criteria addressing the questions: Does the project “fit in with our ethics? What we want as a company? Does it work in a context of where our tours go to in a country?” (TO1/INT1) However, this can be described as an emerging strategy as most of the respondents still followed a predominately ad-hoc approach to project selection, which is discussed in more detail in the following section.

Respondents further emphasised a preference for non-contentious, as well as, long-term projects and projects with tangible outcomes. This provides insights to the preferred content of care ethics, with tour operators specifying this along the lines of being uncompromising, long lasting and measurable. First, there is a preference for non-contentious projects. This reflects that tour operators’ dynamic relations with diverse stakeholders can lead to conflicting conceptualisations of care. Particularly for tour operators, who operate their tours in a range of different cultural contexts, a culturally sensitive approach to caring is fundamental to facilitate projects that benefit community life. For example, one tour operator said that trees and education are “two goals that there is nothing wrong with that” (TO4). Tour operators’ preference for non-contentious projects reflects that they are aware of the potential risk of supporting controversial projects. Such an involvement might have the opposite effect to building community goodwill and it might also lead to wider reputational damage for the company. They, therefore, support generally agreed upon ‘good’ causes that build upon widely held and accepted moral values, such as environmental protection and education. Godfrey (2005) refers to this as building general moral capital, which is the optimal strategy for firms with high business exposure. Such a non-contentious approach is exemplified in the EfA project, which conforms to the norms and values guiding community life. This approach is characterised by an affinity to the social and cultural context of the destination. However, within this socially and culturally conform approach there is scope for change, which is perceived as something that ‘happens slowly’. This
incremental change process is being encouraged through tour operators’ involvement, as exemplified in the following quotation and will be discussed in more detail in the ninth chapter.

“We said that we don’t impose our values, or try to impose our values. There are some women working at the [name of resort], but not very many and they are only making bread and things. We are trying to encourage it to happen slowly and I guess the fact that we give EfA the importance to make it see.” (T03)

Second, tour operators expressed a preference for projects with tangible outcomes. This can be related to the limited monitoring activity tour operators engage in (Holden & Kealy, 1996), with donors in general, demanding limited information from non-profit organisations they support (Goodwin, 2008). Therefore, investing in projects with tangible outputs provides tour operators with a measurable outcome. One tour operator argued that “fifty per cent of the time possibly we try to get something so, if we spend x amount of money we provided ten false legs or thirty cows” (T01/INT1). This also reflects the difficulty of measuring qualitative compared to quantitative outcomes, with the latter being more easily communicated to stakeholders. Tour operators argued that they “are actually not very good in scaling the success, probably because it’s quite hard to measure that in a way” (T02). This is reflected in the subsequent quotation, where one respondent commented that she never received any information from the EfA project, expressing the interest in having more insights to the projects’ progress. In comparison, she is aware of all the facts and figures of the tree-planting project she supports. This can be related to the latter being a more quantitatively measurable outcome (number of trees) and to the potentially more active engagement of the project leaders with donors.

“[W]e have never received from EfA any results or information about the project. And the tree project, yes, I know about the trees and I know the number of trees that have been surviving and how it works. So, some projects give more background information than the other ones.” (T04)

Third, tour operators expressed an interest in long-term commitments, which is reflected in the longevity of most of the projects they invest in. This is “something we do not go into lightly, we do not tend to chop and change” (T01/INT1). This allows addressing one central constraint of projects, which is the often short-term nature of support provided by development agencies. Erskine and Meyer (2012, p. 350) argue that this has led to “a
plethora of failing tourism projects”. Another respondent commented, “[we] want to provide sustainable support, but then also conversely we don’t want them to be relying on us” (T02). This reflects that tour operators’ decision to support a project is usually taken under the premise to provide long-term support. However, the previous quotation also reflects the moral concern of creating a dependency relationship. The underpinning difficulty is to determine the ‘right’ amount, duration and kind of support, as the unpremeditated long-term provision of financial support can hinder projects from developing a more self-reliant business model over time. Financial dependency can place projects in a vulnerable position, highlighting further the potential negative effects tour operators disassociation with a specific destination can have, in terms of wider withdrawal of funds previously available to local non-profit organisations and NGOs (see e.g. Carey et al., 1997; Curtin & Busby, 1999).

Still, the financial structure of projects is not static and it can change from being either tourism dependent or funded in cooperation with government officials, community organisations or NGOs, towards a self-reliant structure (Briedenhann, 2011; Erskine & Meyer, 2012). Simpson (2008) further refers to tourism revenue-sharing schemes, which deliver benefits to the community, without the latter being directly involved in the tourism initiative. These transitions can further be supported by capacity building, which provides opportunities for individual and business development. Weiler and Ham (2002) emphasise the importance of training local trainers, which would allow for a sustained capacity building process after projects have finished. Education is key for building human capital, which is further considered to be an essential requirement for development (Koutra & Edwards, 2012). In a study of capacity building for rural development, Murray and Dunn (1995) highlight that each stage of capacity building needs to be geared towards lessening the dependence on outside agents. However, Simpson (2008) contends that community ownership and control of tourism initiatives is not a key requisite for successful capacity building. He rather emphasises communication and commitment among involved stakeholders as crucial factors, which raises the importance of a cooperative approach to capacity building (see Monypenny, 2008). Still, it can be argued that capacity building can foster increasing self-reliance within projects, raising the opportunity of employing training programmes to build local leadership skills, instead of viewing community leaders as mere facilitators or implementers of projects. However, the caveats underpinning a long-term
approach without proper oversight of projects that are being supported remain and are emphasised as:

“The problem is that some of the projects we have been supporting for thirty years maybe and maybe they are successful, but maybe they are not as good as they could be, but because we have such a good relationship with them we continue to help.”

(TO2)

Long-term support of projects without evaluation of progress and need for support, can lead to inefficient allocation of funds. In a study by Du et al. (2013), the authors find that transactional leadership improves the link between philanthropic engagement and organisational outcomes. “Transactional leaders are more likely to apply a transactional, input-output mindset [...] and seek to maximize the societal impact at a given level of CSR commitment” (ibid, p. 167). This approach requires oversight over project performance, which can enhance tour operators’ ability to connect their responsible engagements with organisational outcomes. Du et al. (ibid) suggest that a positive outcome of philanthropic action for both firm and communities alike can be fostered through the adoption of both leadership styles. As mentioned earlier, a transformational leadership style is positively correlated to the engagement in philanthropic action, whereas a transactional leadership style can support managing this commitment in the long-term. Maak and Pless (2006, p. 101) emphasise that “leadership takes place in relationships” and that “building and cultivating of ethically sound relations towards different stakeholders is an important responsibility of leaders in an interconnected stakeholder society”. Their focus on connected leadership, positions corporate leaders not only within organisations, but emphasises their responsibility to society at large. Tour operators are acknowledging this responsibility through their support of projects, which are encouraging incremental change. This engagement further reflects that a caring response to destinations is not always mediated through a planned and structured approach. Rather, it is based on relationships, which emphasise a transformational leadership approach based on connection, commitment as well as emotional and affective responses. This relational approach is also reflected in the sometimes improvised and intuitive decision-making process guiding tour operators’ selection of projects.
7.4.3 Improvisation and intuition

Tour operators’ investment in charitable projects is not static; it rather reflects a dynamic process influenced by a range of stakeholders, including pressure groups as well as academic researchers. In this dynamic context, care “connects the personal, the professional, and the wider webs of care” (Lawson, 2007, p. 3). In the discussion of tour operators’ motivation to care, it was argued that their motive to care is strategically informed, which differs from their often-improvised approach to selecting projects. Tour operators conduct their business on a geographically dispersed scale and are exposed to a number of risk factors, with these projects often being positioned peripherally to their main business. “It’s not our core business, it’s something that you meet on the way and that you think, well – let’s do it!” (TO4)

This approach to project identification as something ‘you meet on the way’ and selection ‘well - let’s do it’, follows no clear underpinning rules. Rather, this ad-hoc approach can be described as improvised with no overt strategic plan guiding the process. “It’s all about finding out while you go along whether it’s working or not” (Agent). This reflects an emerging approach to strategy building, where available choices are mediated by personal values, intuition and trust. This allows for flexibility in the selection process, providing scope for adapting to new market trends. However, it might also foster inconsistency, particularly if there are several stakeholders participating in the selection process.

Such an approach can result from the missing capacities of the tour operator, potentially in the form of time and/or financial constrains that limit their ability to invest more in this field. The rapidly changing business environment and limited availability of resources are key challenges, particularly for smaller tour operators, to expand their social investments. “We are in the moment [...] in a surviving strategy. The world is changing very fast and there are not a lot of budgets, so we maintain the projects that we have, but we are not looking for new projects” (TO4). Time constraints were raised as another factor in limiting tour operators’ ability to search for projects in a more focused way. This constraint also influences the formality or informality tour operators adopt in the selection of projects, as reflected in the next passage.

“[W]e just don’t have the time, like personally, any of us would not have the time to go out and fishing for, looking for projects [...]. That is where we are, we haven’t focused more.” (TO2)
The exposure to novelty and speed, mentioned in the earlier quotation, are key dimensions of improvisation (Chelariu et al., 2002). Improvisation is a common response of managers to compacted time-scales and unplanned events (Leybourne & Sadler-Smith, 2006). An example for such an unplanned event would be the solicitation of non-profit organisations at tour operators' headquarter. Moorman and Miner (1998, p. 1 italics in original) define the “convergence of composition and execution as improvisation and suggest that the narrower the time gap between composing and performing (or planning and implementation), the more that act is improvisational”. Tour operators have to respond and adapt to changes quickly and they operate in a highly dynamic and complex environment. This reflects that there is a degree of uncertainty underpinning their business conduct, with their decisions having to be ‘quick’ and ‘without perfect knowledge’. “You can only allocate so much time on these things and sometimes you have to make quite quick decisions, or decisions without perfect knowledge, but then that is what I do all the time” (TO1/INT1). Here, the tour operator compares his approach to selecting projects to the way he operates his business, emphasising the role of compressed timescales. However, improvisation might also result from inter-firm connections or the wider networks in which firms operate, which is exemplified in the quotation below.

“[I]n the Travel Foundation last week, there was a woman who has a Turtle Conservation Project and she was introduced to me by somebody else I know very well and we started chatting and exchanged e-mails and that is something I could see has potential to bring it into one of our groups” (TO1/INT2).

Respondents emphasised that projects are often being identified spontaneously through the agent, tourist feedback, the Internet, or the serendipitous emergence of investment opportunities. This leaves room for innovative approaches implicating the range of stakeholders that participate in the production of the tours. One tour operator reported such an innovative approach based on a yearly tour leader competition, which happens on a global scale. The competition allows tour leaders to propose interesting projects that are judged by the tour operator, who selects the best projects. The winners receive a prize and they can give part of the prize money to any local project of their choice. This competition allows tour operators to receive a wealth of new ideas about projects they could invest in and at the same time, it signals to their tour leaders worldwide a commitment to responsible tourism practise. Ground handling agents are further asked to propose projects on an annual basis to the tour operator, but there are no clear rules in terms of number or
type of project that guide the selection. “[N]o there are no rules there really” (Agent). One
tour operator commented, “it’s just by accident, by meeting people, by hearing about things
and that is how it works” (TO4). Another respondent argued that they are not guided by
strategy or intentions, as illustrated in the subsequent quotation.

“[W]e don’t really have a strategy for the reasons we support, we don’t do that in
terms of increasing capacities [...] some of them might do that anyway, but not by our
intention. It’s really just ad-hoc projects; someone comes along and says, would you
like to do this, would you like to do that, no problem.” (TO2)

This indicates that tour operators might be driven by an intrinsic motive underpinning their
desire to support these projects. Rather, than seeing the projects as a means to achieve
specific outcomes, they regard this responsible practise as an end in itself. This process is
guided by practise and expertise, allowing them to rely on intuitive decision-making. Sadler-
Smith and Shefy (2004, p. 81) argue that intuition can be considered a form of cognition that
works based on expertise (intuition-as-expertise) and/or feelings (intuition-as-feeling). A
respondent emphasised that “a lot of the things we do here, I look at it [...] I can see that it is
good and I could try and spend time and effort to get numbers of certain things, but that is a
waste of time” (TO1/INT1). In this example, the tour operator’s expertise is embodied
through his visual sense, knowing what can be considered a good project. Leybourne and
Sadler-Smith (2006) further find that the reliance on improvisation correlates with
intuitive-decision-making. Tour operators’ intuitive appraisal of situations can support
them in making unconscious fast judgements that are based on holistic associations. This is
emphasised in Dane and Pratt’s (2007, p. 40 italics in original) definition of intuitions as
“affectively charged judgements that arise through rapid, nonconscious, and holistic
association.” They describe holistic associations as drawing different elements together and
recognising patterns, an ability that is fostered through developing domain knowledge
expertise (ibid). Vision is strongly emphasised in this intuitive selection process, where
judgements about projects often follow aesthetic values of what ‘looks good’.

7.4.4 Aestheticisation

“I also take what I call the approach of a gardener. I do not know anything about
flowers, but I look in my garden and I love it and it looks nice and I am very happy
with my garden. And sometimes I plant a few more plants and sometime they look
good and sometimes they are bad. But, I do not study it, I do not reassure [measure] it, I just look at it.” (TO1/INT1)

The intuitive process is intertwined with an aestheticized approach to project selection, illustrated through the metaphor of a gardener, where flowers represent the projects supported by tour operators. The origin of the word intuition can be traced to the Latin term ‘intueor’, ‘intueri’, which means ‘to contemplate’, ‘look within’ (Sadler-Smith & Shefy, 2004, p. 79). This contemplative root of the term is emphasised in the latter quotation through looking at the flowers. The experiential process of intuiting becomes apparent, where the gardener can see, if his or her decision has been ‘right’ depending on, whether the flowers look good. The individual feeling happy about his garden alludes to the ‘joy of giving’, which further compounds this approach. This reflects the importance of taking into consideration how different projects engender affect and emotions. Lorimer (2007) refers to this as corporeal and aesthetic charisma, with the former being caused through practical interaction between humans and organisms. However, it can also be raised through feeling compassion and connection with others. The latter embodied practise, aesthetic charisma, is exemplified through the use of charismatic species or topics/causes in projects to evoke emotional responses. In conservation projects this charisma often relies on the use of flagship species as visible icons, due to the anthropomorphistic aesthetic characteristics associated to them (ibid).

Sadler-Smith and Shefy (2004) discuss the close link between intuition and imagery, with people often not being able to describe the intuiting-process in words, hence, referring to images, such as the garden. In this image the outcome of specific projects becomes visible (flowers looking good or bad), but still the underpinning decision-making process remains unclear. An aesthetic approach to choosing charitable projects was also emphasised by other respondents, with importance being placed on vision and appearance. “I don’t know if I would have been that eager to support it [the project], if it would have been for boys [...] I don’t say no, but girls are more appealing” (TO4). This reflects the aesthetic charisma that is associated to girls, underpinning the reasons for supporting an educational project for girls, as they are more appealing. However, this aesthetic approach to responsible action relates ethical considerations to their use-value, rather than their intrinsic-value, with the projects’ appeal being particularly relevant for PR and marketing responsible business practise. This aspect was raised as one of the reasons for investing in projects that are situated in rural
areas, due to the investments’ heightened visibility compared to urban areas, as expressed in the following quotation.

“[W]e prefer places, more remote, less access [...] In there, even if you give a small bit of contribution it would appear big [...] In the towns, even if you go visit and you contribute, it does not appear, while in the small areas, especially in the areas we regularly walk [...] with the customers, then you can see the project building and next year you can come back again with the group and say we sponsored this and this.” (Agent)

This suggests that tour operators are aware about the projects’ potential external outcomes, for example, enhancing customer experience or their responsible reputation. However, there is less awareness about the projects’ internal outcomes, hinted at in the previous quotation of the gardener, who has no knowledge about flowers. This reflects a limited caring attitude towards project outcomes, with the intrinsic motive of supporting projects being associated to the act in itself, rather than to the wider benefits and potential dis-benefits this act can have for communities.

This section discussed tour operators’ improvised selection strategy, which is guided by their customer- and product-specific knowledge building the foundation of ‘intuition-as-expertise’. ‘Intuition-as-feeling’ becomes apparent through the embodied practises guiding their selection (see Sadler-Smith & Shefy, 2004, p. 81), exemplified through corporeal and aesthetic approaches (see Lorimer, 2007). Chelariu et al. (2002) further argue that there is scope for companies to develop their improvisational skills and competence. Improvisation can foster innovation as well as strategic change through a process of creation referred to as ‘convergence of composition and execution’ (Moorman & Miner, 1998, p. 1), but it is not a panacea in all circumstances. Tourism still takes a strong polarisation of communities and the have and have not’s, hence, by providing financial support to projects in destinations, tour operators are engaging in wealth distribution processes and the multiplier effects entailed within these processes. However, if tour operators do not assess project outcomes it remains uncertain whether these projects are promoting positive change, or merely supporting the ‘status quo’.

In the case of mismanagement of projects there also exists the possibility that these projects are supporting local inequalities. One respondent described responsible tourism as “as a weird area of ownership. Who owns, who looks after, who is in charge of these projects? It
should be the responsible, the one person who is in charge [of] responsible tourism” (TO3). He adjudicated the responsibility to himself, as he is in charge of the responsible projects in his company. However, it is not the responsibility of one person, it is a much wider field in which networks of responsibility are woven, emphasising the “importance of linking political-economic and emotional geographies” (Lawson, 2007, p. 6). One of these links that has become apparent in this research is trust, which represents a key mechanism in drawing different levels of action and actors together.

7.5 Trust

The role of trust elevates the ‘human factor’ in the selection of projects, with no clear rules and policy underpinning this approach. It has its roots in the experience and competence of tourism actors and in the power relations underpinning negotiation and cooperation in tourism. Trust is a highly complex construct that is difficult to measure and to grasp (Simpson, 2007). It cannot be considered as static, as it develops over time and initial trust can also turn into mistrust, if the foundations of trust are not sustained. Hence, trust represents a form of mechanism that continually ‘re-establishes’ itself, potentially strengthening over time, if the other party complies with the expectations of the trusting party (see Mayer et al., 1995). Trust can be interpersonal or institutional, in addition to inter-organisational with ‘trust transfer’ occurring between these levels (Schilke & Cook, 2013, p. 289). This illustrates that trust can be issued on multiple levels and between different entities.

McAllister (1995) further differentiates between two forms of interpersonal trust, cognition-based and affect-based trust. The former is related to the available knowledge as well as the believed reliability and competence of the trusted party, whereas the latter emphasises emotional ties. In relationships that are personally chosen and based on mutuality and care, affect-based trust is more likely to flourish, compared to relationships motivated by enlightened self-interest (ibid). This suggests that trust enters the moral realm of care, with Hosmer (1995, p. 379) proposing, “that trust is based upon an underlying assumption of implicit moral duty”. This indicates the over-arching influence that the motivation to care has on the subsequent development of relationships of trust and mutual benefit. Drawing on empirical evidence the foundations of trust in the selection process are now analysed.
7.5.1 Foundations of trust

The main informal criterion guiding the selection of projects is trust. “[I]t’s always the people behind that bring us to participate” (TO4). This quotation indicates that the selection criterion is not necessarily based on the kind of project and/or its focus. Rather, it is the recognition of trust as a form of implicit human quality that tour operators often base their selection on. Trust predominates in the selection of small-scale projects that have a ‘perceived’ limited risk factor for the tour operator. There are also smaller tour operators, who do not have the financial means or capacities to select projects on their own. These tour operators tend to donate money to organisations, such as the Latin American Travel Association Foundation (LATA Foundation) or the Travel Foundation. These foundations have a charitable subdivision of projects they support and monitor through their board of trustees (LATA Foundation, 2014; Travel Foundation, 2015). Consequently, these tour operators are placing their trust in these foundations, which select a range of projects independently of the tour operators personal or business preferences. This illustrates that trust can take different forms and roles within these processes, with trust also playing a key role in the subsequent engagement or disengagement with projects. This is reflected in the following quotation, which identifies the ‘human factor’ underpinning project engagement.

“To be honest not really, because there is not like a procedure or a contract actually between us and the project itself, or the organization. So, it’s all about finding out while you go along, whether it’s working or not, because there are a lot of things involved and it’s especially a human factor.” (Agent)

The implicit human qualities that build the foundation of trust are based on competence or ability, benevolence, referring to the underpinning motive guiding action and integrity (Mayer et al., 1995). Tronto (1993) identifies competence as a moral aspect of care as it represents a key element in the process of care giving. This conceptualisation of competence can also be applied to the selection process, where competence reflects domain knowledge that endorses the trusted party with the required skills to identify and/or select appropriate projects. This reflects that competence can be attributed to the cognition-based realm of trust (see McAllister, 1995), together with integrity, reflecting character and value. Integrity is proven through previous experience, reputation and secondary monitoring. Benevolence on the other hand, meaning “the duty to care for the protection of others” (Hosmer, 1995, p. 385), is more associated to affect-based trust, emphasising the moral
intentions and motives of the other party. These elements underpinning the foundation of trust form a continuum, where each aspect can be differently emphasised (Mayer et al., 1995).

Mayer et al. (ibid) argue that the relevance of integrity on trust is most prominent at the beginning of a relationship, whereas intentions become more relevant over time. This concords with McAllister’s (1995) view that business-related relationships require a degree of cognitive-based trust before affect-based trust can develop. However, in the case of project de-selection an affect-based approach can predominate in determining the trustworthiness of projects. This is exemplified in the following quotation, where the tour operator questions the benevolence of the underpinning motives guiding the project and bases his decision to distrust on his intuitive feelings. However, this also reflects potential risks underpinning the support of projects and the scandals that could ensue, if supported projects would be engaging in unethical and/or unsustainable practises.

“[W]e try to be very careful, we had something in South Africa recently, there is a project we went to visit an animal rescue centre and I wasn’t particularly happy about [...] I did not get a very good vibe from it, so we dropped it from the tour [...] They didn’t seem to want to release the animals and to reintroduce them to the wild.” (TO2)

Trust can be issued directly between the project leaders and the tour operators, or mistrust as displayed in the previous example, in the case of direct project selection. However, when tour operators select projects indirectly they trust a third party proposing a project. These two approaches can also overlap, with trust being ‘transferred’ to another party, for example, because the person knows somebody the tour operator knows and trusts. This was exemplified in a previous quotation, which is repeated here, to illustrate the point. “[I]n the Travel Foundation last week, there was a woman who has a Turtle Conservation Project and she was introduced to me by somebody else I know very well” (TO1/INT2). Indirect project selection is often done through the ground-handling agents, with tour operators recognising trust as a key component of their business relationship with their agents. However, there also exist different levels of trust emphasising the importance of time in trust development, as expressed in the quotation below.

“[W]hat the agent thinks about it [...]. if we trust the local agent, which we trust in all of our local agents, but some we trust more than others, because we have worked with
them for a long time. If they think it is a really good project and we should do it, then we probably will." (TO2)

The identification process of projects often starts with the tour leader suggesting a project to the agent, who then informs the tour operator about it. “From the feedback of the tour guides, so they visit first with a group, then at the end they come and say, yeah we found a little project that is about this, this and this and the customers did really like it” (Agent). These close relationships also allow scope for innovativeness, as shown previously using the example of the annual tour leader competition. One tour operator emphasised that he usually invests in established projects, but he was willing to support new projects, if tour leaders proposed (and trusted) these. The quotation below shows that trust goes hand in hand with the economic imperative of not wanting to lose money.

“[S]ome say well I got an idea and well, it needs to be something established. If it's something new on the ground, which our tour leaders might think it's interesting to go to, then that will be the way to do it. But, I don't want to risk money; I want money to be well spent." (TO1/INT1)

In the UK only limited funds flow to grassroots non-profit organisations, which represent the majority of these types of projects. Instead, most of the funds go to the more renowned larger non-profit organisations, such as OXFAM (Rogers, 2012), with limited uncertainty underpinning this form of social investment. However, trust in the competence of the tour leaders and/or agents allows tour operators to identify grassroots projects, with the tour operator extending his or her trust to the project. These grassroots initiatives do usually not rely on a large donor source and they might not be able to attract this type of funding through their own means. However, these projects are also less reliable than more established projects, which requires the oversight of the tour leaders to assure the projects are functioning, as argued below. This reflects that tour operators also use trust as a proxy for monitoring small-scale capacity building projects, with one respondent commenting, “we don’t spend a huge amount of time investigating. We trust our tour leaders” (TO1/INT1). This raises the importance of local knowledge of the trusted party, which represents an integral component of their competence.

“[S]ome of the projects are not reliable all of the time, so depending on the season and availability, so it’s not always. […] There should be always someone there, there should be always people around, so we can see what is happening." (Agent)
7.5.2 Competence and local knowledge

Trust is issued on the basis of local stakeholders' knowledge and expertise, which enables them to identify local needs. The agent argued that tour operators usually agree to the projects they propose, "because of course they trust our decisions" (Agent). This also applies to the cooperation with local leaders as exemplified before, with the community leader commenting that "he is from this local area, he born in this area and he knows what the people need here and the help that they ask for here" (Community Leader). These local stakeholders are considered to be experts in their field, counting with vast knowledge about the areas the tours are conducted in. This knowledge also arises from tour leaders' direct contact with tourists and their awareness about tourists' preferences, apart from those of the local community. This competence-related trust is particularly relevant for the operation of the tours, "when people ask you, they trust that you are a local operator and that you are the specialist on the spot, you know what to offer them" (Agent). However, it also influences identification and selection of projects, which is illustrated in the subsequent quotation.

