THE CONSTRUCTION AND INFLUENCE OF LOCAL GENDER ROLES ON PRACTICE IN A GLOBAL INDUSTRY: ECOTOURISM IN ECUADOR

DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

This study contributes to understandings of cultural economic geography and economic development from a feminist perspective by querying how gender roles are constructed within ecotourism and influence ecotourism practice in Ecuador. Exploring how gender roles are negotiated in everyday life is one avenue one may use to understand how power and influence are manifest in ecotourism, a multibillion dollar global industry that relies on personal interaction in localities around the world.

To know how local gender relationships influence ecotourism this study explores gender roles at ecolodges in Ecuador from three different approaches. The first approach explores ecolodge managers’ ideologies about the gender of labor at ecolodges. The second approach explores how interaction between local gendered labor norms and managers’ gender ideologies affects daily routines at ecolodges. The final approach considers how managers’ gender ideologies and local gendered labor norms affect tourists’ experiences at ecolodges.

Therefore, the construction of gender in ecolodges needs to be addressed for the following reasons: to demonstrate that diversity in construction of gender exists in ecotourism developments, to see whether it is possible for ecotourism to be largely positive and empowering for poor rural communities, and to develop practical recommendations for ecotourism managers to inform their management strategies.
For Kyle
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**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

Abstract ........................................................................................................................................ ii
Dedication ...................................................................................................................................... iii
Acknowledgements ....................................................................................................................... iv
Vita ................................................................................................................................................. v
List of Tables ............................................................................................................................... ix
List of Figures ............................................................................................................................. xi

Chapter

1: Introduction .............................................................................................................................. 1
   1.1 Introduction ....................................................................................................................... 1
   1.2 Problem Statement ......................................................................................................... 2
   1.3 Significance of research ............................................................................................... 4
   1.4 Geographic context and methods of study ................................................................. 7
   1.5 Conclusion ..................................................................................................................... 8

2: Theoretical Framework .......................................................................................................... 10
   2.1 Introduction ................................................................................................................... 10
   2.2 Conceptualizations of gender ideology ........................................................................ 12
      2.2.1 Conceptualizations of gender ideology: application to study .............................. 15
   2.3 Gendered power relationships .................................................................................... 16
      2.3.1 Feminist cultural economic geography ............................................................... 16
      2.3.2 Feminist cultural economic geography: application to study ......................... 18
      2.3.3 Gendered adaptation in the workplace ............................................................... 19
      2.3.4 Gendered adaptation in the workplace: application to study ......................... 19
      2.3.5 Gendered work and development ..................................................................... 21
      2.3.6 Gendered work and development: application to study .................................. 23
   2.4 Global power relationships of the cultural economy .................................................. 24
      2.4.1 Global power relationships of the cultural economy: application to study ...... 27
   2.5 Ecotourism Studies ....................................................................................................... 27
      2.5.1 Conceptualizations of gender in tourism ............................................................. 28
      2.5.2 Ecotourism and political ecology ....................................................................... 30
      2.5.3 (Eco)tourism and global power relationships of the cultural economy .......... 32
   2.6 Conclusion ..................................................................................................................... 37

3: Empirical Background and Methods ..................................................................................... 38
3.1 Introduction ..................................................................................................................38
3.2 Empirical background .................................................................................................38
  3.2.1 Regions of Ecuador ...........................................................................................39
  3.2.2 Tourism and ecotourism in Ecuador ..................................................................43
3.3 Data collection methods ...............................................................................................46
  3.3.1 Organization selection .......................................................................................47
  3.3.2 Respondent selection .........................................................................................49
  3.3.3 Survey development and analysis ....................................................................51
  3.3.4 Interview content ...............................................................................................52
3.4 Data collection issues ..................................................................................................56
  3.4.1 Data reliability ..................................................................................................56
  3.4.2 Respondent confidentiality ................................................................................57
  3.4.3 Positionality and reflexivity ..............................................................................59
3.5 Conclusion ...................................................................................................................61

4: Gender Ideologies of Managers .....................................................................................63
  4.1 Introduction ..................................................................................................................63
  4.2 Application of gender ideologies to managers interview data ....................................64
  4.3 Background on managers ............................................................................................65
  4.4 Managers’ gender ideologies .....................................................................................69
    4.4.1 Inflexible gender ideologies .............................................................................70
    4.4.2 Flexible gender ideologies ................................................................................72
    4.4.3 Unclear gender ideology ...................................................................................75
  4.5 Significance of managers’ gender ideology ...............................................................75
  4.6 Limitations of analyzing managers’ gender ideologies ..............................................78
  4.7 Conclusion ...................................................................................................................79

5: Management Adaptation and the Gendered Division Of Labor ....................................82
  5.1 Introduction ..................................................................................................................82
  5.2 Cantón census data .......................................................................................................83
  5.3 The gender of labor at ecolodges ................................................................................86
    5.3.1 Employee reporting of gendered job assignment at ecolodges ........................88
    5.3.2 Manager reporting of the gendered job assignment at ecolodges ....................91
  5.4 Explaining gendered job assignment ...........................................................................92
    5.4.1 Employees’ perspectives on gendered job assignment .....................................93
    5.4.2 Managers’ perspectives on gendered job assignment ......................................99
  5.5 Employees’ adaptation strategies ..............................................................................101
    5.5.1 Scheduling ......................................................................................................102
    5.5.2 Other changes in work ....................................................................................109
  5.6 Managers’ adaptation strategies ..............................................................................110
    5.6.1 Gender of jobs .................................................................................................110
    5.6.2 Scheduling and reproductive labor ..................................................................114
  5.7 Trends in management adaptation strategies ............................................................116
    5.7.1 Adaptation Styles .............................................................................................117
    5.7.2 Adaptation style cases .....................................................................................118
LIST OF TABLES

Table
3.1: Ecuadorian labor force participation by sector ...........................................................44
3.2: Ecotourism Organizations Studied .............................................................................46
3.3 Schedule of research in Ecuador .................................................................................51
4.1: Managers’ description of most important element for ecotourism success ..........80
5.1: Gendered Population and labor force data for Ecuador ..............................................84
5.2: Gendered population of case study cantons ...............................................................85
5.3: Cantón labor force participation by economic sector .................................................85
5.4: Cantón labor force participation by sex .................................................................87
5.5: Gender of employees by ecolodge ............................................................................88
5.6: Jobs by gender as reported by employees ...............................................................90
5.7: Jobs by gender as reported by managers, part 1 .....................................................91
5.8: Jobs by gender as reported by managers, part 2 ....................................................92
5.9: Employees reporting of mismatch in labor norms for men ........................................95
5.10: Employees reporting of mismatch in labor norms for women ...............................96
5.11: Percent of employees reporting mismatch in gendered labor norms .................99
5.12: Managers reporting of mismatch in labor norms for men ....................................100
5.13: Managers reporting of mismatch in labor norms for women ...............................101
5.14: Employees reporting of schedule variations ........................................................103
5.15: Employees reporting work conflict with household responsibilities by lodge......105

5.16: Employees reporting work conflict with household responsibilities by gender and family ........................................................................................................................................105

5.17: How jobs affected household and community obligations by gender and family ........................................................................................................................................105

5.18: Examples of how jobs affected household and community obligations.............106

5.19: Employees reporting of household responsibilities affecting work responsibilities .................................................................................................................107

5.20: Employees reporting of household responsibilities affecting work responsibilities by gender and family ..........................................................................................108

5.21: Examples of how household and community obligations affected jobs............108

5.22: Gender ideologies, adaptation styles, as compared to female employment at lodges and in cantones..............................................................................................................119

6.1: Indicators of tourists’ interest in ecotourism experiences .................................................149
LIST OF FIGURES

Figures
1.1: Foreign Entry into Ecuador.................................................................7
3.1: Regions of Ecuador........................................................................39
3.2: Map of Ecuador .............................................................................40
3.3: Map of research clusters ...............................................................41
4.1: Gender of managers.......................................................................65
4.2: Managers’ country of origin ............................................................66
4.3: Managers’ education...............................................................66
4.4: Managers’ region of specialization................................................67
4.5: Main location(s) of managers’ work.............................................68
4.6: Managers’ gender ideology..............................................................69
4.7: Gender ideology by sex .................................................................77
4.8: Gender ideology by region .............................................................77
4.9: Gender ideology by country of origin...........................................78
5.1: Organic gardening at an ecolodge ..................................................89
5.2: Gender ideologies relationship to adaptation styles.....................118
5.3: Managers’ gender ideologies and managers’ adaptation styles for all lodges ....125
6.1: Tourist education ........................................................................130
6.2: Tourist trips per year ....................................................................131
6.3: Tourist gender ...........................................................................................................132
6.4: Tourist age ................................................................................................................133
6.5: Tourist country of origin ...........................................................................................134
6.6: How tourist learned of destination ............................................................................135
6.7: Tourist report of gender of tourism workers- On-site managers, room maintenance, restaurant servers, cooks .................................................................137
6.8: Tourist report of gender of workers- Drivers, desk clerks, souvenir merchants, tour guides .................................................................................................138
6.9: Tourist report of gender of workers- Maintenance/construction, other guides, gardeners .............................................................................................................139
6.10: Tourist report of gender of workers- Washing clothes, cutting firewood, booking agent ................................................................................................................140
6.11: Tourist interaction with locals ................................................................................142
6.12: Tourist observation of men’s labor norms ..............................................................142
6.13: Tourist observation of women’s labor norms ..........................................................143
6.14: Tourist perception of mismatch with male labor norms ............................................144
6.15: Tourist perception of mismatch with female labor norms ........................................144
6.16: Tourist satisfaction with experience .......................................................................147
6.17: Tourist likelihood of return to Ecuador ..................................................................148
6.18: Tourist likelihood to recommendation experience ................................................148
1.1 Introduction

This study contributes to understandings of cultural economic geography and economic development from a feminist perspective by querying how gender relationships are constructed within ecotourism and influence ecotourism practice in Ecuador. Exploring how gender roles are negotiated in everyday life is one avenue one may use to understand how power and influence are experienced in ecotourism, a multibillion dollar global industry that relies on personal interaction in localities around the world.

Ecotourism, “responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and improves the well-being of local people” (TIES 2008), has become more mainstream over time. Condé Nast Traveler recently featured an article about how ecotourism is no longer synonymous with a lack of amenities but can be a luxury travel experience (Parenti 2007). In the January 22, 2006 edition of the New York Times Michelle Higgins declares ecotourism the “Buzzword of the Year.” The attention received by mainstream publications is not surprising when one considers ecotourism’s contribution to the global economy. International tourism generated $733 billion worldwide in 2006 (WTO 2008).
and ecotourism is estimated to account for 7% of international tourism revenues (TIES 2008). Ecotourism is a business operation that is often promoted as a development strategy in poor rural areas (Boo 2000). Ecotourism can operate on a small scale with modest investments in infrastructure and modest demands for external resources because extant local natural environments draw tourist dollars to areas that have had little prior investment. Lessons learned about ecotourism may apply to other types of development strategies in poor rural areas.

1.2 Problem Statement

As in other development studies, ecotourism researchers ask questions about empowerment, monetary benefits, equality, and cultural change that are brought about by ecotourism development. Unfortunately, little research has been conducted that seriously considers how gender roles within ecotourism operations are established or that explores how local gender roles might have a significant influence on ecotourism practice.

Ecotourism studies have provided suggestions for how to empower women (Belsky 1999, Wilkinson and Pratiwi 1995), as well as criticism of ecotourism managers for not doing enough to institute significant change to improve women’s status (Campbell 1999, Gentry 2007). Some ecotourism studies measure women’s empowerment through opportunities to earn money (Epler Wood 1998, Gentry 2007). While important, earning monetary benefits is not the only way that women’s roles may be understood in tourism.

A 2005 BBC news article about ecotourism in Ecuador (Voss 2005) provides an example of mainstream thinking about the interaction between ecotourism and local culture that highlights the importance of questioning the construction and influence of...
gender relationships in ecotourism. The article, about a lodge in Ecuador’s Amazon, address how politics, culture, gender, and the natural environment can affect ecotourism experiences. Voss is one of very few popular journalists to explore gender issues. His question, included in the quote below, is typical of much academic research on gender and ecotourism (see section 2.5.1) that assumes problems or conflict are largely experienced by employees.

Many of the Achuar have to travel several days by foot to get to the lodge. They work for a month, then have several weeks off at home.

So far only men are employed and their wives stay at home with the children. Yet many of the jobs, such as cooking and cleaning, are traditionally women's work.

"The hardest part of the transition process is to change their way of thinking, their culture," says the Kapawi Lodge's Miguel Carrera.

"The Achuar men never cook, never clean, never serve, but they must do all these things here. It took time but now we are about to select the best and send them away to learn English and management skills."

But what impact is this having on the Achuar's traditional lifestyle and culture?

Voss’ question is important, but other questions relevant to development strategies in poor remote areas of the world need to be asked as well. For example: why do women stay at home?, how did the arrangement of gendered job assignment come to be?, how has management of workers changed over time?, what do the employees have to say about the jobs they do?, what challenges do development managers face if they try to balance respect for local norms with different cultural ideologies about appropriate gender relationships with maintenance of a profitable business, and finally, how do tourists (consumers) perceive their interactions with local workers?

Without a clear understanding of how managers make decisions about the gender of work, how local employees respond to and request specific work tasks and schedules,
and how tourists experience local gender norms, suggestions for improvement of ecotourism and criticisms of practice will have little pragmatic value. The questions guiding this study are:

- How is gender conceptualized in the workplace?
- How do conceptualizations of gender affect practice in the workplace?
- How can practice in the workplace affect local economic development?
- How can everyday practice in the workplace inform understandings of global power relationships?

1.3 Significance of research

Knowledge of how gender roles and relationships influence ecotourism is important to help ensure that ecotourism principles are carried out. To accomplish the goals of ecotourism as defined by the International Ecotourism Society (TIES 2008), six sub-goals have been identified:

1. Minimize impact.
2. Build environmental and cultural awareness and respect.
3. Provide positive experiences for both visitors and hosts.
4. Provide direct financial benefits for conservation.
5. Provide financial benefits and empowerment for local people.
6. Raise sensitivity to host countries’ political, environmental, and social climate.