"Especially, if there is someone we trust as in Morocco, we really trust our local agent there, so if they come to us and tell us that area needs a lot of help [...] and that is how you can help." (TO2)

Trust also informs tour operators' approach to de-selection of projects, as they expect ground-handling agents to feedback important information about projects and to inform them, if they were still supporting projects that did not require their funds anymore. The following quotation reflects that tour operators defer the responsibility to monitor projects to their agents and the only forms of monitoring they engage in are feedback from customers and tour leaders. However, this only applies to projects that are actually visited during the tours. It has been mentioned in the tourism literature that tour operators engage in limited monitoring activities in destinations (Holden & Kealy, 1996). The most common forms are feedback from tour leaders and to a lesser degree feedback from tourists. Much less emphasised was meeting with local stakeholders and cooperation with local conservation groups and finally, government controls (ibid). This reflects that tour operators monitoring activity through feedback from their tour leaders and customers reflects common business practise.
“So, it is quite hard to keep up to date with all the issues and again, I think this comes a bit through trust with our local agent. If we were still supporting a project that was not really necessary anymore we would hope that they would tell us basically, help us.” (TO2)

Competence is also assessed through business measures, such as having a competent business plan for a project. This reflects the conceptualisation of trust in organisational theory as being based on expectations (Hosmer, 1995), with tour operators trusting the other party, due to the expectation that they are capable of realising and managing the project. However, this intersects with the assumed integrity of the counterpart proposing a project, which represents a key feature in determining tour operators’ willingness or inclination to trust the other party, as emphasised at the end of the following quotation.

“I think it very much depends of whether they have a clear vision and a clear goal then we will be much more interested in supporting them long-term, rather than just saying I need 500 quid or I need a £1000. I think it just depends on how much they were putting into it, their integrity.” (TO2)

7.5.3 Integrity and shared values

Under conditions of uncertainty the assumed integrity of the other party serves as a measure to gauge uncertainty levels. The conceptualisation of integrity as ‘how much they were putting into it’ can be related to how committed the other party is to the cause/project and the values guiding their action. This relates to the importance of having shared values, which comes to the fore in the formation of trust playing a key role in selection of projects. This can be related to the “expectation of a similar behavior” (Hosmer, 1995, p. 399) based on the recognition of similar objectives guiding the actions of different parties. For example, the ground-handling agent identifies that part of his business philosophy is to spread the benefits of tourism to the wider community. “All the contracts we have with hotels and our suppliers, we do give priority to local people and as a big company we want to spread the benefit of tourism to everyone, not to monopolise” (Agent). This argument concurs with the responsible business model of tour operators, whose vision of caring action follows a similar philosophy. Further, there is a joint recognition of the need of fostering development in the most remote and rural areas that are lacking access to opportunities. This is expressed in the subsequent quotations where an agent identifies rural areas as the target area for projects, followed by the expression of affection of a tour operator for remote areas.
“So, mainly the ones we support are small villages or small communities and mainly in rural areas, of course, because they have less access to whatever, they need education, and also health, water.” (Agent)

“I always got a fondness for the mountains and villages and remote communities.” (TO1/INT1)

As mentioned before, motives and intentions become evident over time (Mayer et al., 1995), hence, the duration of relationships and ‘knowing’ the other party represents a key factor in building trust (Dirks & Ferrin, 2002). The importance of time has been noted in a previous section in relation to project-support, with the notion of ‘having good relationships’ with projects dominating over projects ‘having good results’. Still, the significance of these good relationships cannot be disparaged as a previously mentioned example illustrates. A tour operator’s staff member got suspected malaria in Uganda and she was taken care of by a local community hospital, which they were visiting regularly with tours and now support financially. The tour operator identified this project as one of his favourite projects, due to this personal connection, as expressed in the quotation below. These connections are based on mutuality and trust, embedding an ethics of care between tour operators and communities. These caring relationships further improve the competitive context in which the company operates their tours (see Porter & Kramer, 2002), as they can draw upon the services of the health post when required. This reflects that the interweaving of trust and care also relies on an expectation of mutual benefit arising out of these relations.

“My favourite is linked to [...] Uganda, Bwindi, where it’s a very small health post by a national park [...] and they looked after our sick customers. [...] So there was that personal connection.” (TO1/INT1)

7.5.4 Care and trusting expectations

Relationships of trust can be established within or outside of the tourism industry and they can bear significant weight in the decision-making process. The previous example illustrates that care becomes intertwined with trust, reflecting that affect-based decisions to support projects can be based on personal experiences and expectations of care engendering trust. Leybourne and Sadler-Smith (2006) further argue that more experienced business leaders are more likely to rely on their intuition and improvisation in project management. This also becomes apparent in the realm of care and trust, with experienced managers using more intuitive judgments based on trust and their established
longer-term relationships with others. “As you get older you deepen your relationship with other people within and out of the industry […] and there are certain people that I know, if they say something I will just accept” (T01/INT2). This form of trusting behaviour also exposes tour operators to varying degrees of vulnerability, which might be one of the reasons why some organisations tend to support non-profit organisations that are more established and renowned (see Rogers, 2012). Goodwin (2011, p. 243) argues that to “accept responsibility is to accept risk” and the way that tour operators deal with this risk further intersects with personal values such as tolerance and levels of trust underpinning their relationships with other people and projects.

“[Y]ou have to accept that things will go wrong from time to time and you can either spend so much time checking, checking and checking that nothing happens, or you do accept that level of failure.” (T01/INT1)

In organisational theory trust is often conceptualised based on the expectations guiding relationships, whereas in philosophical ethics the results of decisions/actions are emphasised (Hosmer, 1995). This reflects that trust in economic transactions is based on the expectation of a certain behaviour or outcome, which corresponds with the business objectives of the trusting party. The moral content of business transactions is described as a “genuine responsiveness to the needs of the other party in an economic exchange” (Hosmer, 1995, p. 391). Therefore, due to the trust embedded in these relationships, tour operators expect the other person to be acting in their best interest, while being responsive to their business requirements (needs). Tronto (1993) argues that within care responsiveness represents a crucial moral problem, as caring is linked to vulnerability and power imbalances, hence, the lived experience of care involves potential risks of conflicts and power abuse. This highlights the responsibility of involved actors to manage and decrease levels of risk, which Cater (2006) further relating this to company sustainability. In these environments of uncertainty and/or exposure to vulnerability trust becomes an instrument to gauge levels of risk. However, the underpinning risks of supporting projects that might be engaging in unethical and/or unsustainable practise still persists.

This raises the inherently interlinked nature of trust with risk, which becomes evident in conceptualisations of trust as “the willingness of a party to be vulnerable […] based on the expectation that the other will perform a particular action” (Mayer et al., 1995, p. 712). Therefore, a discussion of trust requires sensitivity to the underpinning risk, to avoid an
over-idealisation of care. Managing risk is not only crucial for minimizing potential harm to
tour operators, but also to those at the receiving end of these projects, with these opposite
ends of the continuum of care being intrinsically linked. Koehn (1998, p. 4) emphasises that
an ethics of care must be dialogical, in the sense that “people who are on the receiving end
of care or trust or empathy [...] can contest effectively the caregiver’s, trustee’s or
empathizer’s expectations”. Such a dialogical ethic connects the different realms of care,
including the realm of care giving and care-receiving. However, this requires increased
attention not only to the realm of caring about the needs of others, but also to the assumed
responsibility for care (Tronto, 1993). This responsibility cannot only be expressed in
economic terms, but has to encompass the moral values underpinning the practise of care.

7.6 Conclusion

Care embodies thoughts of power and relationships, which are not only present in the
individual and societal context, but also become manifest within the organisational context
(Tronto, 1993). This chapter has identified care as the underpinning morality driving tour
operators’ responsible behaviour, which foregrounds care as a practise building on
responsibility, trust and responsiveness to other people’s needs (Lawson, 2007; Tronto,
1993). Tour operators’ caring imagination (see Hamington, 2001; Simola, 2012) is
simultaneously a geographical imagination, which is embedding an ethic of care between
tour operators and communities. Their responsible behaviour follows an altruistic intent,
which is mediated by individual consciousness of tourism leaders and the obligatory care of
businesses as moral agents. However, tour operators do not see themselves as social
workers and their investment in projects is contingent upon these being strategically
relevant for the company. “I am not a social worker; I am a tour operator, somebody who
loves to travel (TO1/INT1)”. This is reflected through the strategic support of projects in
destinations where the companies operate their tours and the selection of projects that can
be incorporated in the tour itinerary.

Tour operators’ approach, however, is characterised by a philanthropic strategy referred to
as caring strategically, rather than a strategic philanthropy (Post & Waddock, 1995). This is
reflected through the missing strategy guiding management level selection of projects and
the prevalent disconnection of supported projects with the company’s core business. Still,
Porter and Kramer (2002) refer to the opportunity to invest in the competitive context
through investing in projects that improve the business environment in destinations. This
indicates a wider spectrum of projects that can be strategically relevant for tourism companies, who rely on local communities’ goodwill to operate their business successfully (Goodwin, 2011). However, good governance increasingly demands an alignment of projects with business strategy (Morris & Jamieson, 2005), indicating a current trend towards strategic care.

Tour operators’ investment in projects follows a dynamic process, where personal values and wider stakeholder interests are co-shaping the professional environment. Barnett and Land (2007) and Koehn (1998) have called for a dialogical ethics of care, which corresponds to the interconnected web of relations in which tour operators are situated. However, this requires acknowledging that it is not the responsibility of some, but the joint responsibility of tourism actors to engage in more responsible business practices. Tour operators are in a strategic position within tourism’s tripartite system to advance the responsibility agenda in tourism across different levels. Their responsible action originates from spatially diverse relationships underpinned by multiple layers of responsibility, with responsibility being performed, shared and displaced. Budeanu (2005) further highlights the opportunity of larger tour operators to use their leadership role to promote responsible business practices in the tourism industry.

In the capacity building literature it is often the role of community leaders that is being emphasised (see e.g. Aref & Redzuan, 2009; Chaskin et al., 2001; Iorio & Corsale, 2014; Manyara & Jones, 2007). However, findings reveal that tour operator - community negotiations are highly dependent on business leaders. They play a crucial role in the decision-making process shaping companies’ pro-social behaviour (see e.g. Du et al., 2013; Maak & Pless, 2006), with Hemingway and Maclagan (2004) elevating the role of individual responsibility in these processes. However, business leaders’ actions are still informed by a sense of corporate responsibility, as they are taking responsibility not for their own actions, but those of the company, in the form of a self-imposed restriction of business conduct to meet ethical and environmental standards. Therefore, it is crucial to remain sensitive to the organisational and personal drivers underpinning responsible behaviour, with the former being described by a tour operator as sustainable business sense based on long-term self-interests, whereas the latter can also be informed by a ‘joy of giving’.

Tour operators’ selection process follows no clear mechanism, being informed by a complex mix of purposive action, informal recommendation and serendipitous emergence of
projects. Their formality of investigation prior to selecting a project depends on the scale of the project and established trust levels, referred to as the basic continuum of selection. However, their approach is often characterised by improvisation, which is a common response to dynamic and complex business environments (Leybourne & Sadler-Smith, 2006). This is compounded by an intuitive-decision making process, where tour operators combine domain knowledge, affective judgements and aesthetic values, mirroring Sadler-Smith and Shefy's (2004, p. 81) categorisation of ‘intuition-as-expertise’ and ‘intuition-as-feeling’. This is illustrated through the ‘gardener approach’, who selects his flowers based on aesthetic charisma (see Lorimer, 2007) and personal feelings.

This embodied approach to project selection is also reflected in the trust relationships governing project selection, with trust being the main informal selection criterion. Uncertainty is prevalent in tour operators' widespread and diverse tour contexts; hence, they rely on trust relationships to gauge uncertainty levels. The implicit human qualities that build the foundation of trust are based on competence, benevolence and integrity (Mayer et al., 1995), which are reflected in tour operators’ relationship with their ground handling agents. Having longer-term relationships with their agents allows tour operators to assure that their partner’s vision of caring action follows a similar business philosophy to theirs. These caring and trusting expectations mirror the conceptualisation of trust in organisational theory, which is often based on the expectations guiding relationships, whereas philosophical theory emphasises the results of actions or decisions (Hosmer, 1995).

A follow-up study of this research could focus on tour operators' engagement in philanthropic projects, extending the scope of gender to encompass a wider range of projects, to analyse how tour operators assume responsibility within projects they support. This understanding can further the conceptualisation of responsible behaviour within the organisational realm of care and inform the planning process of appropriate strategies to foster the implementation of responsible practises and actions in the tourism industry.
8. Creating opportunities for capacity building

8.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the process of capacity building, analysing the spaces for, and experiences of learning and empowerment within the EfA project. The concept of capacity building 'resides' both within the individual and the community, with community capacity building the foundation of capacity building processes (Chaskin, 2001). This reflects that capacity building processes rely and build on existing abilities or capabilities within a community and on the mobilisation of shared resources. However, there is less clarity on how these different aspects relate to each other (Chaskin et al., 2001). The role of tour operators becomes prominent at the organisational level of capacity building, with the previous chapter establishing that care often takes place at a distance within tourism. ‘Caring at a distance’ is a key element of responsible tourism action (Barnett & Land, 2007), with this form of distancing elevating the role of implicit trust in the relationships mediating tour operators’ caring practises. In the case of the EfA project, tour operators' role becomes removed from the capacity building process, due to the specific nature of the boarding houses representing a predominantly female environment. This chapter, therefore, discusses capacity building processes at the once removed stage of tour operator engagement, where the housemother becomes the trusted entity, who reports project outcomes back to the tour operator.

At the individual level capacity building is focused on the development of skills and knowledge and sense of community (Aref et al., 2010), with the girls’ access to education contributing to an increased layering of their sense of community. However, community capacities including community structures, power and participation are inhibiting a gender-equal access to opportunities, rather than promoting capacity building processes that build upon community capacities that include both men and women. Sensitivity towards these underlying community dynamics is crucial for identifying and engaging in effective capacity building opportunities that promote gender equality. The analysis, therefore, draws on social learning theory, which holds that social and cognitive development are intertwined (Vygotsky, 1978, 1987). Vygotsky (ibid) highlights the importance of more competent others in assisting the child in acquiring abilities and skills that have not yet developed. This parallels the developmental perspective of empowerment processes, with Kieffer (1984, p.
referring to the ‘era of advancement’ that relies on mentor and supportive peer relationships to develop critical consciousness and capacities.

This form of social learning reflects the fluid boundary between formal, more school-based, education and informal learning and relationship-building processes. However, this chapter does not represent a critique of the formal (school-based) learning structures in Morocco. Rather, it is a critique of where formal and informal aspects of education bring opportunity and capacity building for the girls attending the boarding houses of the EfA. This provides the foundation for the following chapter, which analyses the processes and different levels of incremental change that are facilitated through the girls’ increasing education and empowerment. As the analysis is being conducted entirely through a gender lens within the context of an Islamic society, sensitivity to the cultural and religious context is required to identify, comprehend and integrate differences. The analysis, hence, has these inevitable intricacies embedded throughout, which are key to understanding the complexity of capacity building and its interrelationship with empowerment.

This chapter now draws on empirical evidence to analyse the wider learning processes within the capacity building project, discussing first, the meaning of education for the girls, emphasising the role of networks, friendship and care in shaping a second home environment. Second, the collaborative learning philosophy characterising the boarding houses is discussed, followed by an analysis of the three main support functions, namely that of mothering, mentoring and role modelling. Fourth, the role of responsibility in empowerment processes is debated, leading to a discussion of the role of communication and cultural exchange in fostering language acquisition and a more critical perspective of social life. Afterwards, the girls imagined alternative life paths are discussed, with the last section providing a conclusion.

8.2 Education for All: Creating opportunities

The EfA project differs from a ‘classical’ tourism capacity building project, as it does not focus on education or training for tourism, but rather provides access to formal education. Aref et al. (2010) identify the individual level of capacity building as the most influential level on wider capacity building processes within the community. This reflects that, although the project is not directly linked to tourism as it does not provide education for or about tourism (see Moscardo, 2008), it still has a significant potential to affect wider community development. However, it is important to recognise that the girls’ development
happens within cultural and ideological frameworks that are highly influential in shaping individuals’ identity. The intersections between social and individual identity are reflected in the definition of identity as “shared set of meanings that define individuals in particular roles in society […], as members of specific groups in society […], and as persons having specific characteristics that make them unique from others” (Stets & Serpe, 2013, p. 31).

Gaining an understanding of the development of capacities and experiences of empowerment requires sensitivity to the interaction between individual and wider social meanings foregrounding a social learning theory. This analytical approach takes into consideration the social origins of education and development (Minick, 1996), which “presupposes a specific social nature and a process by which children grow into the […] life of those around them” (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 88). Vygotsky (ibid) views cognitive development as a social and cultural process, with Greenfield (1972, p. 170) further highlighting that in oral cultures, such as the Berber communities of the High Atlas Mountains, “education itself has a contextual nature”. Piaget, on the other hand, views the child as the source of cognitive development, basing his theory on stages of development. However, he also reflects on the influence that the socio-cultural environment has on the individual during the final stage of development called ‘formal operations’ (12-15 years) where abstract thinking is developed (Inhelder & Piaget, 1958; Kitchener, 1996). As the girls attending the boarding houses are between twelve and nineteen years old, the following analysis of capacity building processes focuses on these latter stages of development including late childhood, adolescence and early adulthood.

8.2.1 The meaning of education

In our contemporary society education is broadly available, though, there are still many regions around the world, particularly in African countries, where children are denied access to education through many different means (World Bank, 2011). Countries differ in their styles and formats of education, with Morocco relying on a highly centralised system that secures access to and quality of education in urban areas, but to a lesser degree in rural areas, as noted by a local teacher in the quotation below.

“[T]his centralisation affects not only culturally, but also materially, physically, all physical institutions, including schools, boarding schools, transportation, etc. We still have a great shortage, which you wouldn’t find in the city for example […] where you can find five schools just one near another, whereas you can find here a school for
example in Asni, we have many villages; Tamagounsi, Ourir, Aslda, Douar el Arab and others, and we have only one primary school." (Local Teacher, slightly amended)

The challenges that children face in accessing education in the High Atlas Mountains revolve around issues of poverty, geographical distance and gender differences, with the context chapter describing how these are particularly emphasised for girls living in these areas. The EfA project emerges as a unique, although restricted opportunity for girls to further their education, as each house's capacity is limited to 30-36 girls. "In the beginning they [my parents] refused me to come to Asni, because it's difficult for the girl, but after they know there is the EfA boarding house they let me come" (Girl72, EfA2). The boarding houses provide a caring and trustful environment, which addresses the geographical, material and cultural barriers to education, with some girls commenting that they would not be able or allowed to continue their education without the project. Girl 17 (EfA1) argues that "her father cannot let her study in Asni", if she would not be staying at the EfA boarding houses.

Simultaneously, education represents the foundation for challenging some of the underpinning gender differentials, which often impede girls' school attendance in the first place.

The girls' ascribe a multifaceted meaning to education identifying it as a sense of purpose in life; “I want to study; I want to finish my high school” (Girl71, EfA2). Being able to study imbues them with a feeling of self-fulfilment that they describe as joy and happiness, as well as, hope, as education will consequently allow them to access alternative life paths. "She comes to EfA for studies, because she doesn’t want to be like her parents who didn’t go to school and didn’t finish their studies" (Girl38, EfA1). Their desire for a different life is expressed through their aspirations and the life changes they attribute to education. It is further argued that these different learning processes can enhance their ability to reconstruct and reorient cultural givens and knowledge as fact. However, there is also a strong element of connection and friendship building accompanying their experience at the boarding houses, which they describe as a key element of the importance of education for their life. This is reflected in Table 4, which illustrates the individual meanings that the girls attribute to education. The following section extends on the themes of friendship, networks and care characterising the girls' learning and living experiences at the boarding houses, which transcend the formal curriculum of the school.
Girls’ reflections on the meaning of education

- She said that education is essential, important for life; it’s like the base. (Girl41, EfA1)
- Education helps them to realise their purpose in life and to finish their studies at the end. (Girl19, EfA1)
- She likes the subjects and when she gets a good mark in mathematics, she feels better and in joy. (Girl42, EfA1)
- She said that her dreams can be realised thanks to studies and school. (Girl36, EfA1)
- Yeah, when I think of education I think that the future will be good. (Girl72, EfA2)
- Education gives to her a relationship between girls and it changed her life. (Girl16, EfA1)
- She said that education, this picture (Figure 1) express what education gives for her life, education gives for her life the true relationship and love and happiness. (Girl12, EfA1)

Table 4: Reflections on the meaning of education

8.2.2 Networks, care and friendship

The EfA project provides spaces for and experiences of mutuality, connection and cultural exchange that foreground the development of personal skills through interpersonal learning processes. At the boarding houses the girls gain access to extended social networks, with most of them emphasising that education has given them the opportunity to develop friendships. This represents an increasing layering of the girls’ sense of community, with the girls becoming part of a new friend community, a school community and an EfA community. Among the pictures that the girls identified as their favourites ones, the theme of belonging and social connections figures prominently. Almost 50% of the 63 pictures they identified as their favourites ones display the theme of friendship. Accompanying
Figure 34 girl 23 (EfA1) argues: “All these girls are her friends and because of education and learning she knows these friends in Dar Ouirgane. So, EfA means friendship and new girls in her life”. McMillan and Chavis (1986, p. 9) describe this as a form of membership underpinning a sense of community, which is expressed through “the feeling of belonging or of sharing a sense of personal relatedness”. This resembles Granovetter’s (1973) view of intra-community or strong ties, which strengthen the sense of identity and collective purpose. Within the EfA project the girls further get access to wider inter-community networks combining strong and weak ties.

The girls’ reliance on community bonds emphasises their need for emotional safety, particularly during their childhood years (see Ainsworth, 1989). Girl 53 (EfA1) “said that she would not have come, if her friend did not come also to EfA”. Girl 47 (EfA1) commented, “when she knew that her friend and the other girls of her village were coming to the EfA boarding house, she also decided to come”. Some girls described this attachment as necessary to be able to meet new people. “[S]he likes to be with her friends in the same place for encouraging her to meet others” (Girl54, EfA1). This reflects that some of the girls’ first sense of purpose is not education itself, but being together with their friends and relatives, as expressed in the quotation below by the housemother. Shirlow and Murtagh (2004) report similar issues in their capacity building study, observing that 64% of their respondents would only attend an educational programme together with a colleague. Therefore, “[u]nless adolescents feel that they are accepted members of a community that is available to them, that is unless they have a “sense” of community, they may choose not to access the resources and opportunities afforded by the community” (Pretty et al., 1996, p. 368).

“Most of the girls said: I don’t want to live far away from my family. I don’t want to live far from my friends, but if there is one of their friends, for example Fatima has send me her file, but she didn’t have a girl from her douar [neighbourhood]. She is the
first girl from her douar that is going to go to the secondary school, but when she came here she said that she doesn’t want to stay without her friends, so she returned to her family. But this year, when another girl from her douar came to stay here, Fatima returned again another time to do her studies. [...] That means that Fatima has done the last year of primary school for a second time, it’s not because she didn’t succeed, but because she didn’t want to go to Asni without her friend, there are cases like that.” (Housemother1)

The establishment of networks based on mutual care further fosters a feeling of home among the girls, as reflected in the symbolic depiction of the entrance of the boarding houses in many of the girls’ pictures. Girl 20 (EfA1) expresses this feeling through her picture (see Figure 35), saying “when she comes to [and] she sees the entrance of Dar Asni, she thinks about her home and considers Dar Asni like the second home.” Another girl painted the EfA house in one of the group drawing activities with an open door (see Figure 35) using warm colours for the entrance, illustrating that the girls’ feelings of relatedness and Geborgenheit (emotional security). Girl 75 (EfA3) compares the relationships at the boarding house with that of her family in the quotation below, referring to the other girls as her sisters. She emphasises the emotional support she received from the other girls in a difficult time of her life, which reflects that these networks can also provide support in coping with difficult life events.

“For a girl like us we always lived with our family and we did with our sisters, our brothers, our parents, but I think if it wasn’t the girls we could never feel like home
You have the girls and they are all like sister [...] And someone, if she had a problem [...] we started all to advise her and be there for her. That is what happened to me, they were all there for me; especially the time my mother died I was in the first year of high school. I really appreciated what they did for me; they were there for me even some of them came to visit me when I was at my house [...]. I feel that it’s true that I lost my mother, but now I know that there are these girls with me and they will always be there for me.” (Girl75, EfA3, slightly amended)

This section emphasised the importance of affectionate bonds in encouraging the girls to access capacity building opportunities. In the long-term these extended networks might be more emphasised through weak ties, which can represent a key resource for the girls. Granovetter (1973, p. 1373) describes weak ties as “an important resource in making possible mobility opportunity” and they “play a role in effecting social cohesion”. This is illustrated through the girls’ reliance on their friends to move out of their community, i.e. their geographic mobility, to access school in another city, which plays a key role in their future social mobility. Their extended networks, hence, represent an enabling factor in the girls’ social and geographical mobility and they will potentially join into or link with other networks in the future. This process can support wider social cohesion, extending their sense of community to other forms of community. Woolcock and Narayan (2000) outline that features of trust and reciprocity accompany the participation in networks, which can have a positive impact on identity formation of the individual (Bernath & Feshbach, 1996). This reflects that trust does not only have an effect on peer relationships, but also on the girls’ development of trust in themselves.