Local gender relationships’ influence on practice in ecotourism directly touches on four of the six listed goals: building cultural awareness, providing positive experiences, empowering local people, and raising sensitivity of a country’s social climate. Gender relationships are present, yet varied, in all human contexts (McDowell
and Sharp 1997: 4). Therefore, local gender relationships are an excellent vehicle to aid understanding of ecotourism because they are so pervasive and integral to activity in daily life.

A complaint about tourism studies is that they are too empirical and that most case studies lack serious consideration of wider theoretical issues (Weaver and Lawton 2007). My study provides a framework for assessing and relating ecotourism case studies to wider theoretical questions about the gendered cultural economy of development strategies. My study will help to increase dialogue within tourism studies to be able to compare and contrast vastly different case studies. Dialogue between ecotourism and other development strategies is not possible without first building a dialogue between ecotourism studies. Linking ecotourism to the conceptualizations of the global power relationships can be employed to build dialogue in ecotourism studies. Concepts from globalization, defined by the geographer Louise Johnson (2006) as “the speeding up and intensification of global movements of people, capital, culture, organization, and information,” should be employed in ecotourism research. Ecotourism is only possible through intense meetings of stakeholders from around the world. But, with few exceptions (Guerrier and Adib 2004, Hill and Woodland 2005, Macleod 1999, Ryan 1997, Smeral 1998, Wood 2000, Yamamoto and Gill 2002) tourism researchers fail to conceptualize case studies within a wider framework of globalization.

Critical theorists of globalization question what influences global power relationships and what changes may occur in economies and cultures through the intensification of global relationships. Critical theories of globalization advocate studying globalization “on the ground” (Bek et al. 2007, Brown 2007, Hörschelmann and

For example, interactions among non-local managers, local employees from surrounding communities, and international tourists shape practice at ecolodges. This study describes how the nature of interactions is mediated within ecotourism operations through subtle iterative negotiations among stakeholders. Lessons about power dynamics, adaptation, complexity and diversity within an industry can be learned by exploring the gendered cultural economy within workplaces (McDowell 1997, 1999, 2001, 2003, and Batnitzky et al. 2008). My study focuses specifically on how gender roles and relationships are conceptualized by actors within ecotourism operations. I do not explicitly explore the effects of ecotourism on tourists’ perception of the overall tourism experience or the effects of ecotourism on local communities. Instead, my study looks at mechanisms that guide decision-making within tourism operations. A better understanding of how decisions are made within ecotourism will allow for the development of more realistic recommendations and more appropriate advice to allow for economic survival of ecotourism operations, to improve the tourist experience and to enhance positive effects on local communities.
1.4 Geographic context and methods of study

Ecuador was selected as the site for this study because it is a leader in international ecotourism and because tourism revenues significantly contribute to Ecuador’s economy (Ministerio de Turismo del Ecuador 2002). Ecuador has had an official government ministry devoted to tourism since 1992 (Ministerio de Turismo del Ecuador 2006) and tourist arrivals have increased steadily over time (Figure 1.1).

![Foreign Entry into Ecuador 2000-2006](image)

Figure 1.1 Foreign Entry into Ecuador (Data drawn from INEC 2003 and Ministerio de Turismo del Ecuador 2007)

To understand how gender relationships are constructed within ecotourism and influence ecotourism practice, a number of data collection methods were necessary. Some data from the Ecuadorian Census (INEC) and Ecuador’s Tourism Ministry (2007) was employed to describe the national, provincial, and cantonal context of ecotourism lodges. The majority of my analysis and results are drawn from ninety-seven interviews.
that I conducted from September to December of 2003. Interviews were conducted with leaders of ecotourism in Ecuador, ecotourism managers based in Quito, managers based on-site at ecolodges, and local on-site employees. Paper and pencil surveys that I designed were distributed to tourists that visited ecolodges. Forty-nine surveys were returned for analysis.

1.5 Conclusion

To understand how gender relationships are constructed within ecotourism and influence ecotourism practice, this study explores gender roles at ecolodges in Ecuador from three different approaches. The first approach explores ecolodge managers’ ideologies about the gender of labor at ecolodges. The second approach explores how interaction between local gendered labor norms and managers’ gender ideologies affects daily routines at ecolodges. The final approach considers how managers’ gender ideologies and local gendered labor norms affect tourists’ experiences at ecolodges.

Chapter 2 describes the theoretical framework of my research. This study draws on tourism studies, feminist conceptualizations of power in the global economy, feminist cultural economic geography, and feminist political ecology. Chapter 3 describes the context of the study, data collection methods, and approaches for analysis of data. Results of analyses are presented in chapters 4 to 6. Chapter 4 describes the gender ideologies of managers/owners in Quito and on-site managers, chapter 5 explores how management strategies and local gendered labor norms affect practice in ecolodges, and chapter 6 describes how managers negotiate relationships between local employees and
tourists that visit. A more comprehensive overview of implications of my research will be included in chapter 7, the conclusion.
CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

Tourism studies provide rich details and describe intimate and varied relationships between tourists, tourism workers, and local communities, but lack a strong theoretical framework. Understanding how intimate local interactions in destinations are linked to global markets that are a part of every tourism operation can be informed by a number of different theoretical frameworks. This study draws on theories from feminist cultural economic geography, feminist political ecology, and feminist conceptualizations of the global economy. These perspectives are drawn on to help tackle the guiding questions of this study: how is gender conceptualized in the workplace, how do conceptualizations of gender affect practice in the workplace, how can practice in the workplace affect local economic development, and how can everyday practice in the workplace inform understandings of global power relationships?

Tourism is often regarded as a unique field, both theoretically and substantively (Weaver and Lawton 2007) in large part because it is an export industry, in that it relies on income flows from abroad, yet the “consumption” of the tourism product occurs in its place of production. If this were true of tourism the applicability of theoretical
frameworks to tourism studies and contributions that the study of tourism could make to wider academic understanding would be limited. Some reasons for why tourism is regarded as unique are because tourism studies generally lack contextualization in the wider world and there is little discourse between researchers (Weaver and Lawton 2007). The lack of a strong link to theory is unfortunate because tourism studies, which are rich in detail, are overlooked in academia as applicable to the development of theory because they do not do well to explain the significance of case studies or explain what guides interactions between players in ecotourism. This study questions how ecotourism is gendered from within. To do so I explore multiple perspectives to see how different actors interact with each other. Tourism literature has provided many studies of experiences and perceptions of local communities (Brandth and Haugen 2007, Gallardo and Stein 2007, Garrett 2004/5, Gentry 2007, Hipwell 2007, Jones 2005, Lepp 2007, Little 2003, Martinez 2002,) and tourist experiences and perceptions (Mehmetogulu 2006, Owen 2007, Petrosillo et al. 2006, Priskin 2003, Pritchard 2001, Waitt and Cook 2007), These studies do not describe how these different experiences are integrated in practice. Tourism studies that consider multiple stakeholders will usually focus on a single context (Marshall 2001) or provide a fairly general overview of key actors’ roles (Simpson 2008).

In this chapter I describe the theoretical basis and significance of my study that explores how gender relationships are constructed within ecotourism and influence ecotourism practice in Ecuador. I begin with a discussion of how gender is conceptualized by feminist geographers, and then more specifically how the practice of gender in the workplace can be understood. I then describe feminist political ecology
studies that I draw on since this study focuses on business that bring economic
development to poor rural areas of Ecuador. Conceptualizations of global power
relationships of the cultural economy are the final theoretical framework used to inform
this study. I end this chapter with a discussion of how gender, political ecology, and
global power relationships have been treated in ecotourism literature.

2.2 Conceptualizations of gender ideology

Feminist geographers’ conceptualizations of gender and gender relations have
informed this study. In this section I focus on the conceptualization of gender but some
attention is given to distinguishing between gender and gender relationships. Section 2.3
will focus more explicitly on understanding gender relationships.

One cannot begin to understand the importance of feminist theories or
methodologies in geography without an understanding of gender. For example,
McDowell and Sharp (1997, 1999) provide two definitions of feminist geography that
include the terms “gender” and “gender relations.”

…to demonstrate the ways in which hierarchical gender relations are both
affected by and reflected in the spatial structure of societies, as well as in the
theories that purport to explain the relationships and the methods used to
investigate them. (1997: 4)

The specific aim of feminist geography, therefore, is to investigate, make visible,
and challenge the relationships between gender divisions, to uncover their mutual
constitution, and problematise their apparent naturalness. (1999: 91)
The definitions of these terms are not agreed upon by all feminists or by all feminist geographers. As I will show below, there are debates within feminist geography not only about the meaning of gender and gender relations but also about the role that gender should play in feminist geography. I will first describe the ways that gender has been conceptualized by feminists over time and describe some methodologies suggested to determine specific characteristics of gender.

The term gender was originally used to differentiate biological differences of men and women from differences between men and women that are attributed to social and cultural roles. For example, statements such as: “men are usually taller than women” and “women give birth to children” describe biological difference. Statements such as, “women are better at nurturing children” and “men are better at spatial visualization,” are examples of difference based on gender. An assumption of this conceptualization is that biological difference is the foundation of gender difference (de Beauvior 1949 in McDowell and Sharp, 1999:106).

Since the time of de Beauvior theorists have shown ways that interpretations of the body and what it means to be a man or woman vary by culture. (McDowell and Sharp, 1999: 106). Additionally, there are not just two genders. Feminists have recognized that alternative sexualities, races, and economic class can all contribute to creating different interpretations of gender (Adib and Guerrier 2003, McDowell and Sharp 1999: 108).

Domosh and Seager (2001:xxii) encourage explorations of “a culture’s assumptions about the differences between men and women: their ‘characters,’ the roles they play in society, what they represent”. These explorations ask how we know what
aspects of culture, the economy, society and politics are attributable to gender. Not surprisingly, a number of methodologies are advocated. Most of these draw upon Foucault’s conceptualization that gender is a fluid, changeable concept that it is shaped through everyday actions that vary through space and time (McDowell and Sharp, 1999: 108). Valentine (2007), argues that feminist geographers need to research the intersectionality of gendered identities—“the relationship between different social categories: gender, race, sexuality, and so forth”—by exploring everyday experiences where identities will change through space and time.

Generally, feminist geographers are in agreement that gender varies not only between cultures, but also varies for an individual from place to place. However, there are an unlimited number of settings and places in the world. Therefore, feminists have theorized that there are different spatial structures in the world that have a particularly strong ordering effect on gender identity.

2.2.1 Conceptualizations of gender ideology: application to study

Therefore, feminist geographers’ theorizations about the construction of gender are applicable to my study because I describe how gender is constructed in different ways at different ecotourism lodges and how that construction affects practice at those ecotourism lodges. The notion that gender identities can change, that actual gender roles and relations are fluid is of importance to my study. The concept of multiple identities is important to my study as well. In chapters 4 and 5, I describe how people view gender roles and how those gender roles are manifest in different contexts such as the home, public spaces and at work.

Gender ideologies, the focus of chapter 4, are defined as ideas, expectations, and attitudes that one has about gender relations (Fan 2004, Silvey 2003). Gender ideologies reflect the thoughts of individuals, organizations, and states, but ideologies are imagined. They do not necessarily reflect the lived experiences of the men and women that are imagined (e.g. Managers’ gender ideologies about local workers and communities are not necessarily correct). Gender ideologies of employers play a role in the construction of gender relationships and identities in the workplace because they guide managers’ decisions about how to best meet the various needs of tourists, employees, their own well being, and to ensure the smooth and profitable operation of the business. To date, gender ideologies do not appear to have been addressed in ecotourism literature. By recognizing diversity in gender ideologies one will better understand the variety of gender issues that apply to ecotourism.
2.3 Gendered power relationships

In feminist geography, studies of gender relationships “investigate, make visible, and challenge the relationships between gender divisions, to uncover their mutual constitution, and problematise their apparent naturalness” (McDowell and Sharp 1999: 91). Those that study gender relationships argue that one gender can only be identified relative to another. The relationship between genders is regulated by sets of unequal power relations. For example, work that is associated with women is usually valued less (both culturally and socially) than work associated with men. The argument about the undervaluation of women’s work makes no sense unless it is shown to be different from men’s work (Foord and Gregson 1986: 193).

2.3.1 Feminist cultural economic geography

Feminist cultural economic geography provides a critical perspective to explain how economic connections between places and between people in places are shaped by varied cultural constructions of gender (Ettlinger 2003, Gray and James 2007, Massey 1995). Furthermore, the critical perspective of feminist cultural economic geographers argues that variation in experiences of different people and places is the norm. What brings feminist cultural economic geography together as a body of literature is not an theory that generalizes across space and experience, but rather that studying some common themes and processes (e.g. Ettlinger’s (2003) identification of trust relationships to understand work processes or Gray and James (2007) study of the significance of the gendered division of labor to explain gendered inequality in the workplace) helps one to understand difference across space and experience (Massey 1995).
For this study I draw most directly on studies of the construction of gender within the workplace. Studies that describe gender in the workplace span many substantive areas of research including management studies (e.g. Hillman et al. 2002), sociology (e.g. Britton 2000, Henson and Rogers 2001) and women’s studies (e.g. Devasahayam 2005). These descriptive studies focus on how to study gender in the workplace and how personal experiences are affected by gendered power relationships in the workplace, but are fairly weak in explanatory power of implications of these power relationships beyond the workplace or individual. For example, Britton (2000) provides a framework to demonstrate how an organization is gendered and Devasahayam (2005) describes how work contributes to gender identity for particular communities. Studies that do a better job of demonstrating wider ranging implications focus on active resistance to undesirable circumstances in the workplace (e.g. Silvey 2003, Tonkin 2000, Wainwright 2007).