8.2.3 Empowering narrative of trust

Trust plays an important role in the affective, cognitive and behavioural realm of personal growth and learning processes (ibid). The girls’ friendship networks provide a support system for the girls and a narrative of trust, with the girls learning to trust in others and in themselves. Bernath and Feshbach (ibid, p. 13) note that in late childhood “children acquire a view of friendships as stable, intimate, emotionally supportive relationships, within which commitment, loyalty, and trust are regarded as integral”. The trust embedded in girls’ friendship relations is expressed through intimate sharing and self-disclosure. “There is some things you can’t tell anybody, because you think that they can’t understand you, but here the girls are the same age and the same situation and they maybe can understand you.
and give you the solution” (Girl72, EfA2). Girl 54 (EfA1) further commented that she gained more self-confidence through “trusting, trust gave her trust for everyone in the [boarding] house”. Here, different expressions of trust are equated to gaining an increasing sense of self-confidence, with self-confidence also being described as ‘not being scared’. Fear is perceived as the consequence of not being educated among community members. “The women [are] not educated that is why they are scared for everything” (Aida, CM).

The conceptualisation of fear as being opposite to self-confidence is embedded within community discourses. It stands symbolically for the loss of respect that can ensue, if people would gossip about a girl attending school, while being described at the same time as the outcome of not attending school. This reflects the paradoxical nature of community discourses, which are discussed in more detail in the following chapter. However, it can be argued that within the local communities gossip operates as a central mechanism through which social norms are enforced (see Tholander, 2003). Rosnow and Fine (1976 cited in Tholander, 2003) have identified three different strains of gossip; moralising, informative and entertaining gossip. The use of gossip within the local communities predominantly adheres to a moralising form, with Coates (2000) further referring to the function of gossip telling as an expression of hegemonic masculinity. This is expressed through the reliance on men’s over women’s ‘word’, with women’s ‘word’ being less valued and trusted than that of men (Mina, PAR).

A community member argued, “if someone comes and told him that his daughter did something, he will believe that guy instead of his daughter [...] He does not trust the family or his daughter, he just trusts in another guy” (Jamila, CM). This reflects a core paradox governing community life, from which the girls attending the EfA boarding house are not withdrawn. One of the girl’s mother commented that she decided not to send her second daughter to Asni, due to community member’s gossip about her family. “It’s difficult to have two girls in Asni and you know the problems that people talk about her, if there are two, the talk also can be more and the problems can also increase” (Faizah, PAR). Strong ties among community members (see Granovetter, 1973), hence, can also have a negative impact on different levels of agency as well as trust, with Faizah (PAR) emphasising that she is not sending her second daughter to school to maintain family reputation, i.e. to avoid gossip. The girls at the boarding houses cannot challenge these narratives of distrust expressed through gossip directly, but they counteract them indirectly by creating an alternative environment of trust through their extended networks. This fosters a sense of safety and
confidence, in which feelings can be expressed and reciprocated with girl 20 (EfA1) commenting “the other girls encouraged her to not to be afraid. They said that don’t be afraid [...] there is nothing to be afraid about it”.

Gibson (1991) contends that trust is a crucial element in processes of empowerment, with Nunkoo and Ramkissoon (2012) arguing that empowering community members can lead to an improvement of public trust and hence, can also have positive effects on community (tourism) development. In this study, however, it is trust itself that is strengthening the girls’ position by creating an empowering narrative of trust. This narrative is based on their extended networks, which reduce their vulnerability to gossip and the risk of being gossiped about, as they are part of and move in female groups that increase their public legitimacy. These different manifestations of friendship, trust and networks build the foundation of the girls’ personal and cognitive development allowing the girls to develop an alternative sense of being in the world, which does not only affect their sense of self, but also how they feel in relation to others. This process is shaped by the learning philosophy characterising the EfA project and the collaborative learning structures, which facilitate the girls’ acquisition of skills and knowledge, as discussed next.

8.3 Holistic philosophy of learning

The role of collaboration in consciousness raising (see Vygotsky, 1987) is paired with the increasing structured approach to learning that the girls acquire at the boarding houses. “The change is that everything in Dar Ourgane has a time, has a system, the time of going to school, the time of the homework, the time of doing any other activities” (Girl21, EfA1). The system of the boarding houses follows a daily routine, which has designated times for revision and doing homework, which contrasts with most of the girls’ homes where time is flexible. “It is not like the home, because in Dar Alfatate [EfA] everything is organised” (Girl22, EfA1). This allows for collaborative learning environments to develop, in which competence is fostered through structured and connected purposeful learning. McLennan and Peel (2012) identify competence together with relatedness and autonomy, as key psychological needs to expand students’ capacities for learning. These are further complemented by the philosophy of learning characterising the EfA boarding houses, which is based on providing individualised care and support for each girl, catering not only to their academic needs, but also developing them as individuals and professionals.
“In other places the girls only return to the house for eating and for sleeping, but we have a contact with each girl, that is the aim of EfA, to select only a number of girls. It is not about selecting 100 girls, to select only ten girls each year for each house [...] if you provide for them, you have the good results.” (Housemother1)

8.3.1 Education: Quality, resources and support

There are several difficulties that the girls encounter in their transition from primary school to secondary school, with girl 60 (EfA2) commenting that “[w]hen they finish the primary school they cannot write good and they cannot speak Arabic good, because of the teachers who don’t come and also because of the parents of the children. They don’t revise with their children, because they don’t go to school before.” This emphasises that many children are left on their own in their studies without support from their parents, as these are mostly illiterate, or from teachers, with particularly rural areas experiencing a high absence of teachers. A community member from the region of Imlil observed, “there are some problems at schools. There are teachers who do not come, they are absent for two hundred days or more, so no studies in the year” (Omar, CM), whereas a community member from the region of Ijoukak argued that some of the teachers come to primary school, but they do not teach the children.

“[T]he teacher just gives the freedom to the children to stay and talk, [or] go and play in other places, not staying at school and [at the end of the school year] they give the attestation to the children without good studies [...]. They just move to other level, move, move, move and when they go to Asni or Marrakech to continue, they will find themselves with no information [knowledge] for continuing studies and they will come back.” (Eliza, CM)

This reflects the difficulties that children face in furthering their studies, if they have not acquired the necessary foundation of knowledge and skills to be able to cope with a higher level of education. Lubna (PAR) describes the transition to secondary school as “a disaster in the life of a student, he [sic] knows that he can't understand anything, it’s like he studies other things that he [has] never heard about”. A teacher further observed that she “faced in Talat n'Yacoub the problems of communication, because she [...] cannot explain the courses in Berber and [...] the mother tongue of the students is Berber” (Primary School Teacher). Consequently, not only access to school, but also the quality of education, communication
and the support received within the school environment and at home, represent a significant challenge for students in these areas.

The learning experience is further influenced by the accessibility and availability of resources and facilities, such as libraries and computer rooms, which are not equally available across the schools. Figure 36, for example, displays a primary school building situated between Talat n’Yacoub and Ijoukak with broken windows. Girl 71 (EfA2) further argues that in her high school not only material things, but also staff is lacking. "We need a library, we need the other PC, we need other teachers, we need all. Because we study in letter and science, we study in class 43" students (ibid). A local teacher shared this sentiment. He listed some of these shortcomings of the high school in Asni and linked these to the high dropout rate of students. “We have the lack of facilities at school itself, which means that many students just fail to develop their knowledge and skills and values in school, because of lack of libraries, lack of multi-media rooms, lack of books, this pushes many people to leave, to drop-out" (Local Teacher).

These external barriers cannot be redressed by the EfA project, however, the boarding houses represent a form of supportive and safe environment in which the girls can build-up and strengthen some of the knowledge and skills they did not acquire in primary school. This is reflected through the difference in learning philosophies characterising the EfA and primary school environment. The latter are often not very well resourced and learning content is missing or not well delivered and children are, at times, lacking encouragement to continue their studies. On the contrary, the EfA boarding houses count with a range of learning facilities, with girl 71 (EfA2) denoting the EfA as their primary learning environment. Here, “we have Internet, small library, have dictionary and have the volunteer helping us. Dar Asni is better than high school; we study here” (ibid).

The learning philosophy at the EfA boarding houses further emphasises the transmission of knowledge, for example through the provision of additional lessons by the volunteer and
housemother/assistant, which supports the girls in their preparation for school. Girl 11 (EfA1) highlights that “the assistant and the other volunteer help them to understand their courses and lessons and when she goes to school she has ideas before about courses and lessons and when the teacher asks them about anything she answers correctly”. Within the learning spaces of the EfA the girls can express their fears and worries, receiving support and encouragement by the other girls and staff members. Some of the girls argue that they rather acquire academic knowledge at the boarding houses than at school, using a terminology of care to describe the attention received. “[S]he learned French, because in primary school the teacher didn’t care about the student and she learned French in the [boarding] house, not in school” (Girl51, EfA1).

This atmosphere of learning also fosters the girls’ competence through the provision of a multifaceted learning environment, in which the girls can develop different skills. They do not only acquire cognitive and interpersonal skills, but also technical skills, such as learning how to perform computer-related tasks. “She said that she learned a lot of things, like how to search and surf in the net and how to work the PC, because in her village she doesn’t have like these things” (ibid). However, while staying at the boarding houses the researcher observed that these are differently resourced, particularly the first boarding house in Asni has a large library and computer room, whereas this is not the case in the other boarding houses. Still, the available resources play a key function in the girls’ academic advancement, providing not only a source of information, but also supporting the girls in furthering their knowledge independently.

8.3.2 Connected and collaborative learning

The connected and collaborative learning experience at the boarding houses fosters a potentiating learning milieu (see McLennan & Peel, 2012) in which most of the girls share the same purpose in life, namely to finish their studies. “She likes the relationship between the other girls in this place, because they have the same purpose that is education” (Girl8, EfA1). Collectively held values, such as academic

Figure 37: Stars 2014 (Picture by Author)
success and mutual respect, motivate the girls to engage in connected learning and to improve themselves through this process. Girl 36 (EfA1) comments that she “likes this girl, because she has a good behaviour and she is the first in her class”. The girls with the highest grades are further awarded a star in the boarding houses, as illustrated in Figure 37. This contributes to the creation of shared values based on achievement engendering respect, which alludes to a shifting understanding of respect compared to that prevalent among local communities, as discussed in the subsequent chapter.

These values, however, could also increase the pressure on the girls to perform well in school, as they are becoming more aware of their own performance through the achievement of others. Girl 45 (EfA1) argues that she feels a sense of competition among the girls; “when she sees the girls that are the best or the first in her class, she feels in competition with the other girls, to be also one of the best”. One condition for the girls’ admission to the boarding houses is that they have good grades and they need to maintain a good level in school, otherwise they have to return to their village, as reflected in the quotation below by the community leader. However, there are also exceptions to this general rule.

“They give them two choices, either to be hard working, to build your personality and to work hard, so to build your future, or you are going back to the village and you will live a hard life.” (Community Leader)

The girls’ performance is shaped through this interactive learning environment, which can strengthen their motivation to engage in effective learning. Bandura (1977, p. 3) links this to the development of “the capability for insightful and foresightful behaviour”, with the latter being related to a person’s current motivation to learn, as it requires conceiving future outcomes of learning. The daily routines governing the boarding houses play a key role in this process, as they allow for co-operative learning to develop, in which self-regulatory learning processes are elaborated and experienced in collaboration (see Zimmerman, 2002). The girls learn-how-to-learn with the boarding houses staff and they develop aspirations within their close peer groups, which are discussed in more detail in section 8.7.2. The girls support each other in their studies and “when one of the girls doesn’t understand a question or exercise they help each other to have a solution for the exercise” (Girl47, EfA1). This allows them to solve problems and improve their academic performance collaboratively strengthening their competence; “for example, if they have an
exam she stays at the same table and do like an oral exam between the girls and this facilitates the revision and to get a good mark in the exam” (Girl36, EfA1). They also learn to reflect on their performance, which facilitates the development of a proactive and constructive way of appraising their own learning progress, as displayed below.

“For my studies I had a bad mark and she said [the housemother], you don’t have to cry and be sad, no you have to be confident and you have to be strong and you have to work hard for having a good mark” (Girl69, EfA2).

The girls’ self-regulation in learning results from the internalisation of the strategies they acquire through this holistic learning environment. Self-regulated learning enhances not only their learning capacities and their autonomy in learning, but also in life, contributing to the development of life-long learning skills (Zimmerman, 2002). This process is enriched by the mentors and role models that guide and accompany the girls’ academic progress and maturation processes, with mothering playing a key role in the girls’ early detachment from home and integration into a new and potentially foreign environment.

8.4 Supportive relationships

The girls’ learning process is guided by more knowledgeable others, who assist the girls in developing their skills and expanding their knowledge. Skills refer to the various forms in which individual capacities are integrated and drawn upon in different situations (Scribner & Cole, 1973), with learning and development forming a “complex dialectical process” (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 73). Vygotsky (ibid) argues that learning precedes development and it is in this differentiation or sequencing that he locates the zone of proximal development. The latter is indicative of the actual developmental level of the child and the potential developmental level that can be achieved under guidance (ibid). This reflects the important role that mentors and role models play in children’s development, with the housemother often being cited as one of the key figures providing guidance and advise for the girls. Supportive relations can have different functions, with those being most emphasised at the boarding houses being that of mothering, mentoring and role modelling. These functions overlap and are experienced differently by each girl. As “children vary in the relative weight they give to divergent sources of influence” (Bussey & Bandura, 1999, p. 689), it is crucial to remain sensitive to these multifaceted experiences and also to potential adverse effects, with Koehn (1998) and Tronto (1993) providing critical reflections on the role of care in mothering and Kram (1983) highlighting the possible negative element of mentorship.
8.4.1 Mothering

“The first thing is the communication, because these girls when they arrive on the first day, when their father and mother let them here, most of them cry. For the first week this is our job that is our role, we cannot say to the girl we don’t have the rules in the house, we cannot say that you can do that, that and that. There is only the communication, we play, we talk, all the time we stay very close to the girl to ask her what her name is, her family, what you would like to do in your studies. Like that you show her that you are really there for her.” (Housemother1)

Mothering plays a key role in the boarding houses, particularly in the early stages of the girls’ development. Patton and Harper (2003, p. 71) describe maternal support relationships as consisting of “nurturing, care, concern, worry and honesty”. These are similar elements that the housemothers, as well as, the girls used to describe their relationship. The nurturing aspect of the housemothers’ role is expressed through their embodied feelings and actions, providing help, personal attention, protection and emotional support for the girls. “I can tell her [housemother] about my feelings and she understands what I feel (Girl69, EfA2)”. These connections are established on an equal basis, with the housemothers emphasising that: “We never ask the girl to be at our level when she arrives here and has fear, it’s us that have to be at the girls level to come here” (Housemother1). The aspect of nurturing forms part of the housemother’s caring role, with many of the aforementioned aspects also forming part of care-giving practise (Milligan & Wiles, 2010). Being close to the girls, communicating with them and letting them feel protected can be considered the initiation phase of the maternal support relationship, while the cultivation phase (see Kram, 1983) is based on nurturing these relations, spending time with the girls, caring for them and worrying about them.

“It's a question mark for all visitors how I know all the 36 girls. But [...] right now I have all 36 in my head [...] and I realise that there is one that is not here, I have not seen her. I don’t know how, but it's the habit and for the orientation you see that someone is sad or that they are having problems, you are obliged to go and ask what is happening, you are there for them when they want to talk to you.” (Housemother3)

This element of worry and concern expressed in the previous quotation was also observed while staying at the boarding houses during exam period, with the “housemother and cook waiting for the girls to return from their exams at the door of the boarding houses” (Field
diary extract, 22nd January 2014). The housemother was as nervous as the girls and she shared the joy, doubt or sadness of each girl when they returned to the boarding house. It can be argued that it is part of their job requirement to assist the girls in passing their exams, as this is also one of the core project outcomes that the housemother feeds back to the tour operator. However, they expressed a sincere concern for the girls’ feelings and most of the housemothers employed the word ‘love’ to describe their relationship with the girls and/or their job. “It’s true that I love to work with the girls, I love to work with the girls, that’s what I always want, the education. I love to work at the level of education, to be near to the girls and to orient them, that’s what I love to do and that’s why I am in this domain” (Housemother3).

The housemothers’ sentiments are paired with the girls’ feelings, who refer to the housemother as their sister and second mother, reflecting the housemother’s role as surrogate parent figure (see Ainsworth, 1989). “This is for me like my house […] here I find the girls like my sister and my sister [the] housemother like my mother” (Girl70, EfA2). Time, in the form of a sustained presence of the housemother over the years, represents an important factor in the formation of affectionate bonds. “They consider the housemother like their second mother, because the housemother stayed with them in Dar Tinmel and then they come and they find the same housemother also in Dar Asni II” (Girl66, EfA2). The need for stable, protected and affectionate attachments in children’s development has also been highlighted in other research (see e.g. Ainsworth, 1989; Richter & Norman, 2010), referring to the importance of embodied and personal relations for children’s development, providing them with a sense of intimacy and security. Figure 38 shows the housemother with two of the girls, with girl 50 (EfA1) arguing that she took “this picture with her sister (housemother), it’s like her mother in the house. […] Because she takes care of the girls and also she gives them what they need.” The quotation emphasises nurturance and care, as core features of the maternal support relation, though, there were also other aspects of the engagement with the housemother experienced by the girls, as expressed below.
“They had two housemothers before. She said that the first gave them advise and helped the girls to organise their time, time for going to school, for revising, but the last didn’t care about the girls, do what you want. [...] She said that she stayed with them three months, because the teacher said something that was not good for her and told the main housemother.” (Girl36, EfA1)

The quotation emphasises the need for an effective oversight of the boarding houses and staff members, to assure that their work harmonises with the vision of EfA. Also, while staying at the boarding houses a stricter disciplinary relationship with the housemothers was observed with one of the housemothers often shouting at the girls and there being instances where girls started crying. When confronting the housemother with her behaviour, she argued, “that the girls need order and a form of system. It is not easy to keep so many girls under one roof in order and that this is also why it is necessary from time to time to ‘talk to them’ or rather ‘shout at them’” (Field diary extract, 4th April, 2014). This behaviour was criticised by one of the parents; arguing, “the housemother is difficult. She is always fighting with the girls” (Munira, PAR), though, none of the girls mentioned this during the interviews.

These experiences illustrate that social relations of love and care are also characterised by power imbalances (Lawson, 2007), with the girls having to abide by the housemother’s rule and the at times strict system of the boarding houses. The housemother might feel overwhelmed with the responsibility of caring for such a large number of girls, with Munira (PAR) arguing that the housemother cited nervousness as reason for her behaviour. This reflects the importance of incorporating the housemothers or generally instructors/trainers in on-the-job learning processes to foster local expertise and a shared vision among professionals, which forms part of a sustainable development approach to capacity building (Weiler and Ham, 2002). Murray and Dunn (1995) further contend that to maintain meaningful project outcomes it is vital to consider the changing capacity building demands corresponding to advanced development phases of local communities and individuals.

“[I]n Dar Asni we have some like a system, if the girls want to go to school they have just five minutes to go to school and when they finish school they have also five minutes to come back to the house. That is why that limits that the girls go somewhere, just from school to Dar Alfatate [EfA], from Dar Alfatate to school.” (Marya, PAR)
The rules characterising the life at the boarding houses described in the quotation by Marya (PAR) were widely acknowledged among community members, although their general knowledge about the project was limited. Souad (CM) said that “they limit the freedom of the girls and they cannot go somewhere else with a boy or talk with them. Just they have time to go or to come back to school or the house”. Another community member observed that “the housemother takes care of the girls, they don’t let them go away from the home, they just [go to] school, home, school or home, school” (Nafisa, CM). This understanding of care assimilates to a form of control, which was referred to in the preceding quotation as limitation of freedom. This reflects that care is also a cultural construction (Tronto, 1993) and within the local communities caring for girls contains an element of controlling girls’ freedom.

The EfA project addresses these discourses by conforming to these social norms through their system, which is visible to the outside and can be perceived and received by the communities. However, the EfA project also challenges these collective conceptualisations of care by providing spaces for self-care and experiences of mutuality and connection that foreground the development of skills. Throughout their learning processes the girls are encouraged to seek out new knowledge and relationships through the provision of opportunities for cultural exchange and self-discovery. They are also receiving guidance and advise from the housemothers and at times, other staff members including the volunteer, which represents a core feature of their mentoring relationship. This can be seen as a form of transitioning phase from mothering to mentoring, as it fosters the girls’ development towards becoming more autonomous, while still emphasising connection.

8.4.2 Mentoring

Mentoring relationships are concerned with protégé development, which can range from youth mentoring to student – faculty mentoring and workplace mentoring (Lockwood et al., 2007). The latter is traditionally based on younger professionals being guided by more experienced staff, with protégés also benefitting from an increased access to networks (Blackman, 2008). The role of networks has been discussed in the previous section and it can be noted here that these networks also contain an element of mentoring. Particularly the older girls in the boarding houses act as mentors for the younger girls, assisting them in their studies and in their familiarisation with the system of the boarding houses. Different functions of mentoring relations have been outlined (see e.g. Kram, 1983; Patton & Harper,
2003), with those being most emphasised at the boarding houses being that of guidance provision, teaching, as well as, emotional and social support (see Scandura, 1992). Each girl experiences these functions differently and they can overlap as well as transition over time. The quotation below illustrates the changing role of the housemother, who has previously taken care of the girls attending secondary school and has now continued to care for the first cohorts of girls going to high school.

"When the girls were small I saw myself as a mother [...] They came and they wanted these or that and now I see them as women. Here I see that it's the time to give them the responsibility for their own life, because it's the age they are adult [...] they take their own decision and they know what to do. Now I work as a friend with the girls [...] and I am not like a mother [...] For example, in the daily routine, before it wasn't like that, when I saw a girl that is playing that is doing anything else, she was obliged into the study room to do her studies. But now [...] I leave them the responsibility to do their studies, it's their life and it's their future. I give them the responsibility to feel that. That she feels that, what it is that she wants." (Housemother3)

The housemother reflects on the importance of giving the girls more freedom, in order for them to 'feel their responsibility'. This freedom is expressed through a more autonomous learning and living environment, where the girls can explore and strengthen their own sense of identity, raising questions such as: 'What does she want to do with her life?' This indicates that the girls' development at the boarding houses is also about their development as professionals. The girls are confronted with different discourses regarding women's role in society, with their communities attributing women's space primarily to the home and discouraging their access to paid work. The potential internal conflicts that the girls experience are described as a 'mental tiredness', with the housemother highlighting the importance of providing psychological support for the girls.

"Especially, firstly the psychological support, there are the girls who need that. There are the girls that come from their home and they are tired, in their mentality they are tired. When they are here they take a rest [...] they try to come back and to retake their attitude, firstly psychologically." (Housemother3)

This reflects the difficulty of growing up in these disparate environments, with some girls being the first in their community to further their education beyond primary school. Almost all of the 74 interviewed girls' mothers are housewives and most of their parents only have
limited schooling experience. This positions the housemother as a mentor, who can guide the girls in their adaption to the new environment and assist them in their maturation process.

“I think she [housemother] has the biggest role [...] when we started we didn’t know even how to dress our cloth very well, how to eat [...] with the fork and all that. She understands us and she knows where we came from, because the most important thing, if you want to change is that you have to find somebody who understands you. [...] You don’t know when she is starting changing you, she just says things [...] but when you think about that you see that she means that, so she is helping you to change, but not directly, she indirectly helps you. [...] We were in a place, we didn’t know anybody, we didn’t know how they talk, how they live their live and we were just going to secondary school, we had never seen secondary school before, we had never heard about it and she was aware.” (Girl75, EfA3, slightly amended, emphasis added)

The guidance process is described as a subtle and indirect process, which highlights the aspect of learning from experience and mutual understanding. Girl 75 emphasises that ‘understanding’ is key in fostering change. Therefore, establishing rapport and effective mentoring relations within capacity building projects can be fostered through raising awareness about participants’ background and potentially having the same ethnicity and particularly in this context, the same gender. This was also observed in a study by Patton and Harper (2003), highlighting the preference of African American women for African American female mentors in graduate and professional schools.

In this study, the housemother’s Berber background and her familiarity with the girls’ way of life represents a key advantage for their relationship. “I am the first between my brothers and sisters that has done her studies, that’s me. My parents are illiterate, they have never gone to school and in all the surrounding of my family, there was nobody who has studied and there was nobody who had left the village” (Housemother1). The quotation illustrates the close link between the housemother’s life and that of the girls attending the boarding houses. Her local knowledge provides her with a heightened awareness of the girls’ needs and the potential difficulties they encounter within the school environment. Most of the younger girls emphasised that the housemother taught them good behaviours. Girl 35 (EfA1) says, “she learned how to speak with other people and respect them and how to dress.” This reflects that the guidance and teaching process starts with equipping the girls
with these basic skills, including table manners, how to behave in public and how to dress properly. Behavioural skills are also taught at school in the subject of Islamic studies, illustrating the intersection between formal school-based education and informal experiential learning. “In the subject of Islamic she learns a lot of things, like how to respect the behavioural rules at the table. [...] We learn this in secondary school [...] , but when we are at the EfA house we also practise it” (Girl10, EfA1).

The housemother describes the secondary school phase as the most challenging, “since it is at this time that girls who have managed to go to school are often taken out of school to do housework or to get married” (Nussbaum, 2003, p. 337). “That is what I want to say, if we take care and protect the girl and if we work well with the girl from twelve to fourteen years old, if we work well with the girl, showing her the image of education, after the high school we are not afraid for the girls. We lose the girls for marriage in the ages between twelve to fifteen years old” (Housemother1). Wilson (2004) observes that marriage is one of the main reasons for girls’ drop-out of or exclusion from school, with this also being a common reason among rural communities in Morocco. A local community member comments that girls usually get married around the age of “fourteen, fifteen, sixteen”, attributing this to the education they receive in their homes; “it’s related to the education at home” (Rajah, CM).

This was also emphasised by a local teacher from Asni, who argued, “girls are studying, but not really, because the impact of the family and of society and other cultural parameters are stronger [...] especially in villages, [...] early-marriage, even if there is a law, the family-code now insists on the fact that girls should be eighteen to get married, which is good, acceptable. But many people try to [marry] at sixteen years old or even fifteen” (Local Teacher). However, within the boarding houses the girls are exposed to alternative ideas and ideals, with the housemothers portraying to them the opportunities that education can bring to their life. This does not remove the impact that the family and their community has on their formation of thought, but the emotional support, guidance and orientation received at the boarding houses contributes to the development of a more critical consciousness. This is also where mentoring leads into the function of role modelling, which is discussed next.

**8.4.3 Role modelling**

There is an element of imitation or learning through observation that forms part of girls’ informal learning processes, which is particularly emphasised in role modelling. Bandura
(1977) contends that observational response learning is based on a complex process, which studies people’s ability to develop new response patterns based on the behavioural features displayed by others. Associational preferences influence this form of learning, which is significantly shaped by those people that are most often observed in daily life. This informal element of learning forms part of the girls’ identification with their role models, with their future aspirations often being tied to their role models’ professions. This reflects that the girls develop their sense of self by interpreting the behaviour and roles of those around them. Table 5 reflects on the importance of the demonstration of behaviour by role models as the foundation of the girls’ observational/experiential learning processes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role modelling functions</th>
<th>teaching</th>
<th>observational response learning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• She learned from the volunteer a lot of things and when she sees the volunteer do something, she also wants to do like that. (Girl20, EfA1)</td>
<td>inspiration</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Role models playing a really important role for the life of children to realise their dreams and maybe to be also a teacher in the future. (Girl33, EfA1)</td>
<td>experiential learning</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• She said that it’s important for the girls to see what her role models do, to be a role model for them. (Housemother2)</td>
<td>encouragement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• When she sees a role model she can face any difficulties to be like her, like the role model. (Girl49, EfA1)</td>
<td>imitation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Role modelling functions

Inhelder and Piaget (1958) argue that during the age of thirteen to fifteen children develop ideas and ideals, though, it is not always clear whether the affection is towards the person representing the idea or vice versa. During childhood ideals are subject-focused and part of the child’s direct environment, whereas “during adolescence the circle is broken because ideals become autonomous” reflecting “the close kinship of this affective mechanism with formal thought” (ibid, p. 349). The development of ideals into autonomous ideas becomes
apparent in the reflections of girl 75 highlighting the manifold learning and change processes that this form of informal learning can engender.

“When she [housemother] started telling us about herself, we wanted to become like her. We wanted to do like her in the future, that’s how we started to believe in ourselves and we started wanting to change, because you can’t change a person if she doesn’t want to. So when we started to see her like that, we started to think, we started to have different views, we started to think more about the future.” (Girl75, EfA3)

In the quotation the housemother takes the position of a role model/ knowledgeable other, initiating a range of potentially subconscious and conscious processes in the girls’ life, such as inciting a sense of becoming ‘to become like her’; developing a desire for change ‘wanting to change’; increasing self-/reflection ‘started to think’; raising consciousness ‘have different views’ and developing life-plans ‘think more about the future’. The girls identify with the housemother, who comes from a similar background, as indicated before and further occupies a role that is tangentially associated with the traditional care-taking roles. Her positioning as a role model is not only instilling a desire for change, but also strengthening the girls’ belief in their own capacity for change.

The girls are further exposed to a wider range of role models compared to their communities, which provides them with a more varied ‘choice set’ to develop associational preferences. This further challenges the stereotypical view of women, as the girls encounter women who have succeeded in life without strictly adhering to traditional values and norms. Table 5 illustrates that role models support the girls in overcoming difficulties or challenges in their life through their aspirational function, with the girls desiring to be like/imitate the role model. Bussey and Bandura (1999, p. 692) refer to this as social modelling, arguing that “models transmit knowledge, skills and strategies for managing environmental demands” or challenges. This affective-intellectual learning
process is mirrored in the embodiment of aspirations in the teacher, as reflected in the quotation accompanying Figure 39. “She takes this picture for the teacher of Arabic […] because she sees herself in the future to be the teacher of Arabic” (Girl31, EfA1). Here, the girl imagines her future through the teacher, interweaving the role of instruction and observational learning.

Teachers as role models are equated to aspirations, becoming key figures in the girls’ personal and academic development. This follows an embodied process, which emphasises the physical presence of role models to provide the opportunity for social interaction fostering knowledge exchange and experiential learning. Epstein (2003, p. 159) contends that experiential learning is tight to the cognitive system, but that it also relies on affect, as it “influences and is influenced by affect”. This is expressed through the importance of the physical presence of role models, with girl 33 explaining that the absence of the French teacher led her to reconsider her aspiration of becoming a French teacher herself.

“She said that […] in the beginning she wanted to be the teacher of French, but when she came to the secondary school she didn’t find the teacher of French, then she changed her mentality and [now] she wants to be a teacher of mathematic.” (Girl33, EfA1)

Learning is still a process that consciously or subconsciously has to be carried out by the individual (Glasersfeld, 1996), though, this is complemented by Vygotsky’s (1978, p. 210) view that “development based on collaboration and imitation is the source of all the specifically human characteristics of consciousness that develop in the child.” This coalescence of individual and social learning becomes apparent in the girls’ learning process, which is tightly interwoven with their surroundings and the people they interact with. Mentoring and role modelling raises their intellectual level, while providing emotional support and acting as a source of inspiration and encouragement. However, these relations also represent potential sites of power, as illustrated in the section on mothering. This emphasises the need to avoid romanticising them, with Philip (2003) arguing that a more critical approach requires taking into consideration the wider social context in which youths develop. Inhelder and Piaget (1958) describe the social transition into adulthood as a key characteristic of adolescence, which requires the adoption of adult roles. This is expressed through the girls’ aspirations, which represent an increasing abstraction from the community life they are accustomed to, towards developing their own life plans and
ambitions. This process is underpinned by an increasing sense of self-determination, with the girls desiring to build their own future as discussed next.

8.5 Empowerment as responsibility for the self

The girls increasingly develop the desire to care for themselves, which represents a process that is guided through the formal and informal learning embodied within the school and boarding houses. This was also emphasised by the housemother caring for the girls attending high school, who emphasised the need to let the girls 'feel their responsibility'. It can be argued that learning to adopt more responsibility for the self is a common process of maturation, though; within the family and community frameworks it represents a renegotiation of the understanding of women's role in society. “[T]he girls are more sensitive than the boys. Someday the boys will go and find the work for their life, but the girls should be taken care of” (Zineb, CM). Another girl commented, “just for protecting the girls [...] the Berber culture refuses them to continue studying. She said that people here like the girl to just know how to work at home, cooking, washing, just for getting married, just for having a husband” (Aisha, CM). The quotations illustrate how women are positioned as in need of care, with their role in society being strongly associated to being a wife and mother (see chapter 9).

In contrast to these community discourses, the girls describe ‘learning to be responsible for yourself’ as the main learning content and change experienced at the individual level at the boarding houses. Girl 12 (EfA1) commented that “she learned to be responsible for herself” and girl 24 (EfA1) highlighted “that she has changed, because in Dar Ouirgane she is able to be responsible for herself”. Instead of referring to empowerment and the commonly associated notions of control, power and mastery (Riger, 1993), the girls describe this as a process associated to taking their own decisions “[t]o make my decisions” (Girl69, EfA2) and building their future “[t]o be able to build her future with her own self, without help from [anybody]” (Girl70, EfA2). This correlates with the development of an increasing level of awareness and accountability, in addition to their increasing ability to contact and communicate with others. Girl 24 (EfA1) explains that learning “how to be able to account responsibility helps her in the future; for example, when she goes to university, she will have to communicate with other people and also have a good relationship”.

This process is supported by the system of the boarding houses, in which the girls are given gradually more responsibilities while they grow up. This process also forms part of the
aforementioned transition in supportive relationships from mothering towards mentoring and role modelling. “[W]e have created at the home the small jobs that the girl can start from that age on to be responsible in little things. Every year we change the responsibility of each girl, like that after three years, four years, she will be like an adult at that age” (Housemother1). Girl 41 (EfA1) depicts these housework responsibilities in Figure 40, where she is cleaning the boarding house commenting that “it is not just [about] studies; you should do the work also in the home to help to do the cleaning and cooking”. While these responsibilities reflect women’s traditional gender roles, it is the increasing transition from performing household and homework responsibilities towards feeling and owning their responsibility that strengthens their sense of responsibility for the self.

The housemothers themselves also acquire a new skill-set through their work at the boarding houses and through the mentoring received from the volunteers, as reflected in the quotation below by one of the tour operators. This emphasises the importance of ‘on-the-job learning’, which Chaskin et al. (2001) term an engagement strategy for the development of leadership skills in capacity building projects. Instead of receiving formal training the housemothers develop these skills through their work at the project and their interaction with staff members and volunteers.

“I think the housemothers had quite a lot of trouble initially almost doing any job, but I suppose what we did early on with EfA is that volunteers were almost like mentors to the housemothers and imparted a lot of skills sets that the housemothers wouldn’t typically have had. I remember we had a very good Australian woman at the beginning. […] She sort of said to the housemother, well we can do this and we can go to the market […]. To begin with the housemother said, well that is not what women do in this society, but now the housemother will go and order the plumber or do that and we encourage her to do that. […] So, she has changed and people can see her, she
The quotation reflects how the housemother has learned from the volunteer to transcend the traditional gendered roles of women in the area, further receiving the support of the EfA team and becoming a role model herself in Asni. The housemothers also encourage this form of learning among the girls, selecting particularly more reclusive and shy girls to engage in activities that might be perceived as counter-normative. “[W]e always select the girls that are very shy and closed for doing a walk or I say that I want to buy the things at the souk and I ask her […] to go to that man there to tell him that she wants that and that” (Housemother1). The housemothers’ carry the responsibility for over 30 girls, managing the boarding houses on a daily basis, with one housemother describing their ownership of responsibility as the most fulfilling aspect of their work. The “most important thing that the association gives to us […] is that you are the responsible of the girls and the house. [In] the work at the house you can do all that you want, there is nobody that can say no you should do that and that, hence, you work with a big responsibility” (Housemother1). However, as emphasised in the section on mothering, this can also entail problems, if the housemother is not capable of dealing with the wide range of responsibilities. On the other hand, developing leadership capacities particularly among women in these areas represents an important strategy to challenge local discourses and to strengthen the presence of female role models among those peripheral areas, where they are often lacking.

Girl 75 (EfA3) draws these different arguments together by describing the process of empowerment based on responsibility, as learning to be herself: “if you were yourself you will be completely relieved and you will know that you are responsible for all your actions and you don’t have to justify for anyone, why you did that or why did you do that.” This reflects the strong shift in the sense of self that the girls experience through learning to be responsible for themselves. Education, together with the girls (and housemothers) access to role-models and mentors increases their critical reasoning ability encouraging an attitude of asking ‘why’, demanding justifications and considering alternatives (Kuhn, 1996), instead of accepting the status-quo, in which “they make a difference between the boys and the girls” (Aisha, CM).

This reflects the notion of the self as a reflexive project, “which consists in the sustaining of coherent, yet continuously revised, biographical narratives” (Giddens, 1991, p. 5). Girl 75 is
taking responsibility for the choices in her life and through this she is developing a stronger sense of self ‘if you were yourself you will be completely relieved’. The sense of relief could be related to the girls feeling less constrained by social norms, which is intricately interwoven with their increasing ability to question social, economic and political reality and to imagine a different world. However, this represents a difficult process in which the girls are confronted with contradictive knowledge and beliefs, with girl 27 (EfA1) arguing “that boys make a family in the future and they must have a good work for the families, but girls will just be a housemother in the future”. Communication and cultural exchange play a key role in unsettling some of these deeply engrained values, beliefs and norms, encouraging the girls to embrace the spectrum of possible action and possible social mobility that result from education.

8.6 Communication and cultural exchange

“One of the most things I love about EfA is that they always give you the opportunity to meet new people. There is always something new; there is no day that passes without learning something, even if it’s about yourself, it’s about the people, there is always something that you are going to learn.” (Girl75, EfA3)

The learning environment in the EfA is inherently social and this allows for communication between the girls and others to flourish. The multilingual learning spaces created within the boarding houses differ from most of the girls’ home and community environment where people predominantly speak Berber (see Sadiqi, 2003). The increasing exposure to Arabic, Darija [spoken variety of Arabic], French and English language allows the girls to practise their language skills through interacting with others in an environment that is ‘unthreatening’ and where they are able to draw upon resources and support, such as dictionaries and language classes, as expressed in the section discussing the holistic learning philosophy guiding the EfA. The housemother emphasised that “most of the girls arrive and they cannot speak the Moroccan language [Darija]. For us, we can say we can speak a bit the Moroccan language, I can speak Arabic, but for you, you can respond in Berber, I understand, for the girls to learn” (Housemother1).

Greenfield (1972) argues that oral language, such as Berber, is more context-bound compared to written language, as the former often relies on the context to communicate meaning. This requires a common understanding in social interaction and reflects less abstraction than the written word. Girl 34 (EfA1) expresses “that she finds a lot of difficulty
to learn other languages, because in her home she just speaks Berber, like she doesn’t learn, she has a difficulty to learn Arabic and French, especially French in the primary school.” These languages rely on completely different alphabets and developing writing skills requires continued practise, assistance, as well as, volition and abstraction skills (Vygotsky, 1987). These skills are in their incipient stage among the girls arriving at the boarding houses, as it was noted earlier that many of the primary schools fail to transmit these skills and knowledge and it is around the age of twelve that children learn to abstract from propositions (Inhelder & Piaget, 1958).

The girls often reflect on their acquisition of language skills in combination with their increasing ability to contact with people. This illustrates that their increasing proficiency in language also exposes them to new ideas and thoughts and it is through social interaction that ideas are formed and thoughts developed (Kuhn, 1996). The quotation by girl 75 at the beginning of this section emphasising that these processes are concerned with the interrelationship between the self and others. The housemother highlights that this is the “first environment for the girls to be in contact with others, [...] to see how others eat, how others think, especially with the others they learn a lot” (Housemother1). Vygotsky (1987) views thinking and communication as connected, arguing that the child’s internal speech and thought process is developed through the internalisation of social speech. This process is illustrated in the girls acquisition of language skills, which fosters their ability to contact with people; “even talk to people, if you didn’t get educated you wouldn't have opportunity to meet more people, to meet different people [...] in a village you have the same mentality with all the people” (Girl75, EfA3).

The formation of concepts mirroring more abstract or generalised ideas, referred to as mentality in the quotation (in this case traditional concepts), is intertwined with social interaction. Another girl commented, “her behaviour is changed, because before she had a difficulty to connect with the other people that she doesn’t know, but now it’s easy to connect with the other girls” (Girl50, EfA1). These modifications in behaviour are frequently the antecedent of an attitudinal change (Pettigrew, 1998), which illustrates the synergism between the development of cognitive and behavioural skills. The increasing exposure to new ideas and thoughts can engender critical thinking skills, as expressed below, which might also broaden the girls’ intellectual horizons and change their attitudes.
“[W]hen you meet people [...] you always talk about just normal things, but these normal things give you the opportunity to learn something else about them [...] just one word can change your view about things. For example, you always think things from one way and you are going to see it from another way.” (Girl75, EfA3)

The multicultural environment of the boarding houses allows the girls to acquire information about and experience different cultures, including their own Berber culture. “[W]e have one Amazigh [Berber] culture, but we have in every village we do practise Amazigh culture in a different way [...] for example, you can find some words in Asni, we pronounce it with like isch, we can’t find [this pronunciation] somewhere else” (Girl67, EfA2). The girls are able to learn more about their own culture and its manifold expressions across different communities of the High Atlas Mountains, without travelling to these places. This is paired with the sustained knowledge exchange with the volunteers, in addition to their role as mentors, as mentioned before. This can also provide the girls with access to alternative role models, with the volunteers often being highly educated women that are working in diverse professions. For example, while staying at the boarding houses there was a volunteer who is an artist, another who has worked for the government and a bachelor student. They usually stay around three months at the boarding house, providing the girls with “ideas about another culture, [...] it’s not just Amazigh culture or Arabic culture the culture of the volunteer” (Girl63, EfA2). The housemother further reflects on the opportunity that the contact with the volunteer provides “for becoming friends and they are open about their culture and they speak about their country and also the girls talk about their costumes” (Housemother3).

These cultural knowledge exchanges play a key part of mutually beneficial tourism encounters, with Novelli and Burns (2010) studying these in the context of educational student field-trips in destinations. There are also school groups visiting the EfA project, which are either students from the American school in Marrakesh, or school groups coming from another country, such as the UK, with some of them also being organised by one of the tour operators. “[T]here are the schools that come from Britain that come to talk to the girls [...] I see that that is also very important for the girls. We have also a school in Marrakech that comes often to do the activities with the girls, it’s the American school and this is an exchange, because it’s a culture that is very different to Morocco” (Housemother3). However, this also requires sensitivity towards the potential negative effects of these visits, with a housemother commenting that “before it was really a problem, because in any
circumstance there were the visitors and more visitors, but now we have only the most important visitors for the EfA and for the girls, as well” (Housemother3). Also, the relationship with the volunteer might entail some adverse effects resulting from the establishment of temporary affectionate attachments (see e.g. Conran, 2011; Richter & Norman, 2010). Still, Pettigrew (1998) argues that the opportunity to form friendships is a key determinant of positive effects accompanying intergroup contact, in addition to the interpersonal contact between the volunteer and the girls. This intercultural communication exposes the girls to alternative conceptions of gender, with the girls engaging in discussions about the role of women in different contexts with the school groups as well as the volunteer, as expressed below:

“[T]his is always in their discussions, there is the woman and what she does in Europe, in Asni or in Morocco. These are the discussions always between the volunteer and the girls and that’s important, because that forces also the girls to continue their studies and to go far, because when they meet with a volunteer she will tell them that she has worked there and done that studies [...] and they also get the desire to do that and to go far in their studies.” (Housemother3)

The quotation reflects that intercultural communication allows the girls to devise alternative perceptions of gender roles and responsibilities, which can also influence their inner speech / thought processes. This is also evidenced in the group activities that the girls undertake during the visit of international school groups. “[E]specially when the schools come and talk with the girls, they find out that the girls in their age in other countries would never marry and it’s not a goal in their life” (Housemother1). This challenges the commonly held beliefs of their community, which position marriage as a central goal of a girl’s life. Being exposed to these new ideas does not directly change their own beliefs and values, but it enriches their knowledge about different cultures and societal perspectives, which can thus, inform their own self-perception. Cognitive development in Vygotskian terms forms part of an acculturation process (Cole, 1985), in which culturally appropriate behaviour is learned and consciousness is formed. However, “[i]nstead of viewing the meaning system of a language as mapping onto pre-existing cognitive processes, it is viewed as a social formation that plays a much more active role in the creation of consciousness” (Wertsch & Stone, 1985, p. 171). Therefore, the multicultural social interaction and learning facilitated within the EfA project and the school environment, exposes the girls to different forms of behaviour and thinking that can amplify and potentially change their own perspective of
social life. The housemother (3) described this process as giving them “the openness towards the world”, which might also lead to a re-alignment of the self in relation to others. This re-alignment or change in consciousness forms part of the empowerment process, with imagination playing a key role in consciousness raising (Vygotsky, 1978), fostering the transformation of perceptions and nourishing the development of aspirations.

8.7 Imagining alternative life paths

The girls’ creative imagination is fostered through the activities undertaken at the boarding houses, which often have a focus on arts and are conducted in an open and constructive manner. “Every girl who knows to do something she can do it” (Girl51, EfA1). Girl 20 (EfA1) emphasised that she likes most “the way that the volunteer does the activities with the girls”, describing that she “puts all the materials that they need to do the activities and then she works”, while in school they just do exercises. This autonomy allows the girls to explore and develop their own ideas, with girl 51 (EfA1) arguing, “in the first time she said that she cannot paint”. However, after she painted her first painting in collaboration with the volunteer “she was surprised” (ibid) of her own skills. Encouraging imagination represents a creative way of self-expression and exploration of skills and knowledge.

8.7.1 Creative imagination and abstraction skills

Imagination is tied to the emotional senses of a person (Vygotsky, 1987), with the previous quotation emphasising the girl’s feeling of not being able to do something, which is overcome through the affective reinforcement by the volunteer, encouraging the girl to discover her potential. Most of the volunteers come from a Western country, which are usually characterised by more individualistic cultures. Triandis (1989, p. 510) argues that individualistic cultures tend to emphasise “self-reliance, independence, and creativity”, whereas collectivist cultures favour “obedience, reliability, and proper behavior” in their child-care patterns. This reflects the important, but potentially also conflictive role that mentoring from non-Islamic individuals plays in altering and/or instilling different values compared to those emphasised in the family and societal context.

Another form of perception and reasoning is abstraction, which can be described as “a mapping between different views of the worlds” (Saitta & Zucker, 1998, p. 1). Learning to abstract represents a crucial process in raising consciousness and modifications of the world as perceived, which can lead to changes in consciousness. Freire (1974, p. 109)
argues that the task of the teacher is not to explain, but "to present the material in such a way as to encourage students to think critically so that they might give their own interpretations to the data". In this atmosphere potentialities are evoked and developed, including abstract thoughts as expressed through the girls' pictures, particularly those attending high school. For example, girl 64 (EfA2) reflected on the meaning of the life-long journey of learning through an image depicting a field and a mountain (see Figure 41). "She takes this picture of the field and she takes also of the mountain that means that you have a long way for realising purpose" (Girl64, EfA2). This reflects that she abstracts from the 'known world', expressed through the familiar natural surroundings, to her life plan and aim of realising herself. Girl 72 (EfA2) employs the analogy of the buds of a tree and education, arguing that:

"[T]here is a flower, this flower is the first flower and after the fruit. That means that [...] when you see the flower, you think that the fruit that will come is nice and delicious. [...] when I think of education I think that the future will be good [...] if you have education, you can make your future in your hand." (ibid)

This emphasises the girls increasing capacity to reflect on and abstract from their present situation to the possible, envisaging their process of becoming and perceiving education as the key for realising their purpose in life. The argument that education provides girl 72 with her future in her hand reflects that the girls are aware of the increasing autonomy associated to being educated. This process is further underpinned by the development of life planning skills, which can be regarded as an increasing affirmation of autonomy (Inhelder & Piaget, 1958). Giddens (1991) refers to self-actualisation as the increasing control of the self over (personal) time. This connects to the understanding of the self as a "trajectory of development from the past to the anticipated future" (ibid, p. 74), as illustrated by girl 64 in Figure 41. The girls' increasing sense of responsibility over the self facilitates their reflective engagement with their past and their future life plan. However,
the girls’ autonomy is still bound to their cultural context, which reflects the intersection between risk and opportunity in self-actualisation (ibid).

8.7.2 Aspirations

Creative imagination and abstraction skills foster the development of alternative thoughts and understanding of social reality, which can be regarded as initial signs of a shift in attitudes and perceptions. These potential shifts were also expressed through the girls’ drawings, in which they reflected on how they see themselves in the present and in ten years from now. Of the 26 girls that participated in the drawing activities, 69% want to be a teacher in the future, whereas 15% expressed the desire to become a doctor, 8% painted themselves as engineer, with the remaining two drawings not depicting a clear career choice. The aspiration of becoming a teacher reflects a safe gendered choice, with Eccles (1994) arguing that women predominantly choose those professions that they are socialised to view as preferable for themselves and being a teacher adheres to the traditionally perceived caring roles of women. Further, most of the girls that painted themselves as a teacher in the future did this through a form of continuum, in which the present and future were either painted in a similar fashion or their present represented simultaneously their future, as illustrated in the painting by girl 21 (EfA1) in Figure 42.

The drawing of girl 21 (EfA1) is entitled ‘present and future’ and she wrote: “In the present she wants to go each day to school. In the future she wants to be a teacher of geography”. On the one hand, the depiction of the future and present within the same environment indicates that the girls cannot yet completely abstract from their current situation; hence, they imagine a future that resembles the present. On the other hand, the girls’ aspiration to become a teacher is rooted in their respect for their teachers and the value they associate to their position, as indicated in the section on role modelling. Therefore, their aspiration also reflects their desire to be respected in society and to take-up a position that is valued.

Figure 42: Present - future continuum (Drawing by Girl 21, EfA1)
There are also girls that expressed their aspirations in an untraditional way, e.g. wearing colourful dresses or skirts, open long hair and make-up and/or jewellery (see Figure 44). This reflects the underpinning desire to experience and articulate themselves differently to the prescribed societal norms. However, there are also girls, who painted themselves in a very traditional religious fashion. Girl 55 (EfA1) sees herself in the future wearing a burqa and being a teacher of mathematics (see Figure 44). In addition, girl 26 (EfA1) regards religion as an integral part of her life, painting herself reading the Qur’an in her future home (see Figure 43).

What was missing in the girls’ drawings was the depiction of their community, family or their children. Only one girl painted herself with children in the future, as illustrated in Figure 45. Girl 27 painted herself first in the boarding house, standing besides the bookshelf/library. “She said that in Dar Ouirgane they have a library, which helps them in studies, because they have a lot of books and also, [...] she is always enjoying her time in Dar Ouirgane” (Girl27, EfA1). To the right she painted herself in the future being an engineer, whereas in the lower left corner she drew her family with herself and two children. “She
reverses the gaze, instead of focusing on the past arguing that she doesn’t want to be like her parents, she argues that she wants to be a role model for her children. She positions herself as a self-determined actor, planning her own life trajectory; finishing her studies first to become an engineer and then forming her own family” (Reflective memo extract).