In geography, Linda McDowell has written extensively on the concept of gender cultures in the workplace (1997, 1999, 2001, 2003, and Batnitzky et al. 2008). McDowell seeks to understand how industrial change, the meaning of workspaces, and how the expression of everyday gendered power relationships inform understandings of wider changes in urban Britain (McDowell 1997). Gender cultures in the workplace highlight examples of specific interactions that shape how gender is experienced in the workplace like where people work in an office or which people feel comfortable with each other. Literature on gender cultures addresses questions of empowerment (McDowell 1997), recruitment strategies (Jones 1998), and management styles (McDowell 2001). My study draws on the concept of gender cultures through a focus on
management styles in the lodge as related to recruitment, assignment of jobs, and schedule adjustments.

2.3.2 Feminist cultural economic geography: application to study

McDowell focuses on learning how society changes by exploring everyday interactions within the workplace. I follow this methodology to some degree, but the context of my study brings something new to conceptualizing gender cultures at work. Since ecotourism is a new industry one is able to see the formation and negotiation of gender cultures in the workplace more clearly than in more established industries. More established industries are more likely to have settled into a stable pattern of relationships. Many of McDowell’s cases (for example McDowell 2003, Batnitzky et al. 2008) look at how the introduction of a less powerful minority group into a more dominant majority affects gender cultures. For my work, in contrast, I explore how the introduction of a powerful minority (ecolodge managers that can provide jobs to locals) into a rural area affects gender cultures in the workplace. Marshall (2001) dismisses tourism research on relationships between managers and local communities in developing countries as “focused on exotic locales and Third World countries in which dependency theory figures prominently in the analysis” (167). However, my study shows that the concept of dependence alone does not explain the development of many different types of gendered relationships found in ecolodges in Ecuador. Literature on gender cultures is helpful because it calls for an in-depth analysis to draw out difference in experience, rather than assume only one type of relationship, which is exploitative, is possible. Ways that
managers and employees adjust to accommodate each other’s needs over time demonstrates variation in gender cultures in the ecotourism workplace.

2.3.3 Gendered adaptation in the workplace

The concept of coping strategies from feminist cultural economic geography provides inspiration for this study to understand how gender relationships and management strategies within a workplace’s gender culture adapt to change over time. Coping strategies, described by feminist geographers as a way for women to accomplish multiple tasks in both public and private spaces include household and community responses to the introduction of waged work (Argent 1999, Laurie 1997), balancing productive and reproductive responsibilities (Chang and Ling 2000, Moss 1997), a changed schedule (Preston et al. 2000), and according to changes in the employment of male spouses (Chase 2001). Some examples of micro-level analyses in tourism studies (Belsky 1999, Garcia-Ramones et al. 1995, Guerrier and Adib 2000) and feminist geographers accounts of coping strategies, as described above, are similar in that they provide detailed accounts of the dynamics of gender relationships as related to local gendered labor norms.

2.3.4 Gendered adaptation in the workplace: application to study

The opportunity to understand how managers interact with employees comes when expectations of the gender roles of other groups do not match the reality (For example, when managers assume that women will be cooks at a lodge when female employment outside of the home is not a part of local labor norms). The conflict that
arises might seem negligible, perhaps as a minor adjustment in work schedule or negotiations for a better wage. Yet, each of these moments provides an opportunity to learn more about how these “conflicts” are absorbed into the overall organization and operation of the tourism industry.

For this study I adopt the term “adaptation strategy” in lieu of “coping strategy” because my study diverges from the use of the term by other feminist cultural economic geographers in two ways. Use of the term “coping strategy” for this study is not appropriate because the changes are the result of continuous adjustments instead of from a discrete conflict, but many of the same types of adjustments are made whether the change is sudden, gradual, temporary, or more permanent. For example, during a visit to Ecuador in 2001 I learned that at an ecolodge on the Ecuadorian coast, men worked as cooks. When the ecolodge first opened men did not work as cooks, nor do men usually do the cooking in the home in this area. This led me to ponder: How do the women of the community feel about men cooking for tourists? Are the men also taking on cooking duties in the home? How do the tourists respond to men as the cooks (the kitchen is open to the dining area)? Would tourists accept the masculinization of a particular job if it were to happen in the context of an indigenous community? When do the gender roles seem to matter more? Do gender roles matter less if there is less conflict, or does it just mean that there is less conflict because the gender roles are different?

The second way that my research diverges from the typical treatment of coping strategies in feminist cultural economic geography literature is in considering how management strategies adjust to meet the needs of employees since coping strategies usually only describe how employees juggle their various responsibilities. I ask why
explorations of adaptations do not address how managers juggle their various responsibilities. Managers are thought to have more power, to be in greater control, but does this mean that they can completely disregard local social norms and institute their own patterns? Do any managers do so or try to do so? If so, what do their employees think about this? If not, how do managers recognize and accommodate the local gendered social structures? Do they realize that they are accommodating these social structures? In sum, I query how local gendered social structures and managers’ ideologies about local gender relationships interact and how daily operation is affected by local social structures and managers’ ideologies. How do managers reconcile their ideologies with real world situations? How do they respond when their idea of how they think gender in labor should work does not emerge or is met with resistance?

2.3.5 Gendered work and development

Since ecotourism is promoted as an environmentally friendly development strategy in poor rural areas (Boo 1990) ideas from political ecology are well suited to inform my research as described in section 2.3.6. Feminist political ecology in particular is a useful theoretical framework to advance knowledge of power relationships because of its focus on gender and development.

Political ecology approaches have been used by researchers from a number of study areas including, environmental science (Nygren 2002, Stonich 1998), anthropology (Dilly 2003), forestry (McDaniel 2002), service management (Gössling 2003), area studies (Colburn 1997) and geography (all other references in the section are from geography). Political ecology looks at how new configurations of political systems and

Rocheleau, Thomas-Slayter, and Wangari (1996: 3-23) describe major contributions that can be made by feminist political ecology research. They argue that feminist political ecology draws attention to how experiences with the political economy and the natural environment can be different based on gender and challenges researchers to consider how these differential experiences matter. Feminist political ecology provides a rigorous theoretical framework that illuminates sources of conflict and misunderstanding that arise when two or more groups have differing worldviews on interactions with the natural environment. Feminist political ecology recognizes and highlights the difference that variations in gendered social structures can have on views and management of environmental resources (See Carney 1998 and Zwartteveen 1997 for examples of the gendered effects of new agricultural development schemes and Lastarria-Cornhiel 1997 and Meinzen-Dick et al. 1997 for examples of how privatization changes traditional gendered tenure rights). Understanding seemingly fine distinctions in the use

2.3.6 Gendered work and development: application to study

I diverge from other political ecology studies in some significant ways in my research. I do not center my investigation on changes in the natural environment, how people are affected by changes in the natural environment, or in how people’s behavior relative to the natural environment changes. Rather, relationships between people are the focus of my research. At times conditions in the natural environment affect how local people influence the development of ecotourism but, it is not always the most salient feature of those interactions. Although the focus of my work is not to explain environmental change or to better understand the relationships between people and the natural environment, a political ecology framework can be used to better understand relationships between different groups of people involved in ecotourism.

Political ecology generally focuses on primary sector resource extraction rather than on the service sector. This is because policies that address relationships between people and the land are more direct than in the manufacturing or service sector. A lack of understanding of the political ecologies of service sector activities limits the breadth of human experience explained by political ecology. Some of the most important subjects of analysis for agrarian political ecology might be less important or less evident in different ways when studying a service sector industry such as ecotourism. For example, for many cases of ecotourism, widespread changes in property rights are rarely associated
with ecotourism and ecotourism alone is rarely responsible for widespread changes in land use. Many times ecotourism is planned not to be disruptive of traditional land-use so studies focused on conflict and change of the natural environment will not always be evident in ecotourism. Therefore, studying ecotourism could possibly expand the applicability of political ecology to new contexts.

2.4 Global power relationships of the cultural economy

Theorizations of connections in the global economy also inform my research. Conceptualizations of the global economy and globalization question the nature of global connections and the positioning of economic activities within a larger network. Clearly, the global economy and globalization, “the speeding up and intensification of global movements of people, capital, culture, organization, and information,” (Johnson 2006) can be approached from many different perspectives. For this study I draw mainly on critical feminist theorizations of globalization (See Gibson-Graham 1996, Massey 2002, and Marchand and Runyan 2000), that address power dynamics between stakeholders in a global industry, and that emphasize the importance of locating global processes on the ground.

In contrast to critical feminist theorizations of power relationships in the global cultural economy, early optimistic neoliberal economistic accounts of globalization point to the advent of technology in transportation and communication that allowed for the natural superiority of capitalist enterprise to expand to a world-wide scale (Norberg 2002, Waterman 1999). Later, social theorists developed theories that were not necessarily
optimistic and pointed out that global capitalism could negatively affect some peoples of
the world by excluding them from the benefits of capitalism and by eliminating or
diluting local culture (Klein 2002, Tynes 2003). Yet, they continued to subscribe to ideas
as described by Castells (1996), Giddens (1991), and Harvey (1989), that globalization
was primarily driven from the top down, by global capitalists and global institutions.
Other social theorists argued against the narrative of economic slavery and cultural
homogenization and pointed out that there are a multitude of potential effects of
globalization, that resistance can take place (Appadurai 1996), and that cultural
hybridization is more common than homogenization (Ger and Belk 1996). Yet, in all of
these mainstream theories a single principle or set of principles, be it global capitalism
(e.g. Castells 1996, Harvey 1989), an assumption that locals will resist global forces
(Appadurai 1996), will all be affected by Western modernity (Giddens 1991) is utilized
to explain the wide variety of experiences with the global economy.

A more heterogeneous understanding of globalization processes is possible due to
the contribution of feminist critiques. Feminist discourses on globalization have argued
against the adoption of a metanarrative to describe global processes and power
relationships. Marchand and Runyan (2000, 225) contend that all studies of globalization
are partial, but that as more cases and perspectives are presented, understanding of
globalization will be more complete.

Massey (2002) argues that geography’s contribution to understanding
globalization is in expanding the geographical imagination to relate the global to the
local. ‘If we really imagine ‘local places’ relationally- as meeting places- then those
relations may go around the world. In that sense ‘the global’ is just as ‘real’ and
‘grounded’, even just as ‘everyday’ as the so-called local place” (Massey 2002: 295). Therefore, accounts of local case studies are most complete and most powerful when imagined as the result of wider global interactions. For example, Freeman’s (2001) study of women traders from Barbados uses ideas about multiple perspectives and the permeability of capital to argue that the local is not simply a reflection of the global, or a part of global process, but that local processes are global processes.

Two feminist criticisms leveled against mainstream theories of globalization are that they are totalizing and that they portray people (often women in developing countries) as victims of the global economy (See for example Bergeron 2001, Gibson-Graham 1996, Fernandes 1999, Freeman 2001, Katz 2001, Oza 2001). In contrast, Chernaik (1996) and Katz (2001) emphasize the importance of recognizing multiple identities of people working in the global economy, multiple effects of strengthening global linkages, and multiple influences on decision-making in global industries, and so do not fall into the trap of development of a totalizing theory about how a global economy will affect the population of the entire world according to similar principles.

Gibson-Graham (1996) have provided a powerful argument against masculinized representations of global capital’s power by showing parallels to the “rape script.” The strength of this exercise goes beyond stating that women/developing regions are not necessarily powerless and only victims or victims-to-be of rape/globalization, but also that the male body/global capital is not an invincible and impenetrable force. Gibson-Graham (138), arguing from a Marxist perspective, focus on examples of anti-capitalist agency (i.e. seeking consumer credit and establishing home-based industries), to show how capitalism itself is permeable.
2.4.1 Global power relationships of the cultural economy: application to study

I argue that tourism is an excellent lens through which to view interactions between global capitalism and local gender relationships because it brings together groups of people, both literally and figuratively, that do not normally come into such close contact, often in intimate ways (not only through sex tourism, but as cooks, maids, those that guide our understanding of our surroundings, those that make decisions about landscaping, about whether to build a new cabin, about how much a tourist should pay, about when and what will be eaten, about wages earned, about hours worked, etc.). Each of these groups have their own sets of gender relationships among themselves, and expectations of the gender relationships of the others (tourists, managers, brokers in Quito, locals that do and do not work directly for tourism related activities). Focusing on managers’ gender ideologies allows one to understand decision making processes as a key node in the global industry of ecotourism.

This study follows recommendations of feminist research about globalization to explore multiple perspectives, to locate global processes on the ground, and to recognize how the local may influence the global. This study contributes to understanding globalization by demonstrating how gender norms in ecolodges are constructed by managers and locals and influence management decisions in a global industry.

2.5 Ecotourism Studies

Case studies in ecotourism provide an abundant amount of micro-level details of personal interactions between people in ecotourism destinations but are usually only
studied in a single context. My study is a move towards an integrative approach that involves analysis across scales to situate ecolodges within particular communities and within a larger network of international, national and regional associations. Situating case studies in a larger framework makes links between the case study and other studies that analyze regional and global actors and data more evident. If tourism studies are to provide any contribution to our understanding of the world, they must begin to ask questions that are applicable across multiple contexts and across industries. Since many ecotourism studies do not strongly engage with theory (Weaver and Lawton 2007), this section will focus on how conceptualizations of gender, human-environment relationships, and global power relationships, as discussed earlier in this chapter, are treated in ecotourism literature and how studies of ecotourism would benefit from a more concerted theoretical analysis. In turn, applying theories to ecotourism studies expands the topical breadth addressed by theories of gender, human-environment, and global relationships.