This stands in contrast to most of the other paintings, in which the absence of the self-in-relation reflects the girls difficulty to integrate their “occupational choices […] with their life choices, such as the decision to marry and have children” (Eccles, 1994, p. 605).

“She said that studies help her, when she finishes studies she can be an engineer and if she realises that dream she can, she wants to do her family and she wants her children to be like her, go to school and studies and finish their studies also.” (Girl27, EfA1)

A possible recommendation would be to encourage mentors to demonstrate to the girls how different life choices can be integrated, for example by sharing their own life stories with the girls. Meinster and Novi (2000, p. 82) further argue that vocational training needs to correspond to group dynamics, providing group strategies for more closely connected peer groups, as “shifting career choices requires supportive peer networks”. It is important to acknowledge that the girls aspirations’ are also bound to their family support and community expectations, apart from their supportive peer network. Gottfredson (1981) describes the age of fourteen onwards as the time where young adolescents start orienting themselves more to their internal/unique self. She describes as a core tension that “the self may be seen either as an agent fulfilling social responsibilities that the person has internalised or as an agent fulfilling one’s unique values, beliefs, and preferences” (ibid, p. 566).

This indicates that, although, the girls imagine alternative future pathways and they learn to be responsible for themselves, they might still encounter a pressure of conformity and potential resistance from their family and/or community to realising their dreams. This can
lead to internal conflicts or a form of identity crises for those girls who do not want to conform to these socially imposed life trajectories. This, in turn, can lead to potential disruptions at the community level. However, these are not yet pronounced, as these changes are happening in the present, with most of the girls attending the EfA project having not yet graduated from school or returned to their communities. The next chapter analyses these initial changes drawing on research insights that indicate that the girls’ education and empowerment processes are contributing to community development, while identifying also potential areas of conflict and disruption.

8.8 Conclusion

Education is key in developing human capacities (Koutra & Edwards, 2012; Nussbaum, 2003) and in providing equal access to opportunities (Wilson, 2004). However, Kabeer (2005) cautions that in societies characterised by stark gender inequalities effects resulting from education might be more limited. This reflects the interrelationship between “the changes associated with education” and the “context and social relationships that it embodies and promotes” (ibid, p. 12). This highlights that an engagement with capacity building on the individual level requires an understanding of community capacity, which builds the foundation of capacity building processes. Therefore, skills and knowledge acquisition are studied employing social learning theory, which reflects the interrelationship between social and cognitive development (see Bandura, 1977; Vygotsky, 1978, 1987). Further, the chapter referred to the potentially constraining effects that collective conceptualisations of care have on individual experiences of care and access to opportunities. These discourses are discussed in more detail in the following chapter. However, this raises the importance of a gender-aware approach to capacity-building (see Kinnaird & Hall, 1996), which further takes into consideration cultural and religious sensitivities. In a study of rural tourism development, Liu (2006, p. 889) emphasises that “training for rural residents should include incubation of cultural understanding, adaptability and appreciation of cultural differences”.

The EfA project emerges as a socially and culturally accepted space for girls, at the intersection of the organisational and societal realm of care, by abiding to local norms and customs. However, these relationships of care can also entail power imbalances, which were illustrated through the potentially negative effects accompanying maternal support relationships. Concurrently, the educational project challenges the constraining narratives
governing access to opportunities in local communities, by providing spaces for self-care, mutuality and connection that strengthen and potentially transform the girls’ sense of self, as well as, in relation to others. Different realms of capacity building processes were identified, which are not mutually exclusive and rather overlap, developing synergistic effects.

Enabling effective capacity-building requires the acknowledgement that “capacities will not just trickle down” (Eade, 1997, p. 25). Pretty et al. (1996) argue that a sense of community is key for adolescents to access opportunities afforded to them, as well as, sense of confidence and self-esteem (Shirlow & Murtagh, 2004). These findings are confirmed in this study, where the girls attending the boarding houses often rely on their friends or relatives to feel confident to leave their community. These potential barriers are overcome in the project by creating relational, embodied and practised spaces of care engendering a second home environment for the girls. This process is characterised by an increasing layering of the girls’ sense of community, as they become members of an EfA community, a school community and also a friend community. This reflects that the geographical boundaries of their community are transformed to encompass a wider affectively grounded community characterised by different networks. Particularly the support system established at the EfA project engenders trust and mutual care, building the foundation for interpersonal learning processes. The discussion of the spaces of learning within the EfA project further sheds light on the fluid boundary between informal and formal education, with the girls’ behavioural and potentially attitudinal changes exceeding the formal school curricula (see Novelli & Burns, 2010). These informal learning spaces also allow for leadership skills to develop through on-the-job learning (Chaskin et al., 2001). Chaskin et al. (ibid) identify leadership development as a major capacity building strategy, which also indicates the potential of creating long-term training capacities in destinations (Weiler & Ham, 2002).

The boarding houses’ holistic learning philosophy emphasises the role of collaboration in creating structured and connected purposeful learning spaces. Collaborative forms of learning allow addressing the psychological needs of students, including competence, relatedness and autonomy, which enhance capacities for learning (McLennan & Peel, 2012). This fosters the creation of a potentiating learning milieu, focusing not only on the girls’ academic advancement, but also on their personal and professional development. Their increasing autonomy in learning reflects the internalisation of the social learning strategies acquired within the boarding houses, with Zimmerman (2002) observing that self-regulated
learning can foster life-long learning skills. This equips participants with the necessary capacity to adapt themselves to changing environments. In addition, the resources and facilities provided at the EfA project offset some of the shortcomings experienced within the school environment, although, these are differently distributed among the boarding houses.

Another key process of capacity building is based on the role of more knowledgeable others in advancing the girls’ cognitive and behavioural development (see Vygotsky, 1978, 1987). Three key functions of supportive relationships are identified at the boarding houses, including that of mothering, mentoring and role modelling. These functions can transition over time, as illustrated in the changing role of the housemother within the boarding houses, who in the beginning maintains a maternal support relationship with the girls, while this shifts over time to becoming a mentor. Mentors play a more active role in guiding, orienting and teaching their mentees (see e.g. Kram, 1983; Scandura, 1992), while role modelling is more based on the demonstrations of behaviour that builds the foundation of observational and experiential learning processes (see Bandura, 1977). Role models play a key function in supporting the girls’ transitions into adulthood, while they also have the capacity to transform local conceptions of gender roles and responsibilities. However, these represent subtle and longer-term processes of learning, which intertwine with the function of abstraction and imagination in fostering creative and explorative learning about the self and potential capacities.

The process of consciousness-raising is linked to the increasing reflexive engagement with the self and the development of abstract thinking, which is displayed through the girls’ pictures that combine local knowledge with thoughts about their possible future pathways. This is also enabled through communication and cultural exchange processes, which contribute to the “cultivation of powers of thought and expression” (Nussbaum, 2003, p. 335). The intra- and intercultural contact facilitated within the project has a key influence on the girls’ social formation, allowing them to acquire different views of the world. It also strengthens their strong and weak ties through the creation of extended networks that can have a positive effect on their social mobility and social cohesion (see Granovetter, 1973). The core process of empowerment, however, is described as ‘learning to be responsible for yourself’.

The situated understanding of empowerment as responsibility for the self challenges prevalent conceptions of empowerment often associated to power, mastery and control.
Rather, the girls acquire a different sense of being in the world through an increased sense of accountability and dependence on the self, while still emphasising the importance of connection. It is argued that this process of empowerment alters local discourses of care and is underpinned by shifts in the value system, as discussed in the following chapter. However, the girls also express an uncertainty about their future pathway, which is depicted in their difficulty to integrate work, family and community in their drawings. A potential recommendation could be to provide vocational training for the girls, as well as, to encourage mentors to share their personal story of how to integrate different life choices (Novi & Meinster, 2000). This further highlights that a holistic understanding of capacity building requires an integrated assessment of the different spheres of community capacity. Therefore, the next chapter draws on the discourses mediating spheres of everyday-life and frameworks of social interaction to discuss the empowering experience of education at the individual level and the potential wider changes that these processes of learning and empowerment have on the surrounding communities.

It can be concluded that the girls' sense of empowerment as responsibility for the self, paired with their increasing sense of competence, aspirations and critical consciousness, provides them with the necessary tools to challenge the societal frameworks. These practises and increasing empowerment of women within this environment potentially changes the ways in which society understands gender. This is illustrated through the genesis of leadership drive and initiative among the housemothers, who have become respectable well-known women among the local community. However, this also requires sensitivity towards the potential disempowering narratives that are created and the possibility of conflicts to arise, if gendered community expectations are not met.

Tour operators and donor agencies often have different world-views to that of peripheral communities, which can have profound effects on the community (Wearing & McDonald, 2002). Therefore, a cultural perspective on empowerment is crucial when analysing its interrelationship with capacity building. This further raises the significant role of tour operators, apart from the girls, as potential agents of change in local communities, due to their diverse involvement in developmental projects (Tapper, 2001), with Briedenhann (2011) referring to their collective potential to effectuate change. However, Ferguson (2011) argues that clarity is required on what type of empowerment is being pursued, and whether this is desirable and feasible within the local context to maximise benefits for the community. An effective integration of tourism in community development requires a
gender-aware engagement in capacity-building programmes, which allows redressing some of the inequities existing in the tourism industry (Enloe, 2000; Sinclair, 1997; Swain, 2002) as well as in destination communities.
9. Incremental change and capacity building in destination communities

9.1 Introduction

Tour operators’ support of a wide range of projects in destination communities emphasises the connection between the practise of tourism as an industry and tourism’s potential as a gendered social catalyst (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006; Momsen, 2002). Tour operators’ investment in local capacities is often tied to tangible material outcomes, such as building local infrastructure, providing solar panels or planting trees. The outcomes of the EfA project differ from the aforementioned examples, as change is achieved through the capacities and resources experienced at different societal levels through educated women with an increasing sense of responsibility over their own life. Change is transmitted from generation to generation and often rests on inter-personal relationships (Laverack & Wallerstein, 2001). However, women’s capacity to effectuate change within their community is bound to the space and influence they are afforded within the societal, economic and political realm. Their presence in society is shaped by gender ideologies that have been legitimised and institutionalised over generations in community norms and structures (Subrahmanian, 2005). Social transformation, hence, needs to happen from within. This requires, on the one hand, an understanding of the relationship of the studied phenomena with the structure of society (Freire, 1998b) and, on the other hand, it rests on a long-term process of incremental change. The latter is formed out of the “small social and economic changes affecting the real-life circumstances of individuals on a day-to-day basis and that, accumulating slowly, practised and contested in daily interaction, amount in the end to real, substantial, and substantive change” (Sullivan, 2004, p. 209).

Incremental change in destinations is shaped by community and development discourses (adapted from Saarinen, 2004, 2014), with the former alluding to the value and belief system, social norms and representations of the community, while simultaneously situating the practise of development. The discourse of development, on the other hand, is based on institutional practises and planning processes, which “produces media and infrastructures for place-making” (Saarinen, 2014, p. 56). Through this dynamic interplay destinations are “continuously constructed”, informed by the “practices and perceptions of everyday- and
touristic life as well as through political and economic decision making processes” (Viken & Granås, 2014, p. 1). Murphy (1985) has advocated an ecological framework of tourism planning and development, which integrates local aspirations and capacities. However, this also requires understanding community discourses, which influence the development of local capacities and community involvement in development processes (Murray & Dunn, 1995). This becomes apparent in the communities of the High Atlas Mountains where development strategies are failing to address contentious gender issues (see Cornwall, 2003), such as access to education and work. To promote change, hence, requires understanding the dialectic between these two discourses, with Swain (1989) arguing that one measure to assess the role of gender in development processes, is to study the extend to which tourism is providing opportunities for both men and women.

Change is commonly studied through a focus on context, content and process of change (Connell & Kubisch, 1998), with Kwan et al. (2003) further referring to the resources required for change. This study adopts an approach based on embeddedness (see section 6.7.3), studying incremental change on different interconnected community levels, which conforms to the conceptualisation of community capacities of Kwan et al. (2003). The subsequent analysis explores the interactions between the EfA girls’ education and sense of responsibility with incremental processes of change occurring at the community, household and peer level. These levels are not mutually exclusive and overlap, which becomes apparent in the simultaneous discussion of community and household change, as both spheres are negotiated through the prevalent care discourse. The gender-segregated structure of local communities, however, limits the direct effect that the girls’ education and sense of responsibility has on tourism practise. Still, it is argued that tour operators’ support of the EfA project is contributing to a dialogue that exceeds the conditions of development as mere modernisation and questions the underpinning ideological framework.

First, interrelations between gender (in)equalities, tourism development and processes of change within the local villages are explored. Second, incremental change at the community and household level is discussed through an analysis of the dominant care discourse. The latter is based on a differential understanding of respect and shame as well as essentialist notions of gender. Third, the incipient changes experienced at the peer level are investigated, providing insight into the transformation of consciousness through role modelling and the contribution of religious knowledge to this process. Fourth, community
and development discourses are drawn together to explore how capacity building can contribute to establishing a dialogue between the realm of gender, development and tourism. This chapter contributes to assessing the intended and unintended effects that the girls’ empowerment (as responsibility) and education has on wider community development, while also noting that many of the observed effects are still in their incipient stage.

9.2 Tourism development, gender (in)equality and change

A considerable body of literature has studied the ways in which communities exist as destinations and tourism is developed to facilitate these communities (see e.g. Ashworth, 2003; Pearce, 2008; Singh et al., 2003; Telfer, 2003; Timothy, 2012). The focus is often placed on the development of infrastructure and/or other parts of the community through the investment in local capacities (see e.g. Victurine, 2000; Walker, 2008b; Wall & Mathieson, 2006). In recent discussions, the role of ethical issues in tourism development has been raised (see e.g. Fennell & Malloy, 1999; Hall & Brown, 2006; Scheyvens, 2002; Smith & Duffy, 2003), with the focus being increasingly set on the dynamic interplay between tourism development, culture and communities (Day, 1998; Saarinen, 2004). Cheong and Miller (2000) argue, while the tourism agenda is largely driven by tourists, the main changes in the tourism system originate from brokers and the central role attributed to destination communities. The prevalence given to tourists within the industry, reflects that tour operator – community relations are not only driven by philanthropic desires to mobilise social and cultural benefits, but are also fundamentally driven by strategic economic and business concerns. However, tourism’s ability to “emerge and remain an agent of good will” is highly influenced by the capacity of involved actors to make “ethically sound decisions” (Fennell & Przeclawski, 2003, p. 140).

This study found that tour operators’ investment in destination projects is supporting local goodwill by embedding an ethic of care between tour operators and destination communities (see chapter 7). Tourism development has further led to an integration of the communities of the High Atlas Mountains into wider social and economic networks that have become part of local processes of development. Change represents a constant feature of these development processes, in which tour operators become “part of larger social and ideological processes producing both the ideas and physical characters of destinations and the practices taking place in tourism development” (Saarinen, 2014, p. 51). Part of tour
operators’ influence on local development processes has been due to their involvement in the association Basin of Imlil. The association was established in 1999 through the initiative of a UK tour operator, with the initial funds being obtained through a film shooting of the movie ‘Kundun’ by Martin Scorsese at the resort Kasbah du Toubkal. It is still being sustained by a 5% levy charged to tourists staying at the resort (TO3), as highlighted in the context chapter. Tour operators’ contribution to the association has led among other things to the establishment of the services of a local ambulance, the construction of a community hammam and the reinforcement of the flood protection system (Kasbah du Toubkal, 2015).

This reflects that tour operators’ engagement in destination communities can lead to changes not only in the physical appearance of regions, but also in access to or provision of services that are often lacking in rural communities (Beeton, 2006). The increasing entrepreneurial activity observed in the area and the growing number of facilities catering exclusively for tourists, reflects that the communities in the valley of Imlil are becoming increasingly involved in tourism activity (see Butler, 1980). This has contributed to a shift away from traditional farming to tourism work, though; this development has not contributed to address persistent gender inequalities. Rather, these “changes are occurring with little regard to gender roles and relations” (Wilkinson & Pratiwi, 1995, p. 283), with localised tourism development following gendered patterns of community life. Most parts of the economic benefits resulting tourism accrue to men through the generation of income and employment. This reflects that gender influences the “privileged access to socially valued resources, such as wealth, income, position, status, […] or knowledge” (van Dijk, 1993, p. 254, italics in original).

Gender inequalities are also expressed in the realm of education. Despite the expansion of schooling infrastructure and increasing wealth, i.e. increased income and employment available to local people, the gender gap in education has widened in the region over the past decades (see ICF International, 2005). Women in the area, hence, are disproportionately disadvantaged in their access to employment, partly due to gender differences in education. Dieke (2001) highlights that this is a particularly pressing issue in tourism development in Africa, with the area further being characterised by limited opportunities for professional training. Kabeer (1994) critiques that development policies have historically perceived and marginalised women as dependents, rather than positioning them as actors. This raises questions about the value of equality in development, illustrating that development does not affect men and women in the same way. In this context, capacity
Building is not only a tool to support community participation and understanding of the potential positive and negative impacts of the industry (Andereck et al., 2005; Beeton, 2006; Choi & Sirakaya, 2005; Moscardo, 2008; Scheyvens, 2002), but it also emerges as a central tool to support gender empowerment and equality.

Tour operators approach to project selection, however, is not underpinned by specific considerations, such as gender. Rather, they voiced impartiality in their approach arguing, “we don’t impose our values or try to impose our values” (T03). This reflects a conformist approach to development, which represents an adaptation to locally available community structures, with tour operators often working together with local elites (Scheyvens, 2000; Tucker & Boonabaana, 2012; Wall & Norris, 2003). These usually consist of men, as exemplified in the local associations that coordinate and plan development and projects at the local scale. By working together with local elites hierarchies are maintained. Conversely, this also requires recognising that tour operators positioning as external agents can represent a caveat.

In the case of the EfA project, community members were suspicious of an educational provision influenced by Western philosophy, distrusting the foreign involvement in the project. “There are the Europeans who are coming to the boarding house all the time, I don’t know what they do with the girls […] what education they give them” (Housemother3). The community leader’s involvement in the EfA project was crucial in overcoming community members’ initial distrust, with him occupying a socially reputable role within the community. This shows how working together with the local elite and/or associations can provide ‘foreign’ tourism projects with a locally accepted identity, as exemplified in the following quotation.

“[P]eople change the idea of the girls when they go to for example the University, if the girls here in the mountains do that without the help of any association, people they do not trust that. But with the EfA, people they trust this association […] I am like a respectful man and because I am a member in the association, people they trust me. It’s like they gave their daughter to me […] they trust me so much.” (Community Leader)

There is a fluent transition between the economic realm of tourism activity and the wider social and cultural effects of tourism. Brunt and Courtney (1999) specify three realms of socio-cultural impacts; first, those directly related to tourism development, second, those
attributed to interactions between locals and visitors and third, cultural impacts. The latter are more difficult to identify, as they are about the longer-term shifts of shared understandings, norms and values underpinning local behaviour and communication (Murphy, 1985) and tourism often interacts with other changes. Day (1998), however, argues that the interrelationship of the cultural dimension of development with social and economic changes has often been neglected.

The everyday provides an insight to the “common-sense’, habitual performance which offers deep-understanding of the link between culture and identity” (Edensor, 2001, p. 61). As has been argued before, identities are formed through the roles performed in everyday life, the specific characteristics of the person and his or her group allegiances (Stets & Serpe, 2013). These performances are underpinned by a spatial and social duality in the valley of Imlil, which describes women’s ‘place’ as the home, which ties women’s identity strongly to that of the family (Baobaid, 2006). This influences their access to paid employment, which has also been noted in other tourism areas, such as the Cappadocia Region of Turkey, where female participation in tourism work is low (Elmas, 2007; Tucker, 2003, 2007).

Local women expressed the view that tourism is not providing any direct opportunities for them, which supports the argument that it is not the scale of tourism development that determines gender inequalities at the local level (Scheyvens, 2000; Wall & Norris, 2003).
Female work is limited to a few positions in local women’s associations and cooperatives, which are mainly for divorced, widowed or single women. Some women also work for their husband, primarily as a cook and/or cleaner in local types of accommodation (see Figure 46). These jobs, however, rather reinforce traditional gender roles with women additionally having to perform their household and community responsibilities, placing a triple burden of work on them (see also Tucker & Boonabaana, 2012; Wilkinson & Pratiwi, 1995). This reflects that the shift in the labour market has contributed to an increasing responsibility for social reproduction work being placed on women.

“[T]hey take care of the animals [see Figure 48], they go to the forest for getting wood, they take grass for animals, in the home washing, cooking [see Figure 49] and sometimes playing. They participate in keeping food for the winter, in the summer they go into the farms [see Figure 47] and they participate in everything” (Aida, CM).

Achievement of equality, therefore, cannot be debated in terms of entry into paid employment alone (Hughes, 2002), if parenting, domestic and community responsibilities remain unchanged. Aida (CM) further comments that working for their husbands cannot be considered tourism work, as they do not receive any payment for their work. “[T]he man
who takes care of everything, who is responsible for everything, who gives everything the house needs. He pays for the water, the electricity, everything the man who does it. It’s not possible to say to your husband when you work with him, give me my money” (Aida, CM). This contradicts the argument that tourism family enterprises support women in increasing their income and status within and outside the home (see e.g. Gibson, 2001; Tucker, 2007). Particularly in societies characterised by stark gender inequalities effects resulting from economic empowerment might be more limited. Rather, this form of work becomes an additional part of women’s care responsibilities contributing to inequalities of material wealth and symbolic status that are reflective of the wider local disparities in access to opportunities. The cost of these inequalities “can have long-term impacts on quality of life and financial security, and affect personal life decisions” (Maddrell et al., 2015, p. 1). The latter is expressed through the uncertainty underpinning young women’s integration of life and career choices, as expressed in the drawing exercise in the previous chapter (see section 8.7.2).

Women’s access to education and work is underpinned by the ideological frameworks governing community life (see also Duffy et al., 2015), which are (re)produced through discourses and reinforced through gossip. “Society doesn’t like the man who sends his daughter to finish studies and she feels like the society doesn’t accept them” (Jamila, CM). Rethinking the shared representations and approaches to community life requires a proactive engagement with the intersections between community and development discourses. While “destination communities can lose control over tourism development by accepting social representation of tourism held by external agents that limits their role in tourism” (Moscardo, 2011, p. 428), the same applies to gendered power relations at the local scale. This emphasises the importance of engaging with the political role of gender in tourism (see Richter, 1998), with Sönmez (2001) further arguing that the provision of opportunities for women in the tourism industry in Muslim societies requires an increasing attention to the context, type of work and behaviour that is considered acceptable for them.

Despite the critiques of the predominant top-down approach to tourism development (see e.g. Brohman, 1996; Joppe, 1996), tour operators in this study have not taken the role of experts or professionals. Rather, they have cooperated with local community members, acting as facilitators of capacity building opportunities, while handing the responsibility to operate the projects on the ground to local actors. This has contributed to instil an incipient leadership drive among the women managing the EfA project, which parallels the increasing
sense of responsibility for the self developed by the girls that transcends local conceptualisations of care (see section 8.5). This establishes an alternative development – community dialogue, which amplifies women’s space and provides opportunities for alternative identities, with education representing a key factor in enhancing skills and knowledge and participatory competence (Kieffer, 1984). However, promoting wider incremental change requires a critical understanding of community discourses, to facilitate a gender-aware approach to development (see Moser, 1993). Drawing on empirical evidence the next sections now explore the prevalent discourse of care within the local communities, to assess the potential wider effects of the girls’ education and increasing sense of responsibility on community development.

9.3 Incremental change at the community and household level

At the beginning of this thesis it was argued that one of the main difficulties of analysing gender relations in an Islamic context is the reflection and interweaving of both power and subjugation (El-Mahdi, 2010). Throughout this research the concept of power became more and more removed from the centre of analysis, with power becoming a tacit element of gender relations and norms, describing proper ways of being and behaving and thus shaping individual and collective identities. Rather, the role of care and responsibility became emphasised, with common issues of gender (in)equality surrounding the division of responsibilities within the household. These (in)equalities are (re)produced through socially and historically legitimised discourses that form part of the wider ideological frameworks governing community life. Van Dijk (1998, p. 48) describes ideology as a coherent system of ideas that represents “a specific type of basic mental representations shared by the members of groups, and hence firmly located in the minds of people.” This corresponds with feminist thought, which contends that women’s position in society “is at its most fundamental level, a matter of knowledge or epistemology” (Bowden & Mummery, 2009, p. 24). This knowledge rests on religious and cultural discourses among local communities that position women as in need of care and constrain their access to opportunities. This reflects how epistemology becomes embodied (see Hyndman, 2004), with ideology providing the architecture for familial and community frameworks.
9.3.1 Care discourse

Care has complex implications on material and psycho-social planes representing a “form of relation more broadly implicated in the unfolding of human geographies” (Conradson, 2003, p. 452). In chapter seven care was positioned as a practise (see Tronto, 1993) and an ethical value, reflected through caring at a distance (see Barnett & Land, 2007). The previous chapter highlighted that the caring environment and the spaces for self-care experienced at the boarding houses built the foundation for the girls’ acquisition of capacities. In the local communities, care is reconceptualised as a discourse that is based on the premise that both religion and Berber culture ‘are taking care’ of women and women ’should stay at home’. “All of them, the religion and the Berber culture they are the same thing; they are taking care of the girl. All of them saying that the girl should stay at home and wait for having a husband come to their home” (Yasmine, PAR). The following sections analyse the grammar of this discourse, through an engagement with the norms it professes, “its imaginary configurations, its metaphoric networks, and also, of course, what it does not articulate the level of utterance: its silences” (Irigaray, 1985, p. 75).

9.3.2 Respect and shame

Local care discourses position women as dependent of the care of others, which is tight to a differential understanding of respect influencing social recognition and conceptions of equality (see Renger & Simon, 2011). In the Berber villages, respect is perceived as the duty of men to provide for the family, which simultaneously reflects men’s respect of women. “In our religion we respect the woman more […], because the woman […] can’t support [herself] […] so for that reason the girls they are doing just the work here at the house” (Ali, CM). This positions respect “as a value and practise that is critical for the ways in which people live together and interact” (Hammett & Staeheli, 2011, p. 4). Respectful treatment is described as being treated in a trustworthy, unbiased and dignified way (Simon, 2007). However, social relationships in the local communities can be described as ‘gender-biased’, with women being perceived as less trustworthy than men (see section 8.2.3). There might also be other biases at play, such as class and ethnicity alluding to the differences within women (see Barrett, 1987; Cornwall, 2003), but the focus here is set on gender as the foundation of the care discourse. Dignity, as a sign of respect, can only be obtained if women operate within these cultural frames that denominate the home as their righteous place and
space. Kandiyoti (1988) refers to the security or protection that this system is supposed to provide for women as a ‘patriarchal bargain’.

“Despite the obstacles that classic patriarchy puts in women’s way, which may far outweigh any actual economic and emotional security, women often resist the process of transition because they see the old normative order slipping away from them without any empowering alternatives. [...] Their passive resistance takes the form of claiming their half of this particular patriarchal bargain – protection in exchange for submissiveness and propriety”. (ibid, p. 282-283)

The concept of respect described in the care discourse, therefore, captures the understanding of ‘equality’ in the local communities, which is based on the conception of complementarity of both genders (Treacher, 2003). While men are endowed with respect through this framework, respect of women is often phrased through an opposite concept, namely that of shame, with the notion of shame being underpinned by the code of honour and morality (Sadiqi, 2003). Sadiqi (ibid, p.60) argues that the “code of honour consists in preserving the public reputation of a family”, with women’s honour being a reflection of (their) men’s honour (Stowasser, 1994). Shame also describes the code of morality as it preserves “a socially accepted public conduct” (Sadiqi, 2003, p. 60), forming moral boundaries that connect cultural constructions of honour with embodied feelings of shame. This presents “the self in its essential vulnerability – its everyday dependence on the proximities of others, of place, of routine, of biography and history” (Probyn, 2004, p. 329).

Probyn (ibid) describes this performance of everyday morality as an interconnection between the body and its habitus, referring to Bourdieu’s concept of habitus as the embodiment of community structures in daily practises. Shame, hence, becomes part of community structures through the (in)formal rules and norms it imposes upon women and men.

It is considered a shame for women to leave their village; “because she is going to the city she is going to bring shame for the family” (Community Leader). Rather, women “should stay at home and work in the home” (Hanaa, PAR). On the one hand, it is a shame for women to continue their education in another city; “It’s a shame to go to school, the girl is ashamed to go to school” (Hanaa, PAR). On the other hand, education is described as a pre-requisite for women to “have an area, to have a place in society” (Ouissal, CM). Houda (CM) commented that education gives women “a value in society. This reflects the paradoxes
underpinning community life, which was alluded to in the previous chapter, with shame also being portrayed and performed through gossip. This constrains women’s ability to increase their status, i.e. to gain respect within their community, with this further being compounded by moral boundaries that construe the centre/souk of local villages as a male space. “It’s a shame to go to the centre there between men, if you need something you should send a boy in your family to give it to you” (Sabah, CM). Another woman commented, “if she goes to the souk she will find problems with her husband, with her children and also with the people who are in the douar. They [will] talk about her: She is not educated, is not in the school, in the house, she doesn’t respect her husband or her parents.” Here, respect is understood as a value that rests on the compliance with socio-cultural norms, while at the same time serving as a discourse to depoliticise inequality, reflecting the silencing of inequality.

The ideological framework poses difficulties, particularly for men, in dealing with women’s increasing mobility and ability to care for themselves, as this would undermine the local understanding of respect. As mentioned before, this is built, on the one hand, upon spatial proximity: “[T]he society in [name of village] does not accept the idea that the girls go far away to Asni, if the girls go to Asni they don’t have any value in society” (Fatiha, CM). On the other hand, it encapsulates the vision of men as providers for the family. “[T]hey still think that work of women are a bad thing and shame, because even someone wanted to give permission to his wife to work the others telling him, do you not control your wife? Why is she going to work? Do you need something” (Malika, CM)? This reflects that affording an increasing space for women in society would potentially undermine the local construction of respect, with women’s submissiveness and propriety being a symbolic reflection of men’s respect in society.

9.3.3 (Dis)respect and (dis)empowerment

Within this patriarchal system, women’s capacity to exercise choice can be constrained by male family members, such as the father, brother or husband, who are in the position to decide. “[T]he religion says that the men who will control everything in their family and in their house.” (Chatusch, CM). This represents a situation of disempowerment, as to “be disempowered means to be denied choice” (Kabeer, 2005, p. 13). This highlights the potential gap between the EfA girls’ aspirations and actions, if they do not count with the support of their family or future husband. This was expressed by girl 38 (EfA1), who argued
that “most important for her [is] that her parents should change their mentality, especially her father, because he tells her he wants her to drop out of school […] her father has the idea that girls should stay at home.” This is accompanied by a ‘struggle’ towards maintaining the traditional order, which becomes pronounced particularly among the youth, with boys engaging in different forms of disrespect and disempowerment towards girls who do not conform to the traditional care discourse.

“You don’t respect each other just like that. For example the girls, if they study and it’s not in the same community they can face a lot of problems and the boys in Asni can tell them something and do for them something bad […] they don’t respect.” (Amal, PAR)

Gossip represents a common manifestation of disrespect, with Hayat (CM) commenting that “she wanted the boys to respect the girls […] to be respect[ful], friendly and don’t talk badly about the girls”. This reflects the evaluative beliefs underpinning the ideological framework (van Dijk, 1993), with gossip being used in a moralising manner (Tholander, 2003). A father of a girl attending the EfA project argued that they “have the problem that the boys don’t respect in our society, do not respect the girls” (Hafiz, PAR). They are further being disempowered through recurrent incidents at school where photo-shopped pictures of girls and videos are uploaded to the Internet. (Sadira, PAR) argued, “in Dar Taliba most of the girls face a lot of problems. In the last days we have a video, some boys make a video in the Internet […] it’s about [sex]”. This has caused many difficulties for girls and made parents more reluctant to send their daughters to school. Further, during an excursion at the boarding house, the girls displayed signs of fear of boys, with a group of boys throwing stones at the researcher and the girls, as described below:

“In the afternoon we made a little excursion in direction to the old Kasbah. When we were walking on the street I noticed that the girls felt a bit uncomfortable, nervous and fearful when we passed a group of boys. One of the girls went behind me and the others went to walk on the opposite side of the road. Afterwards, when we passed another group of younger boys playing outside of a house they started shouting at us and even picked up some small stones to throw them at us, which also happened to me a few days ago, when I was walking alone through the region.” (Field diary excerpt, 17th January 2014)
Throwing stones represents a stark form of disrespect, illustrating that disrespect becomes underpinned by wider ethical issue of how the female and male gender are valued within society (see Hammett & Staeheli, 2011). Girl 67 (EfA2) argued, “society does not consider the women or the girls as necessary to build any society”, which contrasts with recent changes in the political system that are contributing to a stronger representation of women in society (see Darhour & Dahlerup, 2013). This sentiment of feeling less in society was shared among women in the local communities. Women described this as a direct result of the care discourse that positions women’s ‘place’ as the home. This discourse entitles men with respect, while women have to negotiate the embodied boundaries of shame in their everyday practises. The “girls just staying at home do works, cooking and these things, their personality affected too, they feeling that they are less in the society” (Houda, CM). This feeling of not being recognised as equal in society is captured in Biddle’s (1997) writings about shame:

“As much as shame seeks to avert itself - there is no feeling more painful - shame seeks to confess. To be heard, to be borne by another, to find a witness - shame seeks to be allowed the very conditions denied it in its rupture, recognition by another. For shame arises from a failure to be recognised.” (ibid, p. 227)

9.3.4 Naturalised gender representations

Acts of disrespect and disempowerment (re)produce the lived experience of shame, which further intersects with naturalised representations of gender that elude social recognition of women as equal. Women’s gendered roles are converted into unquestioned facets of gender identity (Sharp, 1996), with these essentialist views portraying gender as a fundamental attribute based on separate traits and/or qualities (Hughes, 2002). Women are perceived as weak, sensitive, faint-hearted and without power. “[T]he woman is a sensitive person and she has no power” (Farid, CM). Men, on the other hand, are seen as strong, competent and in the position to assume responsibility, as expressed below by Ali (CM).

“The boy, even he is a student, he is responsible and he knows, even for example you left him outside, he can spend the night outside without any problem. He can support [himself]. In comparison, the girl, for example, just a little problem happens for the girl maybe her heart stops. For that reason, I think, most people prefer to keep the girls [at home].” (Ali, CM)
These assumptions could be described as a false, as women shoulder a lot of responsibilities in daily life, taking care of their children, the household and their farms, which includes hard work carrying heavy loads, as illustrated in the context chapter. In fact, women’s caring roles in their home take a vast amount of time, which leaves them with limited opportunities for self-care. These practices are not context-specific as care-giving and care-work fall predominantly on women and are often undervalued (Hughes, 2002; Milligan & Wiles, 2010; Razavi, 2007). Souad (CM) commented, “if they don’t have like cows and sheep the situation of the women can change, because they just care about these things and they forget their life, their personal life”. These caring responsibilities are not afforded with the same status or respect in community frameworks than the financial responsibility of men (see Tronto, 1993). “Thus gender differences, or the sociocultural shaping of “essential female and male natures,” achieve the status of objective facts” (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 142), which structure the social order.

9.3.5 Re-negotiation of care discourse
These naturalised representation of gender are being questioned by women’s increasing educational achievement and their opportunity to access work. The previous chapter laid out that the girls at the EfA project learn to be responsible for themselves and together with their extended network of peers “their personality can change and their mind” (Houda, CM). This process of socio-cognitive development has increased the girls’ sense of responsibility, which supports a potential “recasting of the dilemma in a way that allows the assumption of responsibility for choice” (Gilligan, 1982, p. 90). This could also enhance women’s position within the family as it challenges the tacit belief that men are more capable of taking care of themselves and their family, i.e. of assuming/owning responsibility within the household. Khadija (PAR) argued, “if the girl is educated or studying when she gets married the husband will respect her and give her a big value”. However, this value was often associated to women’s household and child-rearing responsibilities, with a common argument being that an “educated woman is more important in community, because [...] she will educate her children and give them a chance and encourage them to go to study” (Zineb, CM). Here, respect of women is attributed to their ability to accomplish their gendered caring roles, with their responsibility becoming “embedded in a set of implicit cultural practices” (Tronto, 1993, p. 132). This might not lead to a shift in the underpinning gender ideologies, as the increasing awareness of the importance of education for women is tied to the existing system of gender relations.
This reflects that the traditional understanding of gender roles underpinning the cultural construction of the family are difficult to change in people's imagination, which also requires understanding the wider perspective of risk underpinning women's position within the familial and community frameworks. This was referred to in the patriarchal bargain as a form of security (Kandiyoti, 1988), which is opposed to the risk entailed in self-actualisation (Giddens, 1991). Fatima (CM) emphasised that “they cannot challenge him [husband], if they challenge him maybe women get divorced and then no one can help them, because they don't have work [...] that is why they don't have the right to talk”. The quotation reflects the risk of losing the security of marriage without any empowering alternative, such as work, which implies that women are often left in silences. Lubna (PAR), on the other hand, argued, “the woman has a role too, if she accepts this way of living [...] the woman should refuse some things that the man tell her [...] and make her role in the family stronger”. Refusing, resisting or challenging local care discourses is intricately interwoven with increasing access to education, which represents the basis to access other opportunities in life (Baker et al., 2004).

Education raises people's awareness and the capability to engage with and challenge ‘received’ knowledge, like traditional gender discourses (Freire, 1974; Kabeer, 2005; Nussbaum, 2003). Women's limited access to education further has profound effects on feelings of self-worth and wider social valuation, as aforementioned. This contributes to a gender unequal development of capacities and access to resources and opportunities, which limit women's ability to reflect on, question and challenge the prevalent constellations of gender relations. However, at the core of local care discourses lies the assumption that women are not able to care for themselves, with these discourses being “deeply institutionalized in household rules and practises” (Kabeer, 1999, p. 225). A change towards an increasing adoption of responsibility for the self requires not only a transformation of individual's sense of self, but also a wider shift in the ideological frameworks governing community life. This involves transcending the framework of spatial proximity of caring characterising community life, to learn other forms of respect and provide other spaces for respect.
9.4 Incremental change at the peer level

The girls increasing access to education plays a key role in contesting some of the underpinning beliefs that maintain unequal relations of respect. It can be argued that the most salient effect that the girls’ education has had on their communities is that they have broken the intergenerational cycle of women’s educational deprivation. The girls attending the boarding houses come from diverse communities, such as Achayn, Imsker and Marigha, with some of them being the first from their villages to further their education beyond primary school. In Figure 50, girl 59 (EfA2) presents her village saying “that is her douar and she is the first girl in her douar who comes to Dar Asni and studies in the first year of Baccalaureate”. Girl 75 (EfA3) further argues that this has been her major contribution to her community, because she has changed not only the educational landscape, but also people’s consciousness. In the quotation below, she reflects that without the EfA project people in her village would not know the difference between an educated and an uneducated woman and they would continue to be fearful of the potential negative effects that a distant education could have on their daughter. This highlights that the girls’ education has had a positive effect on the community, as the EfA girls have become role models for their peers and community. This has led to an increasing number of girls being allowed and wanting to further their education.

“People have really changed and that is, because of EfA, because if it wasn’t there people wouldn’t get the difference between a girl who has completed her studies and a girl who has just started and has husband and family. [...] Also, I think that they needed someone to start, to show them that it is okay for her to go and complete her studies. It’s not wrong for her to study and complete her studies and it is also not wrong to start a family and getting married.” (Girl75, EfA3, slightly amended)
9.4.1 Multi-layered role modelling

In many of the rural communities female role models are missing, with Sabah (CM) arguing that “she has never seen a girl who has realised her dreams”, while “boys, everyone works to realise his dreams”. She added that she herself doesn’t “have a goal to realise it” (Sabah, CM). This is also the case in poor neighbourhoods, where a lack of role models is associated to missing aspirations and understanding of opportunities among adolescents (Green, 2010). This social reality is underpinned by processes of socialisation within the local communities, which lead to an “internalisation of things-as-they-are” and a missing belief in the ability to change them (Sharp et al., 2003, p. 283). Sabah (CM) argues that “the girls [have] seen the first one study and go to marriage, so the others follow her, the first studying and stop and marry, [the second] studying and stop and marry”. The previous chapter highlighted the importance of having female role models for the girls to transcend socially imposed gendered life trajectories. The girls attending the boarding house, in turn, become role models for their community, which has not only an aspirational meaning for their peers, but also supports raising-consciousness among community members. The family of the girls and their peers have experienced how they have changed and seen the difference between an educated woman and those that have barely had access to education. This has raised their awareness about the importance of education for girls, initiating a shift in their consciousness, as illustrated below:

“Before me there was no girl to complete her studies. I was the only one who had the opportunity to complete her studies and [...] I have changed their thought about education, have changed their thought about the girl. If you think that I am now living in Marrakech with just another girl, it is okay for them, but before it was that bad, it's a shame for them before. But now they say, she is in Marrakesh, she is studying, it is okay.” (Girl75, EfA3, slightly amended)

The consciousness-raising process has led to a negotiation of the boundaries of gendered space and women’s (im)mobility which is tied up with the materiality of everyday life and the aforementioned ideological framework. This has had an effect on the way some community members perceive the girl and her potential for academic, professional and individual development. Girl 75 (EfA3) further argued that her community’s understanding of shame has changed, as before it would not have been possible for a girl to live alone with another girl in Marrakesh. This reflects that shame is not a monolithic concept and the girls’
increasing educational attainment can contribute to shift the underpinning beliefs that maintain discourses of shame. However, the wider effect of this varies from community to community, which was emphasised in the previous chapter by Faizah (PAR), who argued that it might increase people’s gossip, if her two daughters continue studying. The process of multi-layered role modelling is questioning the underpinning value and belief system maintaining these forms disrespect and disempowerment, with the EfA girls demonstrating to their female peers that ‘it is okay’ to further your education.

“[I]n my douar the first girl that comes to Asni it’s me [...] but after the girls come, because I come here. [...] Because before they think, there is no girl going to Asni to study, so when I come, it is okay, all the girls see that I go to Asni, it is okay, nothing happened” (Girl72, EfA2).

The discourses of shame have, at times, been internalised by the female youth in the communities, who are afraid of losing their respect or value in society. The girl “doesn’t want a shame for herself, but she feels shame, she feels it in her inside, she feels that she has, she cannot do anything without asking someone else, someone else in order to guide her” (Duha, CM). This can be associated to a form of false consciousness that rests on beliefs that keep women in inferior or dependent positions through falsely attributing shame, naturalising social roles, and being resistant to change (Jost, 1995). Within the scope of this thesis is it not possible to discuss this in detail, however, this relates to Vygotsky’s (1987) argument that the thought process is developed through the internalisation of social speech. Community discourses represent a form of internalised social speech that is inhibiting women from accessing opportunities. It was observed during the fieldwork that many girls in the area were dropping out of school, with them often finding difficulty in explaining why. It is argued that this might be, due to their internalisation of community discourses, particularly the notion of shame.

The EfA girls are challenging these beliefs by showing to their peers that education can strengthen a girl’s respectability in society without loosing family honour in the process. Zaida (CM) commented, “they can encourage the others to access the school, like the young and also the older. They want to be more patient to study and to learn a lot of things”. The quotation alludes to the guiding function of role models, which connects role modelling to mentoring, with the potential for mentoring to evolve being discussed in more detail in the recommendations given in the following chapter. The girls’ increasing access to education,
including higher education, illustrates that a form of distance caring, in this case of their parents, is possible. This has the potential over time to alter the understanding of shame and the boundaries of respect of women within the local communities, introducing the embodied representation of an educated woman into community imagination.

Overall, the girls’ educational attainment can have a positive effect on female access to education, though; the wider effect of their education on community development depends on the openness and receptiveness to change of community members and the underpinning traditional system of gender relations. The girls active positioning as role models within their communities is already producing a change in consciousness, as they are demystifying the negative connotations that people often associate to girls who travel far to further their education. Freire (1998b, p. 478) describes myth-making as a central process of repression by identifying “as diabolical all thought-language that uses such words as alienation, domination, oppression [...] autonomy”. This becomes apparent in the double-talk discourse accompanying discussions of equality (Wadud, 2006), which are underpinned by a gender differentiated understanding of respect based on a traditional notion of gendered care and responsibilities. “The use of the word “equal” in accordance to a definition that keeps men superior simultaneously confirms male superiority and silences analysis and opposition” (ibid, p.27).

Conscientization in this context, is about increasing gender awareness in people’s minds that might question their conception of naturalistic gender attributes over time and problematize the way gender and gender relations are understood (see Freire, 1998a). The girls’ educational attainment and increasing understanding of Islam, and their roles and responsibilities within the religious framework support this process. It strengthens their positioning as role models, as well as, their ability to engage with the gendered boundaries of community life. This was illustrated through the increasing questioning and resistance to the discourses of shame that characterise women’s mobility and access to opportunities in their villages.

9.4.2 Situated knowledges and religion

There are multiple tangible and intangible connections that education has to life, with Nussbaum (2003) relating it to aspects of self-respect and equality in relationships and Freire (1974) reflecting on the nurturing effect it has on evolving a critical consciousness. An important additional component of education within this non-secular context is religious
education. The girls’ increasing acquisition of religious knowledge fosters their active engagement with the discourses shaping community and societal frameworks. It further enables them to differentiate between tradition and religion (Jouili & Amir-Moazami, 2006), which are often conflated in everyday life. Sadira (PAR) alludes to the intersection between religious and care discourses arguing, “it is necessary that someone takes care of you and be responsible [for you]. It is because the woman is weak [religion says] and they cannot protect themselves, not like men”. This emphasises that the different valuation of both genders also arises out of their differential contribution to society, which has been historically legitimised through the naturalisation of gender differences (Subrahmanian, 2005). A holistic understanding of the wider effects of education, hence, also requires a consideration of the interaction between education, religion and cultural interpretations of Islam. The intention here is not to prove these local interpretations of religious discourses right or wrong, but to argue that the girls increasing sense of competence and knowledge enables them to renegotiate the meaning of Islam in their life, not only as faith, but also as part of their culture (see Sadiqi, 2003).

Education plays a key role for a meaningful engagement with religion and for a re-interpretation of Islamic sources as proposed by Islamic feminists (see e.g. Badran, 2009; Charrad, 2011; Madigan, 2009; Mernissi, 1991, 1996; Wadud, 2006). The girls attending the boarding houses learn more about the rules and practises of their religion, which allows them to strengthen their connection to different parts of religion. Sabah (CM) observed that her cousins at the EfA project; “they really changed, because in the beginning both of her cousins [...] were not wearing the headscarf, they were not praying and they did not talk with the others in a respectful way [...] but now [...] they pray, they wear good and respectful clothes and they respect the others”. This disproves the fear of some community members that women will lose their religion, if they attend school in another community. “Yeah, if a girl goes out so far for continuing studies it’s a bad thing, they think she’s a bad girl if she continues studies” (Zahara, CM). The understanding of ‘bad’ and ‘wrong’ is often associated to a loss of religion, as exemplified by Yasmina (PAR), “if the people think the girl did something wrong, she will lose the religion”. This links to the previous section on role modelling, emphasising the importance of reassurance in change with the girls increasing respectability in society disproving community discourses and potential gossip about them.

Simultaneously, the girls’ respectability in society is connected to their religious conform behaviour, which positions their increasing religious knowledge as a key resource that can
strengthen their "self-conscious 'moral representation of the self' as a 'good' role model" (Ryan, 2011, p. 1055). Their cultivation of traditions from a more knowledgeable position allows them to negotiate their role in society more effectively, which has also become apparent in women’s re-appropriation of discourses of veiling (see e.g. Madigan, 2009; Wadud, 2006). This foregrounds a vision of change based on conforming to traditions to increase women’s space and position from within, though, this in and of itself represents a progressive act, particularly if women themselves are taking the lead. This becomes evident through the debates at the boarding houses where the girls experience the ‘right to talk’ about their perspective on topics that are often perceived as potentially ‘immutable’. This allows them to develop confidence in themselves and their beliefs, countering the aforementioned internalisation of discourses of shame. This includes the embodiment of femininity and resonates with the material practise of culture, in which women’s dress is partly used to structure female behaviour along societal values, while still remaining an expression of individual identity. The field diary extract below recounts the experience of attending a debate about wearing the headscarf, which was followed by a lengthy emotional and passionate discussion among the girls at the boarding house.

"During the discussion I heard several times the word Islam and Qur’an. The girls were really having a heated debate, with some of them starting to argue vehemently. The volunteer told me about one of the girls heading one of the debate teams, who would love to wear the full-faced veil. However, in Morocco it was known that the prostitutes wear these veils. So, if you are with your family and children it is fine, but still people don’t like it and women wearing the full-faced veil might be harassed or asked: Why do you wear it? Does your husband make you wear it?" (Field diary extract, slightly amended, 25th March 2014)

Gender differences are expressed on multiple axes including “differences within” (Cornwall, 2003, p. 1334), with the burqa representing such a controversial example. Some people see it as a sign of women’s submissiveness to men, which is also a common interpretation in Western discourses (Wadud, 2006). The choice to veil is often influenced by religion and culture (Hessini, 1994), though, it also becomes key issue in political debates in Islam (Guven, 2010). This is illustrated in both Iran and Saudi Arabia, which operate a strict dress code. On the contrary, in Turkey the headscarf has long been at the centre of debates about women’s rights and repression, with the re-veiling movement alluding to the intersections between identity politics and political Islam. Dress also becomes part of socialisation
processes, being underpinned by discourses of respect (Hessini, 1994) and intersecting with feelings of shame, which denominates its function as a marker of position within community structure. Within this context, the EfA environment provides the girls with alternative spaces for self-expression and self-discovery, which contributes to the girls’ development of their sense of self. This was emphasised among the older girls attending the boarding houses, who were experiencing with different forms of dress. For example, a girl that had never worn trousers before borrowed a pair of jeans from a friend to experience herself wearing trousers (Volunteer, Personal Communication).

This section emphasised that the girls increasing religious understanding and their engagement with Qur’anic sources provides them with the necessary tools to question some of the beliefs and cultural interpretations of Islam prevailing in their communities, which are predominantly based on male perspectives (Mernissi, 1991). Another integral part of their development of sense of self is their opportunity to engage in processes of self-discovery, and to experience different forms of self-representation. These processes strengthen their development of personal traits and confidence based on the lived experience of education outlined in the previous chapter. These processes will potentially entail a re-negotiation of their roles and responsibilities within the community and societal frameworks. However, this might also lead to potential conflicts in the future, challenging the more static views transmitted through religious discourses, which are embedded in "generational and gender hierarchies" (Jouili & Amir-Moazami, 2006, p. 628). The next section now turns to draw the different narratives developed in this chapter together, re-situating capacity building within the realm of gender and tourism.