### 2.5.1 Conceptualizations of gender in tourism

Ecotourism literature that addresses gender makes clear that men and women experience tourism differently. A key question that this study explores is: what are ecotourism managers’ gender ideologies? Managers’ gender ideologies reveal what managers see as important issues related to gender and help provide insight into how managers perceive gender related problems. I argue that ecotourism managers’ gender ideologies significantly influence the gendered experience of members of the surrounding community and tourists.
There are numerous examples in which tourism researchers advocate for studies of gender relationships (Kinnaird and Hall 1996, Swain 1995, Wall 1996). Swain’s (1995:253) historical overview of five ways that gender has been incorporated into tourism studies, outlined below, are visible in a variety of current tourism studies. Early in the development of tourism studies gender was not studied. The male experience was represented as universal. Many ecotourism studies do not address gender including studies of community benefits (e.g. Campbell’s 1999), tourist demand studies (e.g. Menkhaus and Lober 1996, Walpole et al. 2001), and studies of environmental impact (e.g. Wallace and Pierce 1996, Weaver 1999). Once gender was addressed it was considered in a compensatory way. This conceptualization is now called “add women and stir” (e.g. Sirakaya 1997, Tamborini 2007). The third way that gender is studied is by looking at dichotomous difference. This point of view is potentially divisive and assumes a male hierarchy where women are automatically thought of as oppressed by men (e.g. Brandth and Hauger 200, Brennan 20017, Jordan 1997, Place 1998). The fourth way that gender has been incorporated into tourism studies are as women centered studies (e.g. Garcia-Ramon et al 1995, Garrett 2004/5, Gentry 2007, Little 2003, Martinez 2002). The fifth type of gender research described by Swain is labeled as “true gender scholarship” incorporates an analysis of interactions between genders is akin to feminist geographers’ study of gender relationships (e.g. Belsky 1999, Guerrier and Adib 2004, Marshall 2001, Meisch 1995).

Even when nuanced gender relationships are studied, the focus is on description of the relationships. The authors do not explain how those particular relationships developed or how relationships may vary from place to place.
2.5.2 Ecotourism and political ecology

Many ecotourism studies explore links between the natural environment and local communities but lack focus and clear applications for the analyses. That is, researchers commonly provide guidelines and criteria (based on integrity of the natural environment or benefits to the local community) for determining whether a particular attraction constitutes an ecotourism experience (Björk 2000, D’Amor 1993, Horowich et al. 1993, Sirakaya 1997), but do not provide practical advice on how one is to actually develop ecotourism. The authors list vague ideas that support conservation and urge distribution of benefits to local people, but little information is given as to how that is supposed to happen or give careful consideration as to how to ensure equitable distribution of benefits among and within households. These interactions can be better understood through political ecology theory.

Political ecology challenges apolitical conceptualizations about the natural environment and assumptions about how natural and human resources should be used (Robbins 2004: 7). Once one has a better understanding of these assumptions and the origins of these assumptions one can then link changes in the use and control of natural resources to particular political, economic, and gendered paradigms of management.

In the few studies of the political ecology of tourism researchers focus on whether or not institutional and economic support is sufficient to encourage local people to engage in conservation practices. Young (1999) describes conflicts between local community-based organizations that depend on whale watching ecotourism and businesses that engage in commercial fishing/fisheries in Baja California. In this case the benefits of ecotourism for locals is hampered by government policy and conditions of the
local economy. Archabald and Treves (2001) explore whether sharing tourism revenue from national parks with locals encourages conservation. They find that it is beneficial with adequate national-level institutional support. Stonich (1998) describes how locals in the Bay Islands of Honduras have the least amount of power, gain the fewest benefits, but experience most of the negative environmental externalities of tourism.

West and Carrier (2004) provide examples of how different conceptualizations of the natural environment can be harmful to local people, but, they acknowledge that they lack nuanced attention to the effects and causes of different conceptualizations of nature for all stakeholders (e.g. gendered difference among stakeholders, tourist perspectives, and manager’s perspectives).

Fedick (2003) writes about the intersection of images of forests in the Yucatán with development strategies that include ecotourism. He argues that ecotourism should be developed that recognizes that environments are used by people rather than attempt to create tourism destinations that are pristine human-free environments. My research strongly supports this idea by linking local social structures to ecotourism development, but I analyze the issue from a more local more personal scale than Fredick. Ecotourism should incorporate people, but I explore how people are incorporated. Which local people are involved? Which local people should be involved? What do local people do? Who decides what and who will be involved in ecotourism?

Political ecology’s questioning of the romanticized naturalness attributed to certain groups of people (Robbins 2004: 188-201) significantly guides the direction of my research. I explore how different groups may or may not be perceived as natural by
ecolodge managers and tourists, how this builds into hiring practice, portrayals of tourist attractions, and contributes to tourists’ satisfaction with the experience.

2.5.3 (Eco)tourism and global power relationships of the cultural economy

For this section I begin by describing how global relationships of the cultural economy have been incorporated into tourism research in general, rather than ecotourism, because ecotourism research rarely mentions global relationships explicitly. Tourism is an intrinsically global industry because of its extensive supply networks, and networks that link tourists to destinations. The classic *The Tourist Gaze* by Urry (2002) very seriously considers the implications of the meeting of different cultures. Clancy (1998) describes a number of ways that tourism is part of a global network and how it is difficult to determine boundaries of the industry. Mistilis and Dwyer (1999) and van den Berghe and Ochoa (2000) both acknowledge that tourism is part of national and global networks, but place much power in the hands of elites and tour brokers in gateway cities.

There is a wide range of research questions asked by scholars of ecotourism studies that demand that linkages to a wider global context be addressed: How can sustainability be achieved (Diamantis 1998, Wall 1997)? What hampers the success of ecotourism (Loon and Polakow 2001)? How can local communities be included in planning for ecotourism projects and in receiving rewards (Gulinck et al. 2001, Ogutu 2002, Wunder 2000)? Do ecotourism projects authentically represent the destination…can tourism be authentic and meet tourists’ expectations (Hughes 1995, Lawrence et al. 1997, Ryan et al. 2000)? What is the appropriate size (spatially and in number of tourists accommodated) of an ecotourist facility? (Weaver 1999) What factors
need to be considered in planning an ecotourism development (Herbig and O’Hara 1997)? Can true ecotourism that follows all principles actually exist (Wight 1993)? How can a standard measure of evaluating adherence to ecotourism principles be developed and applied (Ross and Wall 1999, Wallace and Pierce 1996)?

A certain amount of overlap exists between these questions due to a common subject matter, but few research projects directly address concerns highlighted in other research. Most studies are very specific in scope, scale, and goals yet, all research addresses, in some capacity, one or more relationships between individuals, community organizations, ecotourism operators, government ministries, and/or NGOs, in the local community, gateway cities, source locations of tourists, and/or global arena. Without a link to mainstream and feminist globalization discourses one cannot critically challenge how these relationships, which intrinsically revolve around power and control, are established, how they could change, and how they are conceptualized by researchers. The application of mainstream social theorists’ and critical feminists’ discourses of global power relationships provides a starting place for analyses of the influence of local gender relationships on the local and global ecotourism industry, shows the importance of such a project, and explains why such work has been absent from current ecotourism studies.

Studies of tourism mostly follow mainstream conceptualizations of globalization. Globalization is either presented as an unmitigated ‘good’ or it is portrayed as a powerful exogenous force that cannot be controlled. Indeed, tourism studies describe conditions that are possible only through the meeting of stakeholders from around the world. But, with few exceptions (Guerrier and Adib 2004, Macleod 1999, Ryan 1997, Smeral 1998,
Wood 2000, Yamamoto and Gill 2002) tourism studies fail to argue that these meetings influence the industry beyond discrete places. In this study I argue that diversity in constructions of gender relationships and difference in negotiations of gender roles are the norm for ecolodges.

Mainstream theorizations of global power relationships (e.g. Appadurai 1996, Castells 1996, Giddens 1991, Harvey 1989) and many tourism studies of local-global connections locate a great deal of power in the hands of global market forces and tourism brokers in gateway cities and the source countries of tourists (Lumsdon and Swift 2001, Place 1999, Wood 2000). While I cannot deny that tourism brokers have an influence on the development of tourism in particular destinations, these brokers must also respond to outside forces. Due to the intimate nature of the tourist experience trends in tourism are led, in part, by what happens in the destination. Therefore locals are subject to the influence of national and global processes, but they also have a measure of power over what happens in tourism destinations. However, the power that local communities have does not necessarily work to the advantage of locals. Conflicts based on gender roles, as an example, might lead to a withdrawal of investment. The following descriptions of case studies exemplify how, when global relationships are explicitly addressed, that they often follow mainstream theorizations of global power relationships, rather than utilize detailed descriptions to recognize diversity within a global industry.

Lumsdon and Swift (2001) portray linkages to the global economy as both desirable and harmful in their book about tourism in Latin America. First the authors lament that the main problem of globalization and Latin America is that the region does not get enough foreign investment and that it would be beneficial to Latin America to be
well integrated into the global system. In this sense, globalization is seen in optimistic terms. Globalization is also presented as a top-down process that wipes out local patterns of tourism development. “In summary, the traditional tourism supply sectors in Latin American countries are being overlaid by a pattern of globalization” (216).

Place (1998) describes the effects of globalization on ecotourism in Belize as a powerful force that cannot be resisted. “Tortuguero’s experience shows how even remote rural areas are affected by outside events and trends, often the result of decisions made by outsiders and over which local people have no control” (110). Later Place states this tendency even more strongly, “This reveals the importance of tour operators in directing the course of tourism development and underscores the lack of power that rural people have to control their own economic development process in the face of the global juggernaut such as tourism” (114).

Wood’s (2000) study, “Caribbean Cruise Tourism” defines globalization in fairly narrow terms as, “a social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding” (346). Wood supports his definition of globalization by showing that Caribbean cruise tourism is an excellent example of the loss of local identities. With a reduction of overnight stopovers on land, cruises have become “cruises to nowhere” (364). “Cruiseships, however, ‘touchdown’ only briefly in their ports of call, and spend most of their time in non-territorial waters. In such an environment, one is able to see what is possibly the first truly non-elite global labor market and global laborforce” (365). While I think that this is a very interesting case, I wonder if it applicable to any other industries. The author does not indicate if he thinks that the formation of a ‘non-elite
global labor market and global laborforce’ could exist in any other industry or if it could take place anywhere else but in non-territorial waters.

Several researchers have developed approaches that integrate some facets of global and local processes in a more nuanced way. These studies have identified ways that local processes can influence tourism development and recognize that all decisions are not made from the top on down.

In “Fair Trade in Tourism,” Cleverdon and Kalisch (2000) show the potential for the local to influence the global through grassroots organizations. Chang (1999) describes how tourism development is mediated by global tourists desires and by local tourist desires in Singapore. He argues that, “place uniqueness need not be sacrificed as a result of globalization” (99). Milne (1998) makes an excellent argument for why it is important to link the global and local. “Unfortunately, relatively little work has been conducted on how tourism development meshes with the day-to-day running of households. Where household dynamics are discussed, they are often seen as passive reflectors of (or responses to) externally imposed pressures rather than active participants in the world economic system” (41). Cleverdon and Kalisch and Chang both provide good evidence that global tourism need not create homogenization or oppression. However, they make a weaker case that what happens in a particular place can affect the development of tourism on a global level. Milne’s argument is provocative, but he does not provide theoretical basis on which to base a study of this sort.

Tourism studies that explore global relationships would benefit from a more critical conceptualization of global power relationships. Feminist critiques of globalization (Gibson-Graham 1996, and Massey 2002) are applicable to my research
question because ecotourism in Ecuador takes place in a global context, feminist critiques emphasize that influence in global business is located not only in large corporations or international lending agencies but can also arise from local agency, and it supports the idea that global relationships can be more fully understood with a better understanding of small-scale interactions.

Ecotourism research would benefit greatly if feminist critiques of mainstream discourse of global power relationships were applied to analyses of particular case studies. Instead of a body of work that describes anomaly after anomaly in case studies, a dialogue could be created based on multiple experiences in planning ecotourism, and multiple interactions between tourists, local workers of ecotourism, on-site management, etc. A new discourse needs to be developed to try to make sense of how each experience and perspective contributes to the operation of the ecotourism industry.

2.6 Conclusion

Utilization of theoretical concepts from feminist cultural economic geography, feminist political ecology, and feminist conceptualizations of global power relationships in the cultural economy allows one to see gender relationships in ecotourism as the result of a continual process, not a fixed effect that can only be described as a unique case study. Recommendations for improving ecotourism as a development strategy will be more effective if one can identify key influences on the process of forming gender relationships within ecotourism destinations.
CHAPTER 3

EMPirical BACKGROUND AND METHODS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with a discussion of the location of research and a description of the institutional framework of ecotourism in Ecuador. The second half of the chapter details data collection methods related to respondent selection and questionnaire development. Finally I describe data quality issues including data reliability, measures taken to protect the confidentiality of my sources, and a reflexive exercise that describes my position as a researcher.

3.2 Empirical background

In this section I describe the context in which ecotourism takes place in Ecuador. I begin by describing regional divisions and regional difference in Ecuador. I then describe the role of tourism in Ecuador’s economy, and government and institutional support available to ecotourism. Finally, I describe some characteristics of the lodges and organizations that I studied.
3.2.1 Regions of Ecuador

Ecuador is commonly divided into four regions: the Galapagos Islands, the Costa (Coast) the Sierra (Andes Mountains), and the Oriente (Eastern Amazon Basin) (See Figures 3.1 and 3.2). I did not conduct research in the Galapagos, although they were occasionally discussed during interviews\(^1\). For my research I define an additional region in mainland Ecuador, the Cloud Forest. The area of cloud forest that I studied can be reached in an hour’s drive from Quito. This area is commonly thought of as part of the Costa by Ecuadorians, but I found that this area is actually a transition zone between the Sierra and the Costa. While some of my respondents indicated that their families have lived in the area for generations there were also others that were more recent migrants from the Sierra.

\[\text{Figure 3.1: Regions of Ecuador (Source: Ministerio del Turismo 2007)}\]

\(^1\) I did not conduct research in the Galapagos for several reasons. First, the Galapagos have been studied by many other researchers and I wanted to concentrate on the more neglected Ecuadorian mainland. Finally, the cost was prohibitive.
During my fieldwork I conducted a comparative study of local gendered relationships in four different regions of Ecuador (see Figure 3.3) to demonstrate whether different regional social structures have differentially influenced the development of the ecotourism industry throughout the country. A comparative study is necessary to demonstrate how different structures of gendered relationships affect the ecotourism industry differently in the four regions of mainland Ecuador. Based on interview data, different regions of Ecuador are commonly recognized to have distinctly different sets of gender relationships. The gender roles in the coastal area of Ecuador are markedly...
different from the gender roles of indigenous people in the rainforest. More specific information about labor force statistics for ecolodge cantones, or counties, is provided in chapter 5.

On the Costa, women are more strongly associated with working solely in the home but, customarily, women also maintain social relationships between households. It is also more common for men to have multiple common law unions (Correia 2000, 41).

Figure 3.3: Map of research clusters (base map from http://www.wocofo.org/info/ecudomap.htm)
Based on interview data, most rural jobs in the Costa are in agriculture and fishing. Women rarely work as fishermen, but often assist in agricultural work. There is little manufacturing outside of large cities with the exception of sugar processing in lowland areas. The population of coastal Ecuador is largely mestizo, but a significant population of Afro-Ecuadorians lives near Esmeraldas in the north (Gerlach 2003: 13).

Based on interview data, many people that live in the Cloud Forest are more recent migrants to the region, but culturally, the region is thought to be part of the Costa even though the region is located about 60 miles from the Pacific Coast and much of the region is located in the same cantón as Quito. The town Mindo in the Cloud Forest has developed a significant tourism industry and tourism workers have many choices for employers. Other parts of the Cloud Forest are very remote and employment opportunities are much more limited.

In the Sierra women are more likely to own property due to more egalitarian inheritance (Correia 2000, 43). Women, especially in indigenous communities that are largely Quichua (Gerlach 2003: 8), are also more likely than other Ecuadorian women to work in farm production outside of the household. Ninety percent of women work as many hours in agricultural production as their husbands. (Correia 2000, 40). Higher labor participation and rates of property ownership are associated with greater control over household decision-making (Correia 2000, 41). Agriculture is the dominant economic activity in the Sierra. As noted in other parts of Latin America (see McSweeney and Jokisch 2007) outmigration to other parts of Ecuador was significant in remote communities near ecolodges that I studied in the Sierra. Women would leave
communities to work in industrial rose production and men commonly obtained jobs in construction.

In studying the eastern rainforest, or Oriente, one needs to differentiate between indigenous people and more recent migrants from other areas of Ecuador. I am most interested in indigenous peoples for this study, the Quichua in particular for my research site, because the gender roles contrast more with the Sierra and the Costa than would the gender roles of migrants, some of whom come from the Costa and Sierra. In general it is difficult to find specific information about gender roles of indigenous people of the eastern rainforest because there are a variety of indigenous groups that live in the rainforest (Selverson-Scher: 2001, 5). I encountered lowland Quichua during my study, but other significant indigenous groups in the Oriente include the Shuar, Huaorani, Achuar, Cofán, and Záparos (Gerlach 2003: 9-11). According to my interview data, in general, for indigenous people, men and women are responsible for different tasks in the community, but men and women’s roles are considered to be equally valuable. These roles, and the people, are considered in tourism promotion to be part of nature and harmonious. Most people in the Oriente engage in subsistence agriculture. The oil industry provides the highest wages in the Oriente, but accounts for only a small percentage of employment in the region.

3.2.2 Tourism and ecotourism in Ecuador

Tourism’s role, especially ecotourism, in Ecuador is growing in importance. The Galapagos Islands, one of the most significant ecotourism destinations in the world, draws many tourists to Ecuador but many tourists will visit mainland Ecuador during
their stay (Epler Wood 1998). It is difficult to measure the exact economic contribution of tourism because many different activities from different sectors of the economy tie into tourism. Therefore satellite accounts are used to estimate tourism’s impact on the economy by diaggregating tourism related activity from other standard measurements of the national income (Bryan et al. 2006). According to Ecuador’s Ministry of Tourism (Ministerio del Turismo 2002) tourism satellite accounts-- which include service sector jobs in hotels, ground transportation, travel agencies, air transport, and restaurants-- (see table 3.1) contributed $1,038,200,000 to the GDP of Ecuador, about 4.4% of Ecuador’s earnings in 2001. The presence of a government ministry devoted to the promotion and improvement of tourism in Ecuador is a testament to the government’s faith in the promise of tourism. The Ministry of Tourism recognizes a number of economic benefits of tourism such as job creation, economic stabilization, and the ability to bring economic development to all regions. Tourism is also touted by the Ministry to bring about greater social cohesion and a stronger national identity by promoting national pride, and as an economic activity that is friendly to the natural environment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Primary Sector</th>
<th>Secondary Sector</th>
<th>Tertiary Sector</th>
<th>Not Specified</th>
<th>New Workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4,585,575</td>
<td>1,289,750</td>
<td>774,813</td>
<td>2,077,613</td>
<td>416,796</td>
<td>26,603</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1: Ecuadorian labor force participation by sector (data drawn from INEC 2003)

In addition to government organizations a number of other groups have been formed to assist the growth of tourism in Ecuador. For my research I focused on
businesses that are members of The Ecuadorian Ecotourism Association (La Asociación Ecuatoriana de Ecoturismo (ASEC)). This organization, based in Quito, was founded in 1991 with the purpose of developing ecotourism in Ecuador and elsewhere in the world. ASEC’s stated mission is to promote the harmony between tourism, conservation, and society. ASEC aims to bring this about by providing tools, such as conferences, promotion, and certification, to help members develop sustainable tourism. As of 2003 there were 77 members of ASEC that included tourism operators, community based tourism groups, academic groups, local governments, NGOs, hotels, and other interested individuals. ASEC also has a relationship with the Ministry of Tourism. The Ministry of Tourism is a member of ASEC and the Ministry has agreed to provide extra promotion to those ASEC members that have been certified (Personal Interview with Diego Andrade, director of ASEC 2003).

According to interview data with tourism leaders in Ecuador most international tourists enter the country through the gateway city of Quito, but the organization of the industry in the country is varied. Once a tourist arrives in Ecuador they may organize their travel in many different ways. Some tourists have pre-planned their visit through travel agencies in their home country, others may opt to work with any one of dozens of travel agencies located in Quito, some tourists contact lodges directly through the internet, and some backpackers have no set travel plan at all. Ecuadorian travel companies will normally have connections to travel agencies in the United States and Europe and will work with one or more lodges. If a travel company does not arrange for travel to a region of interest, it is common practice to refer clients to another approved
provider. Some lodges located in different regions of Ecuador have formed formal or informal associations with other lodges to benefit from cross promotion.

### 3.3 Data collection methods

In this section I describe how I selected the particular organizations for more in-depth research, how I selected respondents, and how I developed survey and interview questions. A summary of the organizations I studied is presented in table 3.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization /Business</th>
<th>Interviews in Quito</th>
<th>On-site managers</th>
<th>On-site workers</th>
<th>Region of Expertise</th>
<th>Completed Survey?</th>
<th>Owner(s)/Manager(s) Country of Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ASEC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>All Ecuador</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Ecuador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Tourism</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>All Ecuador</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Ecuador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO 1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>All Ecuador</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ecuador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO 2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>All Ecuador</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ecuador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO 3/Lodge 6 (Cloud Forest 1)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Cloud Forest</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Ecuador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tour Operator 1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>All Ecuador</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ecuador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tour Operator 2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>All Ecuador</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ecuador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tour Operator 3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>All Ecuador</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ecuador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tour Operator 4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>All Ecuador</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ecuador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lodge 1 (Costa)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Costa</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Ecuador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lodge 2 (Oriente) *</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Oriente</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ecuador</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2: Ecotourism organizations studied
3.3.1 Organization selection

While in Ecuador I conducted interviews with 20 different groups with connections to ecotourism in Ecuador. Twelve groups were ecolodges, four were tourism operators, and two were NGOs that provided advice to groups that wanted to establish ecotourism operations. I also contacted the ecotourism specialist at Ecuador’s Ministry of Tourism and the director of the Ecuadorian Ecotourism Association (ASEC).

My study of ecotourism in Ecuador focused on organizations that were members of ASEC. Only one lodge was not a member of ASEC, but it was closely affiliated with other lodges that were members. It was important to my work that I focus on one particular national ecotourism organization as a way to control for the quality and content of the experience offered by the outfit because there are many operators and lodges that
claim to engage in ecotourism, but definitions of ecotourism vary widely. Working with ASEC was advantageous because I was able to obtain a letter of introduction from the executive director. I presented this letter to a contact person at each different organization that I studied. However, some of the members of ASEC were not appropriate to my study of practice in the workplace, such as individuals with an interest in ecotourism and universities that provide training in ecotourism principles. I made sure to visit at least one lodge from each major region of mainland Ecuador. I visited three lodges in the Sierra and three lodges in the Cloud Forest. I studied lodges in different regions so that I could see whether the local gender relationships influenced the operation of the lodge differently. I selected lodges within the same region to see if different managers dealt with similar gender relationships differently.

I also chose to focus on businesses and organizations that had offices in Quito, but that had lodges or connections with other locations in Ecuador in order to better understand how ecotourism organizations are connected to a larger global economy. Another reason for this decision is that the organizations were more comparable because they had similar organizational structures across space. Quito is suitable as a base for studying tourism in Ecuador because it is a gateway city for many travelers to Ecuador. Guayaquil, the largest city in Ecuador, is a more common gateway for tourism to the Galapagos and Cuenca is a regional center for tourism in the south of Ecuador, but Quito is a common starting place for many tourists. In addition to tourism-oriented businesses (travel agencies, tour operators, etc.) the Ecuadorian Tourism Ministry and the headquarters of the Ecuadorian Ecotourism Association (ASEC) are located in Quito. Of the twenty-seven NGOs, government agencies, and tourism businesses that had offices
located in Quito I was able to interview at least one representative from fifteen organizations, and an additional six organizations completed a paper and pencil survey that I developed. Of the six remaining organizations I was unable to contact five-- no one answered the phone or responded to e-mail-- and one organization refused to participate in the study.

Most of the lodges that I concentrated on were members of a small self-organized organization of ecotourism lodges. I decided to focus on this group because each lodge was fairly small and the lodges communicated with each other about the goals and challenges of ecotourism. I focused on those businesses that were, at the very least, exposed to similar ideas about ecotourism and especially those that communicated with each other so that differences in relationships with people in each region would stand out rather than differences in philosophy or business structure. The characteristics of each lodge are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4.

### 3.3.2 Respondent selection

A paper and pencil survey was distributed to tourism operators, ecolodges, and NGO that were members of ASEC. I hand-delivered the survey to organizations that were located in Quito and mailed surveys to organizations that were not located in Quito. A total of thirty-seven surveys were distributed and twelve surveys were completed and returned. Each survey was completed by an anonymous individual in the organization, knowledgeable enough to answer the survey questions.

Each person that I interviewed was employed by one of the organizations that I studied and voluntarily participated in my research. In Quito I interviewed eighteen
managers that worked most closely with the operation of ecotourism. For example, for NGOs I interviewed ecotourism consultants, for tourism operators and lodges I interviewed the owner/head manager. In general, the staff at offices in Quito was skeletal and consisted of just two or three people that organize tours and make reservations. For most organizations I interviewed only one person in Quito.

I was able to visit eight different ecotourism lodges overall. I stayed at each lodge for at least two nights and as many as six nights (See Table 3.3). At each lodge I interviewed every available employee that included thirteen on-site managers and 63 local employees. I was unable to interview some employees for different reasons. In some cases those employees were not working during the days that I visited, in one case the employee was too busy to take the time needed to complete the interview, and at one lodge the owner did not allow me to conduct interviews with the employees because they were too busy and the owner did not think that the employees would understand the purpose of the interviews. In every other lodge that I visited the owners or managers of each lodge introduced me to employees. The owner/manager often encouraged the employees to participate in my study, but employers did not require employees to participate. No employees refused to participate in my study.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quito</td>
<td>Sept 18-Oct 16</td>
<td>Cloud Forest 2</td>
<td>Nov 16-18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra 1</td>
<td>Oct 17-20</td>
<td>Cloud Forest 3</td>
<td>Nov 18-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quito</td>
<td>Oct 21-24</td>
<td>Quito</td>
<td>Nov 21-23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriente</td>
<td>Oct 25-28</td>
<td>Sierra 2</td>
<td>Nov 24-27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quito</td>
<td>Oct 29-Nov 1</td>
<td>Quito</td>
<td>Nov 28-Dec 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa</td>
<td>Nov 2-8</td>
<td>Sierra 3</td>
<td>Dec 2-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quito</td>
<td>Nov 9-14</td>
<td>Quito</td>
<td>Dec 4-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloud Forest 1</td>
<td>Nov 14-16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.3  Schedule of research in Ecuador.

I also distributed paper and pencil surveys for tourists at six different lodges and to one tour operator. Forty-nine surveys were completed anonymously. The surveys were placed in a public area of the lodge or distributed at the end of their tour. Guests of the lodge/tour that chose to participate in the survey placed their completed survey in a sealed envelope that was either returned to me via the lodge, tour guide, or mailed directly to me. All surveys were in English so only those guests that understood English were able to participate.

3.3.3 Survey development and analysis

The purpose of the survey of ecotourism organizations was to provide contextual information about ecotourism in Ecuador. The survey was in Spanish and all owners/managers of ecotourism organizations in Ecuador that I contacted spoke Spanish. Questions on the survey focused on the size, cost, and characteristics of destinations affiliated with the ecotourism organization. Although only twelve surveys were
completed, I was able to determine in some cases that the organization was not appropriate for more in depth investigation for my research (i.e. there were no strong organizational links between the office in Quito and final tourism destinations).

The paper and pencil survey distributed to tourists at ecolodges (see Appendix D) was designed to measure tourists’ perceptions and observations about the gendered division of labor observable at the ecolodge. The survey was designed specifically to explore perceptions of gender and labor and its role in ecotourism, the visibility of specific labor tasks to tourists (e.g. tour guide, cleaning personnel, cooks, servers, etc.), and expectations tourists had of local culture. Other questions included information about tourists’ satisfaction with the lodge and demographic data. Responses from tourist surveys provide feedback about the final tourism product. For example, decisions about whether to recommend or return to a particular ecolodge could be affected if tourists are unhappy with local gender relationships or feel that the local culture is not represented authentically.

3.3.4 Interview content

In this section I describe questionnaire development and how each method will be analyzed in subsequent chapters. I conducted ninety-four semi-structured interviews while in Ecuador. The schedule of my research is found in table 3.3. I divide my description of interviews into four categories: ecotourism policy makers, owners and managers that are based in Quito, managers based on the site of the ecolodge, and employees based on the site of the ecolodge. Some of these distinctions are not always clear. In a few cases there were managers that split their time between Quito and the
lodge, there were a few cases when there were a few different levels of management found in the office in Quito and the lodge, and some of the ecotourism business owners and managers were also influential in making policy decisions about ecotourism in Ecuador.