9.5 Capacity building in the realm of gender and tourism

Capacity building has been recognised as a vital process for implementing tourism as a development strategy (Beeton, 200; Moscardo, 2008; Scheyvens, 2002), though, this study has shown that development does not automatically lead to greater gender equality. The tenuous link between development policy and gender equality was also emphasised by Ferguson (2009) in her study of the gender dimension of tourism as a development strategy. While capacity building can promote gender empowerment through the acquisition of an increasing sense of responsibility for the self, the wider effect this has on community and tourism development is more difficult to assess. This is due to the often missing interconnections between gendered community discourses and wider development.
processes. “[S]ome ‘voices’ are thereby censored, some opinions are not heard, some perspectives ignored: the discourse itself becomes a ‘segregated’ structure” (van Dijk, 1993, p. 260). Community members argued that within these structures women’s ability to contribute to their community, for example through wider knowledge-transfer and engagement in positive action, is limited.

“They cannot help, because most of the girls go to just finish studies and then they come back to Imlil to get married. No one of the girls can help the community, because just studies and then come back to get married. [...] Imlil cannot benefit from them.” (Mina, CM)

Social change, hence, requires a re-negotiation of society’s “mental territories” (Hollinshead, 1999, p. 15), to challenge the patriarchal structures underpinning everyday life. The manifestation of community discourses in the conversations with local people reflects that there is an increasing awareness and potential questioning of the underpinning value and belief system. This effect might be amplified through the presence of tourists in the area, portraying alternative values and lifestyles to local people. The demonstration effect leads to “changes in attitudes, values or, behaviour which can result from merely observing tourists” (de Kadt, 1979, p. 65). This can have a particular impact on the institution of the family in destination communities (Kinnaird & Hall, 1996; Wall & Norris, 2003), though, effects vary from destination to destination (see e.g. Wilkinson & Pratiwi, 1995). In this study the prevailing demonstration effect has occurred through observing and experiencing change in female community members. The EfA girls’ increasing educational attainment has led to an incipient change in consciousness among community members through a process of multi-layered role modelling, as aforementioned.

The EfA girls further aspire to become more active within their community, with the missing organisation among women often inhibiting women from taking-up increasing leadership roles (Wall & Norris, 2003). The networks established at the boarding houses, hence, represent a key resource for the girls, potentially increasing their ability to contribute to society. Contribution reflects a transition from being responsible for the self to being responsible for others (see Arai, 1996). This notion of responsibility surpasses the individual to encompass the “belief in one’s ability to act for community change, and one’s belief in the value of group action” (Wallerstein, 1993, p. 220; Zimmerman, 1990). This belief was often expressed through the girls’ desire to return to their communities to
establish a women’s association and/or a development project. Girl 61 (EfA2) sees “Asni like a way to realise their purpose in life and to come back and develop their communities”, while girl 59 (EfA2) "wants to make a place for girls for sewing" (see Figure 51). The establishment of networks and projects within local communities could contribute to a mobilisation and renegotiation of community gendered beliefs and values and lead to a more pronounced representation of women in development projects, which are often geared towards men (Friedmann, 1992). This would also provide a platform for collaborative action, which could serve as a tool for social mediation through which pertinent development issues can be addressed (see Telfer, 2003). Current research suggests, "if women achieve more access to representative [policy] positions [...] they will have impact on tourism in specifically those areas where women have had least control and influence (Richter, 1998, p. 402).

In the present tourism is still perceived as men’s domain in the Berber villages of the High Atlas Mountains. This is similar to the findings of Tucker (2003) in her longitudinal study of tourism development in a Turkish village. In a recent article, however, she has noted that the notion of shame in the village has gradually loosened over time, with women increasingly being able to negotiate “the spatial and moral boundaries of tourism in order to find a ‘place’ for themselves in the tourism economic realm” (Tucker, 2007, p. 101). Providing employment for women could improve women’s socio-economic status in the local communities countering the trend in Morocco of poverty “becoming increasingly female, rural, illiterate and unskilled” (Skalli, 2001, p. 73). However, the experience of disempowerment in the sense that women are perceived to be unable to care for themselves cannot be reduced to a mere economical factor, such as income and has much wider ramifications, as referred to in the differential understanding of respect (see section 9.3.2). The fact that most parts of the analysis of gender empowerment and capacity building have been peripheral to discussions of tourism development is reflective of the
gender-segregated structure of community discourses. Capacity building efforts in tourism, hence, need to be integrated more effectively in the gender agenda of destination communities, particularly in those regions where gender represents a core dimension of inequality, to realise broader developmental goals.

9.6 Conclusion

Gender emerges as an important and controversial topic when discussing tourism development in Muslim societies. This chapter engaged in an exploration of the ideological frameworks governing community life, to discuss the spaces for, and experiences of respect and shame expressed through divisions of the spheres of everyday-life at the community, peer and household level. On this foundation, the intended and unintended effects of women’s sense of responsibility and education on wider community development were explored, representing the third research objective guiding this study.

Building on the context chapter the increasing adoption of tourism as a development strategy in the rural areas of the High Atlas Mountains was discussed. This showed that development does not imply increasing gender equality; with Cornwall (2003) further arguing that development strategies devised at the community level often fail to address contentious gender issues. It is suggested that this is due to the limited intersection between development and gendered community discourses. This is contributing to the unequal distribution of benefits derived from tourism, with women’s participation in tourism often being perceived as being against local norms. Women do not consider exceptions, such as familial tourism enterprises as work, as they often receive no income. This contrasts with other findings, such as that by Gibson (2001) and Tucker (2007), who argued that women’s work in their family business could increase their status.

Tour operators’ support of the EfA project is providing an alternative dialogue between community and development discourses by establishing a framework for support and care that respects local autonomy, expert knowledge of community members and the context within which development is facilitated. Tour operators’ cooperation with a local leader contributes to overcoming the caveat of their position as foreigners by providing the project with a locally accepted identity. The trust embodied by the leader is transferred to the organisation as well as the girls attending the project. This challenges local care discourses, which paired with the practise of gossip represent a recurring problem for women’s access to opportunities, including education. One of the recommendations arising out of this
research is to suggest anti-gossip campaigns for the local villages, to raise awareness about the stark implications of this practise, particularly for women and girls.

Within the local care discourse women are perceived as ‘unable’ to care for themselves, which is tied to a gender differential understanding of respect. Respect is conceptualised as men’s duty to provide for their family, while respect of women is often phrased through discourses of shame that limit women’s geographical and social mobility. This affords women with limited opportunity to gain an increasing sense of responsibility over their own life and to become more respected within community and societal frameworks. This finds expression in internal conflicts through women’s internalisation of discourses of shame, as well as, external conflicts that are particularly pronounced among younger generations, as exemplified in the acts of disrespect and disempowerment towards women, e.g. moralising forms of gossip and throwing stones. This suggests that achieving wider community change requires an active engagement in consciousness raising processes among local communities to build community capacity for change (see Freire, 1974, 1998a).

Multi-layered role modelling has introduced the embodied representation of an educated woman into community imagination, which has led to a change in consciousness regarding the capacities of the girl. It can be argued that some of the EfA girls have interrupted intergenerational cycles of educational deprivation by being the first from their community to further their education. This has led to an increasing number of girls being allowed to further their education beyond primary school, which reflects the increasing receptiveness towards forms of distance caring. This is complemented by the girls’ acquisition of religious and discursive knowledge that increases their ability to engage with, and challenge received knowledge, like traditional gender discourses (Freire, 1974; Kabeer, 2005; Nussbaum, 2003). These incipient changes in individual and collective consciousness can contribute to a more critical engagement with the ideological framework, leading to a potential recasting of the prevalent care discourse.

The care discourse is based on difference, so equality also becomes to be about difference and how change can be achieved through re-negotiating and potentially disrupting these differences (see Scott, 1994). This requires a critical understanding of how difference is produced through discourse and how this is manifested through wider material and cultural inequalities. Conceptualising gender equality, as gender equal access to opportunities does not fully account for the differences created through gendered notions of respect. Rather, an
understanding of gender 'equality' through the notion of respect was proposed to account for the double-talk discourse accompanying everyday life. Conscientization requires overcoming the internalised discourses of shame and problematizing the understanding of equality as respect among local communities to establish a dialogue that enables not only responsibility for choice, but also other forms of respect and other spaces for respect.

Further research is required to investigate the dynamic interplay between notions of care, respect and shame to re-work the prevalent understandings of gender and to contribute to processes of empowerment through women's increasing adoption of responsibility for the self. This also calls for a better understanding of the role of tourism in these processes, with different authors noting tourism's potential to create alternative spaces for respect within local communities (see e.g. Duffy et al., 2015; Ferguson, 2009; Tucker, 2007). This is portrayed through the tourism-supported EfA project, which is providing girls with an increasing access to higher education and social mobility. However, their increasing demand of respect rests on processes of negotiation and mobilisation that over time will have the potential to challenge the local gender order and have knock-on effects on wider community development. Sometimes this will be in alignment with social norms and general community desire and other times it will be disruptive, but it is only through these disruptions that the current understanding can be challenged and the opportunity to create differences from within is afforded.
10. Conclusion and recommendations

This research set out to investigate the responsible business practises guiding tour operators’ investment in destination projects. Tour operators’ selection of capacity building projects and the opportunities afforded for the promotion of gender equality and empowerment through this, has been an under researched topic. The research expands on tour operators’ duty of care and how this influences their responsible practise. It contributes to the knowledge on the role of gender in capacity building in tourism, establishing a link between different fields of study to widen the understanding of education and gender empowerment within that.

There further exists limited empirical evidence of the outcomes of capacity building and gender projects in tourism (Ferguson, 2009), with this research providing an in-depth qualitative study of the intended and unintended effects of a tourism-related educational project. Capacity building has generally been regarded as a precondition for effective tourism development; raising local awareness about potential impacts, being positive and negative, of tourism (Moscardo, 2008). However, this research finds that the receptiveness towards change promoted through these projects depends upon socio-economic and political frameworks governing community and wider tourism landscapes. This highlights the need to extend the prevalent view of education for tourism to encompass a more holistic critique of education for development (Berno, 2007), delineating the potential wider effects that education can have on building capacities for incremental change.

The structure of this chapter builds upon the four research objectives guiding the dissertation, outlining the main findings and contributions made respective to each of the four objectives. Despite the contributions made, there are also limitations underpinning the study, which are discussed at the end of the chapter, followed by suggestions for future research.

10.1 Caring at a distance

The first research objective critiqued the selection processes through which tour operators identify opportunities for capacity building promoting gender equality in destination communities. This study recognises the significance of advancing the research agenda on ethics and values driving responsible practise in tourism, to foster change within arenas
that promote the social good, such as education. This further corresponds to the UN Agenda 2030, which emphasises the role of the industry in realising the SDGs. Goal 17 stresses the importance of global partnerships and international support in implementing the SDGs, referring to the need for increasing capacity building in developing countries (United Nations, 2015). Placing the onus of responsible behaviour on the private sector requires an increasing awareness and understanding of their approach to, and implementation of, responsible action. The ‘Education for All’ project in Morocco is an example of tour operators’ contribution to advancing the SDGs, in particular goal four “Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities” and goal five “Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls” (United Nations, 2015, p. 18). This illustrates how a manifestation of an ethics of care between tour operators and local communities can connect to wider global frameworks of action.

This research identifies that tour operators’ support of projects is a manifestation of ethics, based on responsible behaviour, underpinned by multiple layers of shared, displaced and performed responsibility. Tour operators’ commitment to ‘caring at a distance’ denotes the spatial extensiveness of care in tourism, which is embedded within the spatially diverse relationships characterising their business practise. Three main drivers of responsible practise have been developed based upon altruistic intention, caring strategically and obligatory care. This study confirms the findings of Du et al. (2013), Maak and Pless (2006) and Perrini and Minoja (2008) reporting on the significant role of leaders and managers in shaping the pro-social behaviour of firms. In addition, it argues that the boundaries between the organisational, individual and societal realm are fluid in tourism and it is crucial to understand the dynamic interplay between these to promote responsible action. The simultaneous production and consumption of tourism changes the way responsible action is delivered, performed, and received in tourism, with the consumer arguably having more insights to the operational processes accompanying the performance of care.

The often-dynamic organisational processes characterising tour-operating businesses dilute the boundaries between the individual, organisational and societal spheres of responsibility. This study finds that the organisation can develop a sense of affiliation through best practise and continued engagement in projects, which contrasts with the findings of Hemingway and MacLagan (2004). In this research, tour operators’ sense of affiliation is reflected through the mostly long-term support provided for projects, which contrasts with the argument that tourism projects receive mainly short-term support (see
e.g. Erskine & Meyer, 2012). On an individual level, leaders and managers expressed an altruistic impulse to care. This was underpinned by the individual’s embodied experience of giving rooted in personal values and feelings. This, in turn, can drive organisational commitment to particular causes. Tour operators’ altruistic intentions are further renegotiated through the strategic directions of the company. This re-emphasises the importance of understanding the strategic level of care, including tour operators’ approach to selecting their caring acts.

This research, therefore, finds that tour operators’ selection of projects does not follow formal frameworks. Rather, it becomes embedded within a complex mix of dedicated action, informal advise and serendipitous opportunity. This is in line with the findings of Briedenhann (2011), but it extends them further, providing insights into the dynamics underpinning tour operators’ ad-hoc approach to project selection. Tour operators’ approach in this study is guided by the personal values of leaders, connecting the personal and the professional with their emergent strategy, which is based on intuition, improvisation and trust. While their capacity as a functioning organisation does not always allow them to realise the values they have, or realise them to their most optimum capacity, it is crucial to note that their informality is also based on personal conviction, such as that expressed in the ‘gardener approach’ (see section 7.4.4). This approach corresponds to the aestheticisation of projects and the different ways in which projects engender affect and emotions, which intersects with the aforementioned drivers of care. However, the prevalent approach to project selection and subsequent (dis)engagement relies upon trust.

Trust enters the moral realm of care providing a nexus between emotional, responsible and political geographies. There is a growing interest in the role of trust in tourism development (see e.g. Moscardo, 2014; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2012; Nunkoo & Smith, 2014) with this research contributing to this body of literature by shedding light on the role of trust in connecting different actors and drawing multiple levels of responsible action together. Trust was identified as the main informal criterion guiding tour operators’ selection of projects. Findings on trust further emphasise its role in the de-selection of projects, with affect-based trust being employed to determine the (un)trustworthiness of projects. However, rather than expecting specific outcomes of projects, tour operators use their trusting expectations to defer a sense of responsibility to the trusted party. Here, caring at a distance becomes intertwined with implicit trust, i.e. trusting at a distance, with tour operators also relying upon trust as a proxy for monitoring. This implies variable degrees
and kinds of risk to the reputation of tour operators as well as to care-receivers. A consideration of trust, hence, also requires sensitivity to the underpinning risks to avoid an over-idealisation of care. Findings on the tourism-related educational project within the ethics of care are provided next.

10.2 Lived experience of education

The second research objective analysed the spaces for, and experiences of, gender empowerment within the tourism-supported educational project. The research adopted an original approach to studying educational processes through the lens of social learning theory, which contributes theoretically to the tourism literature. Findings reveal that empowerment is experienced, as responsibility for the self, while the lived experience of education becomes a core component of capacity building processes.

Social learning theory embraces the interweaving of learning and relationship building, emphasising the social dimension of the practises, processes and meanings of education. This study finds that the informal and lived experience of education is key to personal, academic and professional development. The interpersonal learning processes facilitated at the EfA project are underpinned by the experience of relational, embodied, and practised spaces of care, which strengthen the girls’ sense of security, confidence and belonging. Building on the work of McLennan and Peel (2012), Pretty et al. (1996) and Shirlow and Murtagh (2004) this study amplifies the understanding of the foundations of capacity building processes, emphasising the importance of extended networks, friendship and care. These contribute to a layering of the sense of community, which provides an alternative understanding of sense of community in capacity building, as the latter can provide access to different forms of community. This reflects that a holistic approach to learning needs to transcend a narrow focus on building individual capacities and rather, strive towards an understanding of the social embeddedness of education.

The study identifies mentoring as a core component of the lived experience of education, developing the understanding of the role of mentors in advancing education and training in tourism further. Particularly in communities characterised by low levels of education and missing frameworks for delivery of educational content, mentors can take a leading role in transferring relevant knowledge and skills. This highlights the fluid boundary between formal and informal education, which is also reflected in the girls’ behavioural and potentially attitudinal changes that exceed the formal school curricula. Findings further
reveal that education can provide access to a wider range of role models, building the foundation for observational and experiential learning processes, which contribute to the development of alternative gender role conceptions. However, sensitivity is required to the potential adverse experiences of these relationships, which can also engender power imbalances and disillusionment.

Consciousness-raising supports individual and collective levels of mobilisation and is characterised by the cultural exchanges and creative learning facilitated at the boarding houses. This fosters the development of imagination and abstraction, which tacitly challenges conceptions of self and others underpinning traditional order. Findings further show that the girls’ experience of empowerment is equated to ‘learning to be responsible for the self’. This is associated to an increasing sense of self-determination and self-confidence, which is strengthened through the environment of trust characterising the boarding houses and the development of aspirations. This moves away from a traditional conception of empowerment as being associated to aspects of power, mastery and control (Riger, 1993). Rather, it embraces an understanding of empowerment as responsibility for the self, which does not forfeit the flourishing of community bonds. This builds the foundation for a potential renegotiation of community gendered beliefs and values, as discussed next.

10.3 Incremental change

The third research objective analysed the consequent intended and unintended effects of women’s empowerment and education on wider community development. This study contributes to a rethinking of community capacity building, highlighting the need for a negotiation of community capacities to enable a gender-aware approach to building local capacities and to enhance potential outcomes of projects. It is argued that capacity building efforts in tourism need to be integrated more effectively in the gender agenda of destination communities to realize broader developmental goals. This understanding builds upon a rigorous analysis of the ideological frameworks governing the rural communities of the High Atlas Mountains that emphasised the missing interconnections between gendered community discourses and wider development processes.

Tour operators’ support of destination projects is establishing an alternative dialogue between community and development discourses by establishing a framework for support and care that respects local autonomy, expert knowledge of community members and the
context within which development occurs. This mutually facilitated process of development draws on multiple stakeholders, including community members, local associations, the housemothers and the girls, while respecting the autonomy of each. It is argued that these alternative frameworks for development have the potential to challenge local care discourses.

The local care discourse builds upon a conceptualisation of respect as men’s duty to provide for women, positioning women as in need of care, limiting their opportunities for self-care and personal responsibility. Through this ideological framework, which foregrounds an understanding of equality based on the notion of respect, men are endowed with respect, while respect of women is often phrased through an opposite concept, i.e. shame. Findings reveal that the tour operator supported EfA project is challenging these collective conceptualisations of care, by providing girls with an increasing access to higher education and social mobility. This research suggests that the girls’ increasing sense of responsibility, confidence and competence will potentially have wider effects on local gender politics by problematizing the understanding of respect and the role and position of women within society.

A core component of the incremental process of change within the local communities is linked to the multi-layered experience of role modelling. Female role models are lacking within the local communities, which leads to missing aspirations and understanding of opportunities among adolescents. This is underpinned by an internalisation of discourses of shame and a missing belief in the ability to change them. The EfA girls’ educational attainment transcends the repeating circle of predominantly female educational deprivation, with the girls becoming role models within their communities. This has led to an incipient change in consciousness among community members in their perception of the girl and her potential for academic, professional and personal development. It is argued that this builds the foundation for a wider process of mobilisation and renegotiation of gendered community beliefs and values.

This study builds on the work of Freire (1974), Kabeer (2005) and Nussbaum (2003), but extends their focus on education to encompass religious education. Findings suggest that the girls’ acquisition of religious and discursive knowledge increases their ability to engage with, and challenge received knowledge, like traditional gender discourses. Their increasing religious proficiency also contributes to their moral representation as role models. This
disproves common fears associated to distance care, which might contribute to a gradual enlargement of spaces for respect. The EfA project illustrates tourism’s potential to contribute to the provision of alternative spaces for respect within destination communities. However, building capacity for change among local communities requires transcending the framework of spatial proximity of caring characterising community life, to learn other forms of respect. It is argued that the establishment of networks and mentoring schemes in local communities can contribute to provide alternative frameworks for local development, which leads into the discussion of the recommendations arising out of this research.

10.4 Recommendations

The fourth research objective set out to develop recommendations for stakeholders to facilitate the promotion of gender equality and empowerment through tourism-supported capacity building initiatives. Findings reveal that tour operators in this study take a mostly ad-hoc approach to project selection that is not underpinned by specific considerations, such as gender. Their engagement in projects in destination communities could benefit from a more strategic approach by aligning projects with company strategy. This can be achieved through identifying criteria that links the selection process to business aims and objectives. This requires that tour operator reflect upon the ways in which their corporate (and personal) values translate into responsible action and how this understanding can be shared with and co-shaped by stakeholders involved in the selection process, to account for the manifold and culturally diverse communities they are engaged with. In addition, it is recommended that tour operators’ practise of caring and trusting at a distance be paired with a yearly overview of their engagements in remote spaces. This would allow them to review past practises and to nourish their current relationships, while this information would also feed back into their emergent strategy. This would enhance tour operators’ strategic approach to caring at a distance, further enabling them to stimulate change in priority areas of investment, while improving the competitive context in which their businesses operate.

Two additional areas of recommendations have been developed based upon this research. The first area suggests a further development of the mentoring relationships and the wider networks among local communities. This would provide additional opportunities for gender empowerment at all levels of education and within the working society. The second area is
aimed at targeting the underpinning mechanisms through which many of the discourses are reinforced and reproduced, namely gossip. The establishment of anti-gossip campaigns among local communities could be an effective way to raise awareness and wider sensitivity towards the detrimental impacts that gossip is having particularly on the female population in these rural villages. After the discussion of the recommendations the limitations of this research are highlighted.

10.4.1 Development of mentoring relationships and networks

The extended networks established at the boarding houses represent a core feature of the enabling environment of the EfA project. Tour operators form a core part of these networks, as they provide the necessary financial support for the project. The relevance of these networks could be expanded, by establishing a lasting EfA network that includes former alumnae, current students and mentors. Recognising the orality of Berber culture and the importance of lived experience and connection, networks could be fostered through organising annual or biannual EfA gatherings. These events could serve as a meeting ground between older and younger EfA students, including alumnae and girls from different boarding houses. A group of girls from each boarding house could prepare a short presentation for the event, which could be paired with the organisation of workshops with women in employment or with EfA alumnae studying at the university, to facilitate knowledge-transfer and active engagement with role models and potential mentors. The organisation of these events would require financial support, though; over time they could contribute to the establishment of long-lasting networks of mutual support.

A core dimension of these networks could be the development of an EfA mentoring scheme between younger and older EfA students. This would provide younger students with additional guidance from persons that they can identify and share their EfA experience with. This would also help recognising, at an early stage, the support each girl requires in her personal, academic and professional development. This mentoring scheme could include past alumnae, encouraging them to become mentors for EfA students that are in high school. These mentoring relations could serve to directly target the difficulties that the girls experience in integrating their occupational choices with their life choices. The EfA alumnae could advise the younger girls on their future studies and potentially in the long-term, support them in finding an internship or a job. Providing volunteer or job positions to
past alumnae at the EfA project could also manifest their role as mentors within the project structure.

This study has identified a range of positive effects that mentoring can have on the development of skills and abilities, self-confidence, sense of competence as well as a changing self concept. Mentoring also supports greater access to and development of social networks, with the girls’ aspiration to return to their villages providing the opportunity to build wider collaborative platforms within their community. The EfA girls have acquired a different set of skills and knowledge that they might be able to share and pass on to other community members. This would reflect a transition from being a role model to being a mentor, which might lead to wider mentoring networks being established between EfA girls, potential future EfA students and the wider community. This could provide alternative frameworks for local people to develop and support themselves and encourage change on a broader societal scale. The effects of this would not only affect women, as the more active integration of women in community life and the dissemination of knowledge and skills can contribute to wider changes in behaviours and attitudes among both men and women and support the development of societal frameworks.

10.4.2 Anti-gossip campaigns

The following realm of recommendations addresses the informal spaces of communication within society expressed through gossiping. It was mentioned throughout the eighth and ninth chapter of this thesis that gossip represents a key threat to the girls’ reputation, limiting their access to opportunities, including education. Particularly boys in the school environment are spreading gossip about the girls in their home communities, which has led to girls being withdrawn from school and/or created other forms of problems for them. This issue could be addressed through establishing anti-gossip campaigns that educate school children and in particular boys, about the consequences of their actions and words. Findings of anti-bullying campaigns show that “reaching the ‘bystanders’, or silent majority” can further help to reduce bullying (Salmivalli, 2001, p. 265). This argument could be extended to the practise of gossip, although, the intention here is not to compare bullying and gossiping. Rather, these findings highlight the importance of addressing the ‘silent majority’ to actively discourage and prevent gossip.