I focused on management strategies of owners and managers of ecotourism organizations in regard to hiring decisions and on employees’ relationships with owners and managers because owners and managers are at the center of mediations between local workers and tourists. These are also key power relationships to consider when exploring how local gender relationships could possibly influence national or international ecotourism development. Other power relationships, such as those between employees or between managers, are certainly evident and influence everyday interactions, but these are not as directly related to my research question. The questions asked in these semi-structured interviews can be found in the Appendix. When necessary I asked additional questions based on responses and to follow-up relevant or unclear responses.

Some of the first interviews that I conducted in Ecuador were with the executive director of ASEC and ASEC’s contact person in the Ministry of Tourism-- leaders in making policy decisions about ecotourism in Ecuador. Questions for these interviews were focused on getting an idea of ‘big picture’ ecotourism development in Ecuador (see Appendix C). I learned more about the structure of the organizations and about possible statistical information available. Another purpose of the interview with the executive director of ASEC was to gain access to its members and to get a better idea of which members would be appropriate to my study. The average length of these interviews was one hour.
I conducted fifteen interviews with ecotourism managers, consultants, and ecotourism operators in Quito (see Appendix C). Topics of particular importance to my project were how managers in Quito influence the movement of tourists in Ecuador, what they think contributes to the success of an ecotourism project, and how decisions are made as to where to invest in ecotourism. In these interviews I also asked questions about knowledge of and relationships with people in areas near the ecotourism destination. These questions focused on labor norms and property rights in the community, local participation in the ecotourism industry, specific work duties for those that work at the ecolodge, about conflict and negotiations with the ecolodge, and about any changes in access to land or land management since the introduction of ecotourism to the area. I was particularly interested in how these relationships may have changed over time. In interviews with owners/managers that helped to establish the ecolodge I asked whether they have had to negotiate with only a few community members or with the community at large to establish and operate the ecolodge. The average length of these interviews was forty-five minutes to an hour.

The next set of interviews conducted was with thirteen on-site managers or owners at eight different lodges (see Appendix B). These interviews focused on employment patterns, and conflicts/negotiations about land use and access. There are normally one to two on-site managers at each ecolodge. The questions explored hiring decisions, restrictions on land use for either conservation or aesthetic purposes, and any other considerations in developing ecotourism in each area. Interviews with on-site managers show how hiring decisions are made and how they have changed over time to match the needs of the ecolodge and the local community. Understanding responses from
on-site managers about expectations for employees is crucial to determine whether scheduling flexibility is allowed for employees with household or community obligations. Interviews with on-site managers provide specific details about whether the ecolodge was affected by obligations and requests of employees based on the local gender relationships and expectations based on norms of gender roles. The average length of these interviews was forty-five minutes.

I conducted interviews with sixty-four on-site employees at seven lodges (see Appendix A). These interviews focused on labor burden and the history of waged work outside of the home to discern the effect of labor norms on employment rates of men and women in ecotourism. To discern the effect of labor norms on the ability of community members to work regular hours outside of the home, I questioned employees about the presence of community support structures that would allow one to work regularly at an ecolodge. Interviews with community members also revealed men and women’s job preferences. In these interviews I learned whether training in particular ecotourism skills is more common for one gender over another and whether some jobs are viewed as unacceptable for certain genders. The average length of these interviews was fifteen minutes. These interviews were short because they took place during the workday. I suspected that few employers would allow me to take up too much of their employees’ time during the workday.

I also employed participant observation in the lodges. In all cases I was able to play the part of tourist. In two cases (the lodge in the Costa and Cloud Forest 2) I was able to help out in the kitchen, eat meals with employees, and act as translator when
tourists spoke no Spanish. These experiences all helped me to get a better idea of the daily operation of an ecotourism lodge.

Two other sources of data that have helped in gaining a better understanding of the context of ecotourism in Ecuador are the 2002 Census data from the Instituto Nacional de Estadistica y Censos (INEC) and data gathered by the Ministry of Tourism. The Ministry of Tourism has gathered data about tourism satellite accounts in Ecuador. Census data at the scale of cantón (similar to counties in the United States) is available on-line (INEC 2003).

3.4 Data collection issues

In this section I briefly discuss issues related to data collection. My data collection methods were reviewed by the Institutional Review Board at Ohio State and qualified for exempt status. First I discuss the reliability of my data. Then I discuss efforts that I took to ensure the confidentiality of respondents was ensured. Finally I reflect on my positionality as a researcher and how it may have affected data quality.

3.4.1 Data reliability

In my sampling of organizations to study and people to interview (described in section 3.3) I made my best effort to provide an accurate representation of ecotourism in Ecuador. I was unable to analyze all ecotourism organizations in Ecuador, or even all members of ASEC, because of time and monetary considerations. Therefore, I focused my work on those organizations that would prove most informative for answering my research questions. I cannot say that the lodges that I visited are completely
representative of ecotourism in Ecuador. However, my work is not meant to be predictive. I developed my research strategy as an example of the type of work that could and should be done. My work shows that there are a variety of different management strategies and relationships between employees and managers for ecotourism organizations in Ecuador. In my research I complicate simplistic notions about how ecotourism operates and how people interact with each other.

Since I am not a native Spanish speaker I was concerned that I would misinterpret or miss important information from interviews conducted in Spanish. To ensure that information collected was accurate I took notes during interviews and, with the respondent’s permission recorded each interview with a digital recorder. Only one respondent refused to be recorded. I would add additional written notes immediately after each interview. The interviews were transcribed in Quito from written notes and audio recordings when I returned from each destination.

3.4.2 Respondent confidentiality

In conducting my research I used several strategies to ensure the confidentiality of respondents. For the paper and pencil tourist survey I did not request information that would allow one to be able to personally identify any respondent and provided envelopes to ensure the privacy of their responses from the ecotourism organization.

To ensure the confidentiality of managers in ecotourism organizations I do not list the names or identifying details about the locations of the ecotourism organizations that I studied. This is important because I did not want the results of my research to have a
negative impact on the viability of the ecotourism organizations that assisted me with my research. After completing my analysis I do not think that my results will reflect poorly on the organizations that I studied. However, by not providing identifying details I am able to provide an honest analysis of relationships between employers and employees and not necessarily gloss over any negative characteristics.

I was very concerned about protecting the confidentiality of employees because some of the questions that I asked could lead to negative comments about their employer. In some cases the lodge was very small and only employed a few people. This would make it very easy for an employer to be able to identify their employee based a few demographic characteristics. Therefore, in my analyses I will not always provide a great deal of information about demographic characteristics or which lodge the respondent worked for, especially when the employee was critical of their employer.

While developing my interview questions and surveys I was not focused on finding problems per se in the ecotourism organizations. This may sound strange because exploring problems is usually the focus of academic research. My focus was on gaining an understanding of diversity in management and employee relationships, in finding how local social structures might influence these relationships. I did not judge whether some ecotourism organizations were making poor decisions or which organizations were better than others. Since I did not focus on negative characteristics of ecotourism organizations the likelihood that an organization or individual would experience negative consequences if they were recognized (or thought to be recognized) as a result of reading this study is low.
3.4.3 Positionality and Reflexivity

As with any qualitative research project bias in interpretation of results based on the researcher’s past experiences and perceptions is inevitable. Bias may also be introduced to the study due to respondents’ perceptions of the researcher. In this section I reflexively address how my positionality may have influenced my research.

I was surprised to find that very few tourism studies address positionality of the researcher. A number of studies address reflexivity for tourists (Crang 1996, Muzaini 2006, Yamamoto and Gill 2002). One study utilizes reflexive analysis to learn how her perception of a tourist experience may help her to understand western bias she may employ in ethnographic research (Markula 1997). Only one study addressed how the ethnicity of those that collected tourist surveys influenced tourists’ responses (Smith 2007). No studies focus on the unique position that tourism researchers have in relation to their research.

I am a Caucasian female doctoral candidate from the United States. I was twenty seven years old when I conducted my dissertation research in Ecuador. I am married with no children. I conducted my research alone. I traveled to offices in Quito and ecolodges and met with my respondents without the aid of a research assistant or translator. Interviews were conducted in English, Spanish and sometimes a mixture of the two. The language spoken during interviews was an ad hoc decision that depended on which language the respondent felt most comfortable.

My background and the decisions that I made in my research approach had an effect on how I was perceived, how comfortable my respondents felt, the nature of my relationship with my respondents, and how I interpreted data. One of the most common
questions related to positionality is whether one is an insider or an outsider (Herod 1999, Mullings 1999). Like many other researchers I find this question difficult to answer. My initial assessment was that I was definitely an outsider because I am a citizen of the United States, I have never worked in the hospitality industry, and Spanish is not my first language.

Yet, in tourism, visitors are a necessary part of the operation of the business. In many ways I was considered to be an insider by other tourists because I stayed in the guest accommodations at the lodges, in some locations I ate meals with them, and sometimes accompanied them on tours. However, I did not always carry out that role as expected. One of the most common times when tourists realized that I was not “one of them” was when they would leave for a tour and I would stay behind at the lodge to conduct interviews or to help out in the kitchen. In other cases tourists would arrive and see that I had a fairly close relationship with the staff at the ecolodge and I was mistaken as a staff member, someone that could translate from Spanish to English. Therefore, my relationships with the employers and employees at the lodge were not truly typical of relationships they would usually have with tourists because I spent more time with them and was not interested in the same activities as other tourists.

I suspect that employees of the lodges thought of me more as an insider in regard to their employers. I always asked for permission to interview employees from the owners/managers before approaching employees. This may have led to greater reticence in offering criticism of their bosses if they perceived that I might inform the employer of discontent even though I assured the employees that their responses would not be shared with their employers. I also tried to put them at ease by allowing them to choose the
location of the interview, as long as it afforded them privacy. In one case a male
coworker asked if he could sit in on the interview with a female coworker but I informed
him that the interview was private. This did not cause a problem, especially when he
realized that I wanted to interview him as well.

In general I felt that I had greater freedom in movement and behavior than the
employees, managers/owners, or tourists. I felt equally at ease in the guest lounge as in
the employees’ dining room. I would assist in the preparation and serving of meals in
some locations, but I was not subject to the authority of the manager. The ambiguity of
my position was an asset in some ways because I was able to gain access to a wider range
of people, but in other cases the respondents seemed uncertain of how I should be treated
(with deference, with the impersonal respect of a guest, as a colleague, as a friend, etc.).

My strategy for making contacts was also affected by my position. Since I was
traveling alone with limited funds I was more reluctant to travel outside of Quito unless I
had specific plans to visit a particular place where I had already gained permission to
conduct interviews. To ease my introduction I contacted the Ecuadorian Ecotourism
Association’s (ASEC) director and received a letter of introduction. This affected my
positionality by adding some authority and insider status to my work because I was
affiliated with ASEC.

3.5 Conclusion

The next three chapters focus on issues that will help to answer my overarching
research question: How do local social structures influence the operation of a global
industry? In Chapter 4, I describe the gender ideologies of managers/owners in Quito
and on-site managers. Data from interviews with owners and managers of ecotourism organizations are the main source of information for this section. Data from ecotourism organization surveys are used to a lesser extent. In Chapter 5, I explore how managers adapt management strategies in relation to local gendered labor norms. Data from the 2002 Ecuadorian Census will be used to contextualize gendered labor participation rates in each locality. I will also utilize responses from interviews with managers/owners, on-site managers, and employees in this chapter. In Chapter 6, I describe how the managers negotiate relationships between local employees and tourists that visit. Data from manager/owner interviews and tourist surveys are the main source of information for this chapter, but employee interviews will be used as well.
4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I address the question of how ecotourism managers perceive, acknowledge and construct gender. This will help me to answer the question of whether local gender relationships influence the operation of ecotourism because managers are an important node in negotiating relationships between employees and tourists. Therefore, their perceptions and constructions of gender could affect the level and nature of influence that local gender relationships have on practice in ecolodges.

Feminist geographers’ theorizations of the construction of gender, gender relationships, and gender ideologies were utilized to inform analysis of interview data with ecotourism managers. I first describe demographic characteristics of managers to provide background information about the respondents. I then describe the various ways the managers conceptualize gender and the level of importance that managers ascribe to the influence of gender and gender relationships on ecotourism. It became clear that managers believe other factors are more important to consider when addressing problems and improvements that could be made to ecotourism operations. Therefore, I include a
discussion of issues that managers deem as important and question whether feminist theorizations about the importance of gender hold up in my study.

4.2 Application of gender ideologies to managers interview data

In describing the influence of managers’ gender ideologies I do not want to overstate the power of managers’ gender ideologies on gender relationships among employees, tourists, and managers. Attributing all control to managers would simply support theories of power relationships described in mainstream globalization studies. In the next chapter I explore other sources of influence on gender relationships at ecolodges. Additionally, as indicated in section 2.2.2, feminist geographers argue that that the construction of gender (including gender ideologies) is influenced by experience. Therefore, gender ideologies are likely influenced by the managers’ experiences with local cultures and norms. I explore whether local variations in gender relationships can or cannot be seen in the daily operation of ecotourism businesses in chapter 5.

In this chapter I focus on whether managers’ ideologies about gender relationships are flexible or inflexible. Most researchers that write about gender ideologies focus on whether their subjects’ gender ideologies are traditional or progressive (e.g. Brennan 2004, Fan 2004, Silvey 2003). Traditional ideologies are those that support uneven patriarchal gender relationships and progressive ideologies are those that aim to increase equality between men and women. These trends in managers’ ideologies can be found in my interview data. However, I do not find that these ideologies are particularly informative when one is trying to demonstrate factors that influence the daily operation of ecotourism organizations. Flexibility or inflexibility in
gender ideologies is indicative of the amount of control that managers feel they have over the gender relationships with their employees and will affect management strategy. Management strategies and employee responses will be discussed in chapter 5.

4.3 Background of managers

This section provides background information about owners and managers of ecotourism operations related during interviews. I interviewed a total of twenty-nine managers. Twelve were owners or part owners of the ecotourism organization. Thirteen managers were female and sixteen managers were male (Figure 4.1). Almost all managers are originally from Ecuador. Three were from the United States and one was from the United Kingdom (Figure 4.2). The level of education for most managers was quite high. Nine managers had a graduate degree, fourteen had a bachelor’s degree, five had a high school degree or some college education, and only one had elementary education only (Figure 4.3). Managers were clearly elites in the ecolodges because few local employees had even continued education beyond six years of elementary school.

![Gender of Managers](image)

Figure 4.1: Gender of managers
Respondents also had experience with different regions of Ecuador. Three managers were affiliated with a lodge in the Costa, five managers were affiliated with lodges in the Sierra, four managers worked with lodges in the Oriente, nine managers worked with lodges in the cloud forest, and eight managers did not work with a single...
lodge or specialize in a single region of Ecuador. Most managers that worked in Quito for all or part of the time were not originally from the region in which the lodge is located. All Ecuadorian managers that work exclusively at the lodge were originally from the region in which the lodge is located. Owners of lodges, with one exception, have origins from the region in which the lodge is located (Figure 4.4).

![Managers' Region of Specialization](image)

Figure 4.4: Managers’ region of specialization

Fourteen managers worked mainly in offices in Quito. Of those four were owners and ten were employees in the organization. All but one of the owners that worked mainly in Quito were tourism organizers and their businesses were not based on activity at one particular lodge. Employees that were based mostly in Quito were most often working for an NGO that was not affiliated with a particular lodge or for another organization that worked with a number of destinations in Ecuador. Eight managers split their time between offices in Quito and at a single lodge. Four were owners and four were employees. Seven managers were based mostly at a lodge. Four were owners and three were employees (Figure 4.5).
From this information one can begin to understand more about the spatial organization of ecotourism organizations in Ecuador. Most lodges relied on a small office in Quito that arranged for supplies to be sent to the lodge and to manage tourist reservations. Some lodges were less reliant or did not maintain an office in Quito because advancements in internet communication have rendered the need obsolete. Most tourists never visit offices in Quito. Managers that worked in Quito and at the lodge focused mainly on logistical issues. They would arrange for supplies to be brought to the lodge and maintain communications between the lodge and Quito. Those managers that worked with a single lodge were very knowledgeable about the daily operation of the lodge, guest services, and personally knew all employees at the lodge. Most labor is directed towards the lodge rather than the office in Quito.
4.4 Managers’ gender ideologies

Managers’ gender ideologies were derived from interview data (see Figure 4.6). A number of questions were asked that provided insight into how managers thought about gender relationships in ecotourism destinations. One series of questions asked whether men women, or both men and women completed different jobs at the ecolodge. I also asked what types of jobs men and women typically did in the destination area other than ecotourism. The most fruitful and revealing questions for learning about managers’ gender ideologies asked whether they personally thought it made a difference if a man or a woman did a job in ecotourism, whether they thought it made a difference to the employees if a man or a woman did a particular job or if they thought it made a difference to the tourists if a man or a woman completed a particular job.

![Managers' Gender Ideology](image)

Figure 4.6: Managers’ gender ideology
4.4.1 Inflexible gender ideologies

In this section I present and analyze a selection of representative quotes from managers that have inflexible gender ideologies. Fourteen managers had inflexible gender ideologies. Pseudonyms are given for respondents except when the interview was with a well-known public representative.

Jorge is a manager in his 30s that works with a lodge in the Oriente. Nearly all employees at the lodge are local indigenous people. Jorge works both at the lodge and in the operation’s office in Quito.

Weinert: Do you personally think it ever makes a difference whether a man or a woman does a particular job?

Jorge: It depends on the job. In [a lodge in el Oriente] you cannot put a woman in management. Because their culture won’t let them respect women, give them orders. You can’t have a woman for guide. We have a bartender. She is from Argentina. Women are very well organized in some ways. They are cleaner than men. More methodical. But there are some types of jobs that are better for men. In [the lodge] sometimes you need to raise your voice and be strong. It is pretty difficult for women to control some things there.

During the interview Jorge expressed that tourists would like to see more women working there but that it is not possible because of the culture of the indigenous group. He also indicated that to hire a woman to work in the lodge he had to look outside of the indigenous community to insure that men would respect her as a person in charge and because local men were resistant to allow women from their community to have contact with outsiders. The quote exemplifies that he does not see gender roles as changeable, even though he wishes that they were.
Alberto, a male in his 30s with a Masters degree, worked for an NGO that provided technical advice for ecolodges. He had worked with a number of different ecotourism destinations.

Weinert: Do you personally think it ever makes a difference whether a man or a woman does a particular job?

Alberto: No. But I prefer that women are given jobs without risks to themselves. Spouses leave, children leave. But women give structure to the community

Alberto expressed an inflexible gender ideology, but unlike Jorge he did not feel that gender roles needed to be changed. He felt that current gender relationships made women more at risk for harm but rather than attempt to change gender roles he argues that one should recognize how to utilize the local structure of gender relationships to strengthen the community.

Diego Andrade was the executive director of the Ecuadorian Ecotourism Association (ASEC). He was in his 30s with a Masters degree.

Weinert: Do you think it ever makes a difference whether a man or a woman does a particular job in ecotourism?

Sr. Andrade: No. Ah. No/Yes. In some jobs if there is a woman in charge it is the best. In other cases it is a man. In my personal point of view I prefer to work with women.

Weinert: Why is that?

Sr. Andrade: Ah. Women are committed with the work. In some cases with the scientific investigation are more interactive you know. If you need somebody to work hours a day it is easier to work with a woman for different reasons. But the main thing is that I told you about being committed to their work

It was rather difficult to determine Sr. Andrade’s gender ideology. Since he is in a public position and is committed to promoting ecotourism in Ecuador it seems likely that he was
even more cautious than most in his responses. In general he had a fairly inflexible gender ideology. He believed that women and men could be associated with particular characteristics and did not specifically indicate that these associations had or could change over time. Throughout the interview he stressed that women have power and many positive attributes.

Maria was in her early 20s, had a four year college degree and worked as a reservations and logistics manager for an ecolodge located in the Costa. She visited the lodge occasionally but spent most of her time in the office in Quito.

Weinert: Do you think it ever makes a difference whether a man or a woman does a particular job?

Maria: Yes. Jobs far away from home, like tour guides are harder for women to get because of the jobs they have in their home and because of rough climate. For the head chef often men are preferred because it is thought they can have greater control.

Maria expressed a very different viewpoint from Sr. Andrade about the role that she thought women and men played in ecotourism. However, her gender ideology is quite similar. She did not specifically recognize that gender roles change, but like Sr. Andrade recognized that attributes of men and women were helpful to ecotourism operations in different ways.

4.4.2 Flexible gender ideologies

In this section I present and analyze a selection of representative quotes from managers that have flexible gender ideologies. Twelve managers had flexible gender ideologies.
Marco, a male in his 50 with a college degree, was the owner of an ecolodge in the Costa. He is originally from Quito but had worked in the Costa for over twenty years.

Weinert: Do you think it ever makes a difference whether a man or a woman does a particular job?

Marco: For is particular point of view, it doesn’t make a difference. But reality is different. It is a question of traditions and cultural inheritance, and idiosyncrasies. Of course there are certain jobs that are done better by women, like cooking. But there are many excellent male chefs. In the area of military or police, of course men are better, but women could do well in some cases. For me it doesn’t matter. But unfortunately in our society women cannot always be in leadership positions or fulfill their potential. But it is changing globally. Change is accelerated over the last few decades.

Marco specifically indicated that he saw gender roles as changeable. He recognized that change has not happened quickly, but his flexible point of view has influenced the operation of the ecolodge. For example, he was the first employer in the area to pay equal wages to men and women.

Rick and Katy are the owners of an ecolodge in the Sierra. They were both in their 30s and originally from the United States. The following quote came from a discussion about one of their female employees.

Rick: But she has the freedom to decide whether she is going to marry this guy, not marry this guy. He would usually be the money maker, and he has to wait until she decides.

Katy: Because she can do without him

Rick: This is very unusual. Locally the reverse would usually be true, that you are going to want to get married whether you want to get married or not because you want someone to support the children that you have.

This quote shows Rick and Katy’s recognition that gender roles can change, and that the change is likely due to the presence of ecotourism job opportunities. From the interview it seemed that they were a bit surprised about the effect that ecotourism had on gender
roles and relationships. As a result they took some active steps towards bringing about greater changes in local gender roles and relationships.

Lori, a woman from the United States with an advanced degree, was a joint owner of an ecolodge in the Sierra.

Weinert: Do you personally think it ever makes a difference whether a man or a woman does a particular job?

Lori: Theoretically no. In practice traditions play a part in what people want to do and feel comfortable doing. I think we have broken a lot of traditions here in the community. Yeah, I guess it makes a difference. I don’t know of men here that cook, but I’m sure if the women suddenly couldn’t they could cook.

Lori also recognizes that gender roles are flexible, but unlike Rick and Katy, did not mention that she is specifically trying to guide those changes in any way. She recognized that gender roles can change, but that those changes were often were beneficial to the smooth operation of the ecolodge. Lori had not critically thought about the effect of the ecolodge on local gender norms prior to the interview.

Antonio, an on-site manager of an NGO based ecolodge in the cloud forest in his 20s had some college education. He is originally from Quito and had previous experience working in tourism in the Oriente.

Weinert: Do you personally think it ever makes a difference whether a man or a woman does a particular job?

Antonio: Yes. For me, it isn’t correct for a woman to use a machete. It is nicer if she works in the kitchen.

Weinert: Do you think it ever makes a difference to tourism workers if a man or a woman does a particular job?

Antonio: No. If a man or woman works in the kitchen it is fine.
Antonio expressed that he had seen evidence that gender roles can change so his gender ideology is flexible. Unlike others that see gender roles as flexible he sees these changes as negative and that effort must go towards maintaining norms of gender roles.

4.4.3 Unclear gender ideology

The final category of gender ideology includes cases when I was not able to determine whether the ideology was flexible or inflexible. I provide the following quote from a manager of an ecolodge in the Oriente as an example.

Weinert: Do you personally think it ever makes a difference whether a man or a woman does a particular job?

Daniel: No

Weinert: Do you think it ever makes a difference to tourism workers if a man or a woman does a particular job?

Daniel: It makes a difference to be a guide because the guides often carry luggage to the lodge. It helps to be a man because they have physical strength.

Weinert: Do you think it ever makes a difference to tourists if a man or woman does a particular job?

Daniel: No

4.5 Significance of managers’ gender ideology

Figure 4.7, 4.8, and 4.9 summarize the gender ideologies of all managers interviewed. There were a few trends that emerged from the interviews. In general men were more likely than women to have inflexible gender ideologies. Those that work in el Oriente were more likely to have inflexible gender ideologies because the managers were more reticent to introduce changes that were viewed as disruptive to an indigenous
culture. Those from U.S. were more likely to have flexible gender ideologies. It was more difficult to determine gender ideologies for managers in their 60s than for younger respondents. Respondents with a high school education, but not a bachelor’s degree, all had flexible gender ideologies.

However, the trends that can be observed are based on twenty-nine interviews, I cannot argue that they are significantly predictive, nor is prediction my intent as explained in chapter 3. For example, the five respondents that have a high school degree but not a bachelor’s degree are very diverse. One is a male in his 30s from the United States. One is a female in her 20s from Ecuador that is within a year of completing a bachelor’s degree. Another is a male Ecuadorian in his 60s. I could not possibly argue that these people have had similar influences in forming their gender ideologies.

The purpose of describing how gender ideologies vary by demographic characteristics is to show the great deal of diversity in my sample. That gender ideologies do not clearly align themselves with particular demographic characteristics is not problematic for my argument. The complexity of my sample supports feminist theories that one’s gender ideology is affected by numerous influences and interactions that can change through space and time (see Fan 2004 and Silvey 2003).
Figure 4.7: Gender ideology by sex

Figure 4.8: Gender ideology by region
4.6 Limitations of analyzing managers’ gender ideologies

One potential limitation of my analysis of gender ideologies is that the categories of “flexible” and inflexible” are artificial and not necessarily mutually exclusive. Some managers expressed that changes they viewed as desirable did not happen quickly enough, that the gender roles/relationships could not change in every way, or that there are limits to change. However, categorizing gender ideologies in the way that I did is still useful in that they reveal major tendencies in the way that managers think about gender.

Some of the managers seemed to be wary of discussing the topic with me. For example, when one tourism operator indicated that there were no women employed in a few destinations affiliated with his company he commented, “You must think that I’m sexist”. Another challenge to understanding how managers perceive and construct gender is satisficing. Satisficing occurs when respondents provide answers that they think researchers want to hear or only provide minimal information in order to speed up
the interviewing process. This is a common problem that affects interview data (Holbrook et al. 2003).