The anti-gossip campaigns could be based on events and activities organised at school and in individual classes. For example, planning an anti-gossip week for secondary and high
school in Asni, where the problem of gossip appears to be most prevalent. This could then serve as a model for future school groups and potentially lead to the development of an anti-gossip tool kit for other schools. The anti-gossip campaigns need to first, raise school children's awareness about the problems and consequences of gossiping as well as the potential group mechanism involved in disseminating gossip. Second, based on this information feelings of responsibility can be discussed. For example, through reflective activities in which students are confronted with gossiping situations in which they have to decide on how to act or reflect on their role in the situation. Third, these situations can also be visualised, for example through examples depicted on posters or performed in class. The latter could be based on student-led solutions on how to prevent and confront situations of gossip, which could be practised through role-play. The active involvement of students can encourage and strengthen commitment to new behaviours (see Cowie & Sharp, 1994; Salmivalli, 1999). This would further serve to emulate the more informal occasions in which gossip usually occurs and support students in recognising these situations to take responsibility in reducing gossip.

These campaigns would require an investment of efforts and resources from local representatives, teachers and/or tour operators to address these issues. The researcher plans to communicate and develop these ideas further with the EfA staff and involved tour operators. A timeframe is currently being developed in cooperation with both stakeholder groups to plan the dissemination and implementation of findings, with the proposed format being workshops. This will also serve as an opportunity to discuss the other realms of recommendations.

10.4.3 Research limitations

As aforementioned, despite the contributions and recommendations made, there were also some limitations underpinning the study. These were largely discussed in the methodology chapter, though; it is important to highlight that the findings of this research are project-related and context-specific, which makes it difficult to draw general recommendations from this research. This also implies that the findings of the study cannot be regarded as representative of the whole Moroccan population. Rather, the research was aimed at better understanding the social realm of the phenomena under study. However, this meant that the dissertation has dealt with broad ranging topics, such as religion, education, tourism and community development as well as gender and it has been a challenge trying to bracket
and establish boundaries around these. This was also reflected in each supervision meeting, where constantly new aspects emerged that were not only concerned with tourism development, capacity building or gender. Rather, these included a diverse range of experiences and topics that contributed to the intricacy of the dynamic interplay of these concepts. There are many grey areas, with the research being inherently complex. This requires acknowledging the gaps in understanding, with the accounts produced remaining to be partial, situated and, at times, contradictory. The next section turns to discuss avenues for future research.

10.5 Avenues for future research

This research identifies three main areas for future work. The first area is concerned with the role of trust in mediating responsible action in tourism. The second area focuses on the interconnections between development and gender policies in developing countries and the third is aimed at analysing the development of mentoring relations and their effects on capacity building.

Possibilities abound for exploring how professional ethics and tour operator – stakeholder relationships affect responsible practises in tourism. Building on limited existing research, this study explored tour operator engagement in tourism-supported projects in destination communities, providing the necessary foundation for future research to develop management implications. This requires attention to a range of issues, including the role of trust and emergent strategy building in mediating relationships and engagement in responsible business practises. Research on trust in tourism has not fully considered the role that trust plays in the planning, management and monitoring of responsible business action. Findings from Dirks and Ferrin (2002) reveal that trust in leadership is significantly correlated to performance outcomes of companies, though, the inverse relation, namely the ways in which leaders reliance on trust in management relations and practises can affect business outcomes, has not been studied in tourism.

There exists a well-established field of trust research across different disciplines, including psychology and management literature (see e.g. Dirks & Ferrin, 2002; Ferrin et al., 2007; Hosmer, 1995; Mayer et al., 1995; McAllister, 1995; Simpson, 2007). In recent tourism studies, Nunkoo and Ramkisson (2012) and Nunkoo and Smith (2014) have explored the political dimension of trust and Moscardo (2014) has analysed the interrelationship between trust and social capital. Theoretically, studying the concept of trust and
responsible business practises together could provide new insights to the processes and meanings underpinning both. The line of enquiry relating to this literature could be explored through an action research framework combining cycles of action and learning based on cooperative enquiry between practitioners and academics (see Coghlan, 2010).

This research has highlighted that responsible action in tourism originates from spatially diverse relationships. The relational concept of trust draws different levels of actors and actions together in the performance of responsible action. This study, therefore, suggests integrating trust into research on responsible business practises. Different strands of enquiry could be: How does trust influence decision-making in the planning and selection of responsible action, e.g. tourism projects? Which factors make leaders and organisations trust more or less within their business practises and relationships? How is trust incorporated within the overall management practises, e.g. monitoring of projects? How does trust feed into emergent strategy building of tour operators? Is there a relationship between trust and outcomes of responsible business practises? These lines of enquiry would allow unpacking the ways in which constructions of trust and responsibility interact in the production of responsible business practises. This understanding can inform the planning process of appropriate strategies to foster the implementation of responsible practises and actions in the tourism industry.

A second major line of future enquiry that this research highlights relates to the inequalities, particularly those around gender, which accompany (tourism) development processes in developing countries. This study identified that despite increasing economic development in the researched area there has been an expanding gender gap in educational attainment. The gender gap in education has been widely noted in the literature (see e.g. Hausmann et al., 2012; World Bank, 2011), also within the UK higher education geography (Maddrell et al., 2015) and in tourism academic leadership (Figueroa-Domecq et al., 2015). The underpinning mechanisms and implications, on whether and how development and gender policies can lead to decreasing (gender) inequalities in destinations are not well understood. Development policies are often oriented towards economic growth, with this also being linked to a prevalent focus on economic empowerment and poverty alleviation (Ferguson, 2009). However, this narrow focus does not account for wider societal changes, as noted in the case of Morocco by Skalli (2001). This has led to an increasing feminisation of poverty, suggesting that gender policies have not been effectively integrated in
development. Therefore, this research urges for further research on the effectiveness of development and gender policies in targeting inequalities, in particular gender inequalities.

This could be studied through the lens of education, assessing how development policies have affected the educational geography in different rural regions and gender inequalities within that. A multiple case study approach would be suitable, combining quantitative and qualitative data collection methods. First, this would require an investigation of the changing educational landscapes, assessing among other things where schools have been built and whether this has benefitted boys and girls equally across regions. A second component of the research would be to assess how differential educational attainment affects intra-household bargaining positions. A third dimension could take wider access to opportunities into consideration, studying whether unequal educational attainment has led to a wider persistence of inequality, e.g. inability to access the labour market or to build/access networks.

These different strands would provide insight to issues of access, gendered (social) mobility, and the cultural as well as religious underpinnings of development. Pertinent questions are: How do development programmes affect (gender) inequalities in different cultural contexts? Who is capturing development benefits? Is there a gender-biased distribution of benefits and if so, what drives the gender-biased distribution of development benefits? What are the mechanisms or factors that support the persistence of inequality?

This research would provide insight into the relationship between social frameworks, educational investment and outcomes of development programmes and could contribute to the development of policies and the implementation of the SDGs.

The third major avenue for future studies suggests a longitudinal study that builds upon this research to investigate the long-term development of mentoring relationships and their effect on community-level outcomes of capacity building projects. This study identified mentoring as a core dimension of capacity building, illustrating the positive developmental effects that mentoring can have on protégés. However, the rather cross-sectional nature of this study does not allow drawing inferences about the long-term development of these relationships and the wider effects they have on the surrounding communities in the High Atlas Mountains of Morocco. There further exist limited empirical studies of the positive effects of youth mentoring (Keller, 2007) and the long-term outcomes of gender and tourism projects (Ferguson, 2009).
A suitable format for future research would be a longitudinal in-depth qualitative study investigating the developmental processes underpinning mentoring relations and the wider ramifications these have on capacity building processes across different levels. Research questions that arise in this context are: How do mentoring relations develop over time and how can these be integrated effectively within capacity building projects? How are mentoring networks established among peers, the family, etc. and are there connections between these? Do mentoring relations have an effect on social mobility? Do mentoring relations have a wider effect on community development, e.g. providing access to social capital? This line of enquiry could build upon social learning theory, to study how discourses of care and respect are maintained, (re)produced, resisted and contested through mentoring relations and the development of wider social networks. Next, a short reflection about the research journey is provided.

10.6 Researcher reflections

The research journey has changed not only my understanding of the phenomena under study, but it has also changed my self. Before embarking on this PhD I had a keen interest in studying the interrelationships between tourism and community development, but soon I learned that there is no simple relationship between capacity building, empowerment and gender. The complexity and contested nature of each concept unsettled my own beliefs and understanding of the phenomena under study and made me question, how I could make sense of the data I had collected. With data I refer to the dialogical encounters with my research participants, our shared experiences and embodied memories that became engrained in my own imaginary of what empowerment and education could mean. These accounts, images and sounds accompanied me from the field back to the university, where I felt caught between the particularity of each story and the theoretical generality expected from me.

During the pilot study I was absorbed with dealing with my own self, trying to adapt to the field where ‘doing gender’ had acquired such a different meaning from my cultural and social understanding. This boundary became fluid during the main fieldwork period, where my embodied understanding of gender and empowerment became infused by the local circumstances and shared understandings. However, when I returned from Morocco I felt that I had abandoned the field, which had acquired personal meanings for me that carried experiences and feelings of shame, collectivity and friendship. These simultaneously
entered the academic realm through the meaning they carried for the issues under study, establishing a dialogue with the disruptive and at times, paradoxical discourses accompanying community life within the Berber villages. Translating these subjectivities required acknowledging the uncertainties that will inevitably remain, while embracing my relationship with the researched.

It is through experiencing the similarities and differences with my research participants that I was able to comprehend the complexity of empowerment as taking care of the self and the subtle reference to respect as encapsulating the meaning of equality. However, the process of translation started with making sense of my own self in relation to the researched, with the evolving understandings being enriched through the multiplicity of communications employed in the research. Over time, I learned that my visual observations of the culture would remain fragmented without engaging in the same activities and/or enquiring about their meaning. Particularly the girls’ pictures became a door to their understanding of everyday life allowing me to immerse in Berber culture, the lived experience of education and the strength of friendship ties. My research journey made me realise that the bridge between particularity and theoretical generality lies in the embodied experiences of the field, which carries connotations of emotional labour and feelings of responsibility that outlive the field. Through these interdependent relationships the research journey became to form a dialogical field between partial perspectives, theory and context, with my self becoming part of this interactive text.
List of References


Tourism Research, 23(1), 48–70.


Group Publishing Ltd.


Ferguson, L. (2009). *Analysing the gender dimensions of tourism as a development strategy*


Concerning False Consciousness. Political Psychology, 16(2), 397–424.


Hall (Eds.), *Tourism: A Gender Analysis* (pp. 1-34). Chichester: John Wiley.


Locke, R. M. (2002). *Note on corporate citizenship in a global economy*.


(Eds.), Research Methods for Clinical and Health Psychology (pp. 56–69). London: Sage Publications.
women in Bali. In P. Alexander (Ed.), *Creating Indonesian Cultures* (pp. 91–112). Sydney: Oceania.


Nunkoo, R., & Smith, S. L. J. (2014). Trust, tourism development and planning. In R. Nunkoo...
& S. L. J. Smith (Eds.), Trust, Tourism Development and Planning (pp. 1–8). London: Routledge.


of Muslim Minority Affairs, 30(3), 425–435.


The Guardian. (2013, July). Malala Yousafzai to tell UN: Books and pens are our most powerful weapons.


Psychological Review, 96(3), 506–520.


Appendices

Appendix A

Interview Topic Guide: The following topic guide outlines key issues and themes discussed during the interviews and relates them to the relevant research objectives. The different stakeholder groups that were interviewed include tour operators, directly and indirectly involved community members, parents (and close family members) and the girls staying at the ‘Education for All’ project.

Tour Operators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interview Topics and Questions</th>
<th>Research Objectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Responsible business practises underpinning the selection of and engagement in community-based projects</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are your motivating factors to support community-based projects? Why do you support the EfA project?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is your responsibility with regards to developing local capacities/supporting projects in communities?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are the roles and/or responsibility of community and other stakeholders within these processes?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you have any interests and/or priorities in supporting specific (capacity building/gender) projects? Could you give me an example of other (educational/gender-related) projects?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Steps underpinning the identification and selection of capacity building initiatives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How do you identify the communities and/or projects you want to engage with?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To what extent do you work together with local/other stakeholders to identify/select opportunities?</td>
<td>1) Critique selection processes through which tour operators identify opportunities for capacity building promoting gender equality in destination communities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4) Develop recommendations for stakeholders to facilitate the promotion of gender equality and empowerment through tourism-supported capacity building initiatives.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
How do you select the projects you support?
Do you have specific selection criteria? Which ones?

Questions for Agent:
Do you have any instructions on how to select projects?
Do you receive information on what type of project the tour operators are looking for?
How is a project identified on the ground and then recommended to and selected by the tour operator?

• Supportive practices and benefits received
What is the main support you provide to projects?
Do you have longer-term strategies for continuing or withdrawing support?
Do you take tourists to these projects?
How do these projects benefit your organisation?

• Historical development of project relations
How did you become involved with the EfA project?
Have you established any partnerships/closer relationships with project partners/local communities?
Do you have a favourite project you support? Could you tell me more about your relationship with the project?
What are the lessons learned from your engagement in (capacity building) projects?

• Assessment of key success factors and failed projects
Do you monitor/assess project outcomes? How? Why not?
Could you identify any key success factors?
Could you give me some examples of less successful/failed projects? What were the causes of failure?
**Dissemination of benefits to the wider community/mobilisation of wider community development**

What are the benefits of building local capacities (e.g. for tourism/community development?)

Who benefits and how?

What do you think the effects of the EfA project are going to be? How do you think this fits with existing society?

---

**Education for All Girls**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interview Topics and Questions</th>
<th>Research Objectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• <em>Presenting themselves and their community/family</em></td>
<td>2) Analyse spaces for, and experiences of, gender empowerment within tourism-supported educational projects.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Could you tell me more about yourself or your community through your pictures?</td>
<td>4) Develop recommendations for stakeholders to facilitate the promotion of gender equality and empowerment through tourism-supported capacity building initiatives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you live far away from the project?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What do the children your age do in your village?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did your parents also go to school? What do they do?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How did you come to live here at the EfA project? Did your parents want you to come? What did you think about coming here?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• <em>Experience of living at the boarding house</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you like staying here at the boarding houses? What do/ don’t you like about it?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Could you tell me more about your experience of living at the EfA through your pictures?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are your favourite learning spaces here at the boarding house? With whom do you learn?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What did you tell your parents when you went home this weekend about your week here?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The meaning and role of education in their life</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do your pictures show what education means to you?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you enjoy going to school? What do you enjoy?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What does learning bring to your life?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How does what you learn in school help you in your everyday life?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Personal development</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you think you have changed since you are staying here at the boarding houses? How? What is different?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you think there are any opportunities here that you would not have, if you would not be staying at the EfA?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does living at the EfA help you in your studies? How? Who helps you?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does anybody help you in your studies when you are at home?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EfA project as a platform to getting to know other girls</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How is it like to live together with so many girls?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How would you describe your relationship with the other girls? Did you come here with your friends from your community? Do you have many new friends?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you support each other? How?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Future aspirations and role of social and cultural norms</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What do you want to become / do in your future? Why? Do you know anybody who does that? Is that a kind of job people in your village might do? If not, what do they do?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How do other people from your family/community think about your aspirations?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you see any potential obstacles to realising your aspirations?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Do you want to go back to your community in the future? Why (not)? What would you like to do (there)?

**Directly involved community members (EfA staff members)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interview Topics and Questions</th>
<th>Research Objectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Work experience at the EfA</strong></td>
<td>2) Analyse spaces for, and experiences of, gender empowerment within tourism-supported educational projects.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Could you tell me more about your experience of working at the project? How did you start working here?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does your work at the project contribute to your personal development? Have you developed new skills?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are your roles and responsibilities at the project?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How would your describe your relationship with the girls?</td>
<td>4) Develop recommendations for stakeholders to facilitate the promotion of gender equality and empowerment through tourism-supported capacity building initiatives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How do you support the girls?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Could you tell me a story about a girl at the boarding houses that stands out? (E.g. about a change that you have observed; success/difficulty you have shared with them)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tourism and EfA</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How would you describe the role of tourism within the project?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are the main contributions you receive from tour operators and other tourism stakeholders?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you feel the presence of tour operators/tourism within the project? Do tourists visit the project?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Opportunities and challenges</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have you encountered any challenges while working at the project? Could you describe these?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What do you think are the main opportunities resulting from the project? How does the EfA support the girls in their future development?

Do you think the project has any effect on the surrounding communities? What effect does it have?

What are the responses received from the wider community?

Do you see any potential for conflicts to arise?

How do you think the girls’ educational attainment will affect the wider community? Do you think this will have an effect on gender relations/community development?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interview Topics and Questions</th>
<th>Research Objectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• <em>Presenting themselves and their community</em></td>
<td>3) Analyse the consequent intended and unintended effects of women’s empowerment and education on wider community development.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Could you tell me more about yourself? What do you do? What are your roles in your family/ in the community?</td>
<td>(Includes Research Objective 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• <em>Perceptions of EfA project</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you know about the EfA project? What do community members say about the project? What are your thoughts?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can anybody send his or her child to the project? (Addressing issues of inclusion and exclusion)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• <em>Education/EfA and community development</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does the project contribute to wider community development? How? OR: Do you see any negative effects?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is the meaning of education for you? Did you attend school when you were young?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What do you think is the role of education in accessing opportunities in life? Are there any gender differences in access to opportunities?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Do you think the girls increasing education will have an effect on community life? Could describe this further?

Do you think the (EfA) girls will be able to work in the community (in tourism) when they return?

What do you think will change in the role/position of the woman in the community, if there are more educated (empowered) women?

- *Tourism and community development*

Are there any opportunities resulting from tourism for you/the community (e.g. work, projects/associations)?

Do you know any other tourism-related projects? Do they contribute to the wider community? How?

What is important for community development?

Do you see any negative repercussion that tourism is having on your community?

What are the wider socio-cultural effects resulting from community involvement in tourism?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parents and close family members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Interview Topics and Questions</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• <em>Presenting themselves and their community</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Could you tell me more about yourself? What do you do? What are your roles in your family/ in the community?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• <em>Access to education and EfA project</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Could you tell me more about your education? What did you learn when you were young? What were the main difficulties in accessing education in the past and how have these changed? What difficulties do you face in sending your children to school?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How did you hear about the EfA? How was your daughter selected/accepted? Why did you want her to go there?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Could she continue her education without staying at the EfA?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Effect of EfA project on family (and daughter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How do you benefit from the EfA project? Does your daughter’s attendance of school have any effect on your family standing/status within the community?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does your daughter’s stay at the project have any effects on your family life? Does her education help you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have you observed any changes in your daughter since she is attending the project? (E.g. her behaviour, dress, communication with others)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are your aspirations for the future of your daughter?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Community development and tourism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What effects could the girls’ increasing education and sense of confidence have on community life?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you know about the role of tourism in the EfA project?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does tourism provide any opportunities for you/wider community development? Are there any negative effects?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does gender play a role in access to opportunities? How?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does tourism have any effects on gender relations?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How would you describe the role of tourism in your daily life/community life?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B

Sample Participant Information Sheet

Participant Information Sheets for each stakeholder group were produced, including tour operators, directly and indirectly involved community members, parents and the EfA girls. All participant information sheets were translated and provided in both Arabic and French for non-English speaking participants. The sample participant information sheet provided is that for children, with the document being tested before with two 12-year-old children.

Participant Information Sheet
For School Children

Introduction

I would like to invite you to take part in this project, named ‘Empowerment through education: Tour operators promoting gender equality through capacity building in destination communities’.

Please read everything carefully and talk about it with others if you want. Before you decide to take part, it is important that you understand what I am doing and what your role would be in the project. Ask a teacher or me, if you do not understand something.

Who am I and what am I doing?

My name is Claudia Eger and I am a student at the University of Surrey in England. Some of the questions I am trying to answer in my project are:

- How and why do tour operators support the Education for All (EfA) project?
- What effects does the project have on directly involved community members?
- How does the wider community benefit from the EfA project?

Your participation is voluntary and there is no problem if you do not wish to participate. If you decide to take part, you can still change your mind, by just telling me that you would like to stop the interview / withdraw from the research. In that case, you can also withdraw.
all the information you have given me, including your photographs and drawings.

What will you do?

We will talk for one hour and you will have the chance to draw and to take pictures. The interview will take place in the EfA project and there will be always a teacher or guardian with us. Two weeks before the interview you will get a camera to take photographs. We will talk about the photographs during the interview. If you agree, I will record our conversation.

Possible disadvantages or risks and benefits of taking part:

• There are no disadvantages or risks expected.

• The project will not directly benefit you; however, at the end of the project the cameras will be donated to the EfA project.

If there is any problem, or you are unhappy with this interview, please talk to your housemother; (contact details of each housemother were provided), or contact Dr. Caroline Scarles (E-mail: c.scarles@surrey.ac.uk / Telephone: +44 1483 689653).

All the things we talk about are confidential; this means that those reading about the findings of the project will not know who you are. Further, I will only use your photographs, if you agree. I will keep the data from our conversations safe, in accordance with the UK Data Protection Act 1998 and the data will be retained for 10 years. However, if you tell me something during our conversation that shows that you are at risk of harm, I may have to tell your guardian, but if this happens, I will first talk with you about it.

Who is organising and funding the research?

The research is supported by the tour operator ‘Explore Worldwide’ and the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC).

Who has reviewed the project?

The study has been reviewed and received a favourable opinion from the University of Surrey Ethics Committee.
Please write or talk to me, if you would like to take part, or if you have got any further questions: Claudia Eger (c.eger@surrey.ac.uk)

If you want to talk to someone about the project in Berber/Arabic, please contact: Name of translator (contact details)

Thank you for taking the time to read this Information Sheet.
Appendix C

Sample Consent Form

In this research three main consent forms were employed, interview consent forms, photography consent forms and drawing consent forms. The following sample consent form was used for the interviews, with the ethical considerations of obtaining informed consent of school-aged as well as illiterate participants being addressed in section 6.8.1.

Empowerment through education: Tour operators promoting gender equality through capacity building in destination communities

Sample Consent Form

• I the undersigned voluntarily agree to take part in the study on “Empowerment through education: Tour operators promoting gender equality through capacity building in destination communities” conducted by Claudia Eger, University of Surrey.

• I have read and understood the Research Information Sheet provided. I have been given a full explanation by the investigator of the nature, purpose, location and likely duration of the interview, and of what I will be expected to do. I have been given the opportunity to ask questions on all aspects of the interviewing process and have understood the advise and information given as a result. Interviews will be recorded, if you give your permission.

• I agree to comply with any instruction given to me during the course of the study and to co-operate fully with the investigator.

• I agree that anonymised data collected may be shared with other researchers or interested parties. I understand that all personal data relating to volunteers is held and processed in the strictest confidence, and in accordance with the UK Data Protection Act (1998). I agree that I will not seek to restrict the use of the results of the study on the understanding that my anonymity is preserved.
• I understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time without needing to justify my decision and without prejudice. I understand that I can also withdraw all my contributed data from the study.

• I confirm that I have read and understood the above and freely consent to participating in this study. I have been given adequate time to consider my participation and agree to comply with the restrictions and instructions of the study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of participant</th>
<th>...............................................................</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Signature</td>
<td>.......................................................................................................................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>.......................................................................................................................</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In the presence of (name of witness in BLOCK CAPITALS)</th>
<th>...............................................................</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Signature</td>
<td>.......................................................................................................................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>.......................................................................................................................</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of researcher/person taking consent (BLOCK CAPITALS)</th>
<th>...............................................................</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Signature</td>
<td>.......................................................................................................................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>.......................................................................................................................</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix D

**Ethical Approval:** This study has been reviewed and received a favourable opinion from the University of Surrey Ethics Committee.
Miss Claudia Eger  
School of Hospitality & Tourism Management  
FBEL  

26 November 2013  

Dear Miss Eger  

Empowerment and education: Tour operators promoting gender equality through capacity building in destination communities EC/2013/99/FBEL  

On behalf of the Ethics Committee, I am pleased to confirm a favourable ethical opinion for the above research on the basis described in the submitted protocol and supporting documentation.  

Date of confirmation of ethical opinion: 26 November 2013.  

The final list of documents reviewed by the Committee is as follows:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Revised Protocol Cover Sheet 8 October 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary of the project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detailed protocol for the project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revised Participant Information sheet for School Children 8 October 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revised Participant Information sheet for Community Members 8 October 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revised Participant Information sheet for Parents 8 October 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revised Participant Information sheet for Tour Operators 8 October 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revised Participant Information sheet for the Wider Community 8 October 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revised Consent Form 8 October 213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revised Photography Consent Form 8 October 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revised Drawing Consent Form 8 October 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Email dated 4 November 2013 from Sonia Omar confirming consent for study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview Schedule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Declaration dated 21 November 2013 that the process of obtaining written consent from the house mother will be followed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DBS Enhanced Certificate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safety in the Field: Risk Assessment for Conducting Research Work in Morocco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Risk Assessment for Conducting Research Work in Morocco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protocol Submission Proforma: Insurance &amp; Zurich Certificate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This opinion is given on the understanding that you will comply with the University's Ethical Principles & Procedures for Teaching and Research. If the project includes distribution of a survey or questionnaire to members of the University community, researchers are asked to include a statement advising that the project has been reviewed by the University’s Ethics Committee.  

If you wish to make any amendments to your protocol please address your request to the Secretary of the Ethics Committee and attach any revised documentation.  

The Committee will need to be notified of adverse reactions suffered by research participants, and if the study is terminated earlier than expected with reasons. Please be
advised that the Ethics Committee is able to audit research to ensure that researchers are abiding by the University requirements and guidelines.

You are asked to note that a further submission to the Ethics Committee will be required in the event that the study is not completed within five years of the above date.

Please inform me when the research has been completed.

Yours sincerely

[Signature]

Mike Chenery
Secretary, University Ethics Committee
Research & Enterprise Support