4.7 Conclusion

In general most managers did not consider gender relationships to be significant to the operation of ecotourism. One of the first questions that I asked in the interview was, “What do you think is the most important element in improving the success of ecotourism in a particular destination?” Not surprisingly, managers did not mention that issues related to gender roles or relationships affected the operation of ecotourism. The condition of the natural environment, the needs of tourists, the needs of the community, and the needs of business were some of the elements that managers indicated as important to the success of ecotourism. Many managers emphasized that two or more of these elements must be integrated for ecotourism to be successful (See Table 4.1 for examples).
What do you think is the most important element in improving the success of ecotourism in a particular destination?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community Centered (5 total)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The relationship between the operator and the community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One of the most important aspects is to teach the people the people of the area why it is so important. If they don’t know why it is important it will not work well and they won’t do it well.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So many things. How strong the conservation movement is in the town. It started 17 years ago and has improved over the past 10 years.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Natural Environment (4 total)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>There are a lot. To really know the area.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I think one of the most important aspects is to give back to the Earth and not just take from it. And I know that the community is important as well, but I think the environment aspect is more important.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The amount of forest that you have.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development of alternate ecology</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tourist Needs (2 total)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Try hard to have people on hand to…work with people well. Making it a personal experience is the single most important thing. Guest books will show that people like the personal factors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attention and service. Maintain paths. Prepare food.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organizational Structure of Business (4 total)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To identify what you want to do. You can teach, you can demonstrate. But if you identify what you want to do it is a lot easier.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is not just one. Maybe there are many. But I think one of the most important aspects is to have clear objectives and goals before you start the project. Once you start it it is too late. You need to have your goals your schedule. Ecotourism is very complex. It involves local communities, it involves tourists with specific interests. They are not regular people. You have to be very clear in what you are planning to do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The market is important. A good communication web between operators, clients, and the community. Need a good structure.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Integrative (7 total)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A natural attranction that is conserved, good conditions, good management at a local level, local involvement in management. Something so the local community identifies with the project.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The human element. To treat world well and the employees. Bring empowerment. Trying to teach and personalize the tour for tourists. Care for the environment. Make the area attractive to come. To have integrated development.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You need to have a proposal integrated, holistic. It has to help people, it has to protect the environment, respect cultures, and be an economic success.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The resource and the attitude of the people. You could have the best resource, but if the people do not have a good attitude you don’t have anything. And if you have a good attitude but not a good resource, this won’t work either.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To respect nature, to respect the customs of the people. To handle intercultural contact. Also to respect the tourists so that people will visit it and that it becomes known internationally.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1: Managers’ description of most important element for ecotourism success
I argue that managers’ ideologies of employees’ gender roles and local gender relationships influence the operation of ecotourism even though they are not readily acknowledged as such by managers. That managers’ do not acknowledge the influence of gender on ecotourism affirms McDowell and Sharp’s mission of feminist geography “to investigate, make visible, and challenge the relationships between gender divisions, to uncover their mutual constitution, and problematise their apparent naturalness” (1999: 91). Overall this chapter sought to describe constraints and freedoms that managers perceive in their ability to manage gender roles in ecotourism. In the next chapter I describe everyday manifestations of how managers’ gender ideologies and local employees’ gendered responsibilities interrelate.
CHAPTER 5

MANAGEMENT ADAPTATION AND THE GENDERED DIVISION OF LABOR

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I describe gendered management strategies that ecotourism managers employ when interacting with employees at ecolodges in Ecuador. In the previous chapter I described different gender ideologies of managers. Now I show how those ideologies are played out in the real world through management styles. I describe how or if managers adapt when their expectations of local gender roles does not match their lived experience.

Dilly (2003), an anthropologist, addresses the idea of appropriate and inappropriate changes in gender relationships in the context of ecotourism development. “Local gender relationships –even though they will be transformed through processes of cultural adaptation to development programs, and perhaps should be- are significant dimensions of local cultures, which should not themselves be the primary targets of change” (Dilly 2003: 59). I agree with the overall substance of her argument, but in practice, it is much more difficult to know whether changes in gender relationships should be made, whether changes are positive or negative and what will effect change in local gender relationships. Instead of critiquing results of management strategies, this
chapter focuses on identifying specific decisions that have an effect on gender relationships in the workplace. Once examples of key decisions are identified, one may then offer appropriate and specific recommendations for how to have the most positive effect for local communities.

This chapter is divided into three sections. First local labor norms are described through census data and employee interview data. Then, manager and employee interactions are explored through job assignment and scheduling. Finally managers’ adaptation strategies are described and categorized according to management strategy.

In this chapter I begin by describing local gendered labor norms in Ecuador and in the localities that I studied. This chapter links information presented in the previous chapter about managers’ gender ideologies with actual management practice. Specifically, I address, what do local employees think about gendered management practice?

5.2 Cantón census data

Descriptions of regional trends in gender roles across Ecuador were presented in Chapter 3. To analyze local labor norms a finer scale of analysis is necessary. The 2002 Ecuadorian Census provides population data at the scale of the cantón (approximately equivalent to county level data in the United States). The available census data provides information about gendered labor norms at a fairly localized scale of analysis and allows for comparison of cantonal data to national data and from one cantón to another. The census data is not a perfect proxy for local labor force norms. Some cantones include highly populated urban areas with very different labor norms and economic specialization
than rural parts of the same cantón. All lodges studied in this analysis are located in rural areas that specialize in primary sector jobs, including agriculture, fishing, and mining. The census data do not differentiate between urban and rural employment rates. Therefore, in the case of lodges located in the same cantón as large cities, primary sector labor force data are better proxy for gendered labor force participation rates for the area immediately surrounding the ecolodge.

For this analysis of the gender of ecotourism labor, gendered participation in waged labor (see Tables 5.1 and 5.2) and, more specifically, in service sector employment for each cantón is relevant (see Table 5.3). Primary sector employment is dominant in every canton except for Quito and Otavalo. Both of these cantones contain large urban centers. Manufacturing is the leading source of employment in the cantones. However, the areas immediately surrounding the respective ecolodges are dominated by agriculture. In these cases, heterogeneity of populations within cantones limit the usefulness of cantón level data to explain local laborforce patterns. In the case of the cantones of Otavalo and Quito, primary sector employment is a better proxy of labor patterns in areas immediately surrounding ecolodges than the total employment data.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>%Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>% Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>12,156,608</td>
<td>6,018,353</td>
<td>49.5</td>
<td>6,138,255</td>
<td>50.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor force</td>
<td>4,552,226</td>
<td>3,163,465</td>
<td>69.4</td>
<td>1,388,761</td>
<td>30.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.1: Gendered Population and labor force data for Ecuador (data drawn from INEC 2003)
### Table 5.2: Gendered population of case study cantones (Data drawn from INEC 2003)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Cantón</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriente</td>
<td>Shushufindi</td>
<td>32,184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa</td>
<td>Puerto Lopez</td>
<td>16,626</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra</td>
<td>Quito</td>
<td>1,839,853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra</td>
<td>Sigchos</td>
<td>20,722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloud Forest</td>
<td>Sn. M. de los Bancos</td>
<td>10,717</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloud Forest</td>
<td>Mejia</td>
<td>62,888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra</td>
<td>Otavalo</td>
<td>90,188</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 5.3: Cantón labor force participation by economic sector (Data drawn from INEC 2003)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cantón</th>
<th>Total workforce</th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Manufacturing &amp; Construction</th>
<th>Service Jobs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>workforce</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>% total workforce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shushufindi</td>
<td>12772</td>
<td>5,250</td>
<td>41.1</td>
<td>1,213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Lopez</td>
<td>4827</td>
<td>2,345</td>
<td>48.5</td>
<td>443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quito</td>
<td>786691</td>
<td>45,504</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>176,335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sigchos</td>
<td>8182</td>
<td>6,563</td>
<td>80.2</td>
<td>708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sn. M. de los Bancos</td>
<td>3820</td>
<td>2,105</td>
<td>55.1</td>
<td>470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mejia</td>
<td>25692</td>
<td>7,457</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>5,006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otavalo</td>
<td>33730</td>
<td>7,706</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>10,780</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Ecuadorian Census (INEC 2003) employment figures are categorized in two different schemes: occupational groups (*grupos ocupacionales*) and sectors of activity (*ramas de actividad*). Occupational group categories describe different tasks completed by workers within a business: professional & technical (*miembros, profesionales técnicos*), office employees (*empleados de oficina*), service workers (*trab. de los servicios*), farmers (*agricultures*), machine operators (*operarios y operadores de maquinas*), non-cassified jobs (*trab. no calificados*), and others (*otros*). The sectors of
activity categories describe the main economic function of different businesses according to the following categories: primary sector activities of agriculture, ranching, hunting, fishing, & forestry (*agricultura, ganadería, caza, pesca, & silvicultura*), manufacturing (*manufactura*), construction (*construcción*), commerce (*comercio*), teaching (*enseñanza*), and other activities (*otros actividades*). Table 5.3 contains cantón level data for the primary sector (agriculture, ranching, hunting, fishing, & forestry), and manufacturing & construction from the sectors of activity categorization, and service workers from the occupational groups categorization.

5.3 The gender of labor at ecolodges

Lodge labor participation rates based on conditions when I visited the lodges between October and December of 2003. The small number of employees at each lodge did not allow for a statistical comparison of lodge employment to the larger population, but a few gendered patterns in employment were evident. As alluded to when describing the gender of laborforce participation based on cantón level census data, labor norms of the local region are expected to influence the laborforce at each lodge. In table 5.4 female labor participation rates at each lodge are compared to census data for their respective cantón. At first glance one may judge that ecotourism does not encourage female employment because in all but two lodges (Cloud Forest 3 and Sierra 2) male employment is higher than female employment. Yet, this judgment cannot be made without an understanding of the context of local labor norms for each lodge.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lodge</th>
<th>Cantón</th>
<th>Percent Male- total employment</th>
<th>Percent Female- Total employment</th>
<th>Percent Male- primary sector jobs</th>
<th>Percent Female- primary sector jobs</th>
<th>Percent Male- service sector jobs</th>
<th>Percent Female- service sector jobs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oriente</td>
<td>Shushufindi</td>
<td>82.3</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>82.3</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>57.9</td>
<td>42.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa</td>
<td>Puerto Lopez</td>
<td>87.5</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>87.5</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>78.5</td>
<td>21.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloud Forest 1</td>
<td>Quito</td>
<td>60.7</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>60.7</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>48.2</td>
<td>51.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloud Forest 2</td>
<td>Quito</td>
<td>60.7</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>60.7</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>48.2</td>
<td>51.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloud Forest 3</td>
<td>Sn. M. de los Bancos</td>
<td>66.4</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>91.3</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>55.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra 1</td>
<td>Sigchos</td>
<td>79.2</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>67.1</td>
<td>32.8</td>
<td>48.0</td>
<td>51.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra 2</td>
<td>Mejia</td>
<td>67.1</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td>66.4</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>59.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra 3</td>
<td>Otavalo</td>
<td>63.4</td>
<td>36.6</td>
<td>63.4</td>
<td>36.6</td>
<td>47.0</td>
<td>52.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.4: Cantón labor force participation by sex

The penultimate column shows the difference between the percent of employees at each lodge that are female and the percent of the labor force in the cantón that are female. For most lodges the percent of female employees was within 10% of the canton’s percentage of female employees. Lodges Costa, Sierra 2, and Cloud Forest 3 had a much higher female employment rate than the rest of the cantón.

In the last column of table 5.4 female employment at each lodge is compared to the percent of service workers that are female in each cantón. When comparing female employment at each lodge to female employment for all service jobs in the cantón, ecolodges once again do not appear to be particularly impressive if the goal is to increase female labor participation rates. Yet, service jobs are not dominant in any of the study areas so the results can be easily skewed.
### Lodge Gender Distribution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lodge</th>
<th># employees</th>
<th># male</th>
<th>% male</th>
<th># female</th>
<th>% female</th>
<th>lodge % female - cantón % female</th>
<th>lodge % female - cantón service workers % female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oriente</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-7</td>
<td>-32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloud Forest 1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloud Forest 2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>-5</td>
<td>-18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloud Forest 3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra 2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra 1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra 3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.5: Gender of employees by ecolodge

#### 5.3.1 Employee reporting of gendered job assignment at ecolodges

In interviews with managers and employees I asked each employee about their job duties. Jobs normally performed by men are operating transportation, guiding, gardening (Figure 5.1), maintenance of grounds, and working as security guards. Jobs that are performed most often by women are doing laundry, cooking, and cleaning guest rooms. Some jobs are commonly done by both men and women: cooking, cleaning in common areas, and serving food to guests. However, the gender profile of workers (Table 5.6) as reported by workers at each lodge varied from lodge to lodge and from region to region.
Figure 5.1: Organic gardening at an ecolodge
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lodge</th>
<th>Jobs done by men</th>
<th>Jobs done by women</th>
<th>Jobs done by men and women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oriente</td>
<td>Administrator, grounds maintenance, clean cabins, kitchen helper, manage office, coordinate workers, receive guests, maintain equipment, waiter, bird guide, maintain hiking paths, cook, bartender, boat &amp; canoe transportation</td>
<td>Administrator, logistics, cook, laundry</td>
<td>Administrator, cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa</td>
<td>construction, guard, assistant manager, assist accountant, work in reception, waiter, maintenance, gardener, naturalist guide, cook, coordinate cabin maintenance, electrician</td>
<td>waitress, check people in at front desk, carry luggage, cook, wash dishes, accountant, be nice to tourists to be caring, prepare seafood</td>
<td>Waiter/waitress, receptionists, cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloud Forest 1</td>
<td>Jobs done by men: guide, maintain paths, help in kitchen, construction, clean common areas, gardener, guard, organic gardener, harvest food for the lodge</td>
<td>cook, clean guestrooms, clean bathrooms, laundry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloud Forest 2</td>
<td>guide, reforestation, cook, accountant</td>
<td>Cook, maintain kitchen, reservations</td>
<td>cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloud Forest 3</td>
<td>cook, gardener, maintain lamps, maintain grounds, kitchen helper, guide,</td>
<td>cook, clean common areas, clean cabins</td>
<td>cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra 2</td>
<td>Receive guests, clean common areas, guide, waiter, kitchen helper, care for gear, clean fireplaces</td>
<td>cook, clean rooms, laundry, ironing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra 1</td>
<td>construction, gardener, care for animals, composting, building maintenance, chop wood, fix roof, maintain paths, horse guide</td>
<td>laundry, wash dishes, cook, make beds, clean floors, clean bathrooms, wash windows, bake cookies, garden, sweep patios, waitress</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.6: Jobs by gender as reported by employees
5.3.2 Manager reporting of the gendered job assignment at ecolodges

Tables 5.7 and 5.8 shows managers’ responses to questions about the gender of labor at their lodges. Overall, managers’ responses match well with employees’ reporting of the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pseudonyms</th>
<th>Maria</th>
<th>Marco</th>
<th>Pablo</th>
<th>Rick &amp; Katy</th>
<th>Carla</th>
<th>Monica</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lodge Region</td>
<td>Costa</td>
<td>Costa</td>
<td>Costa</td>
<td>Sierra 1</td>
<td>Oriente</td>
<td>Cloud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleaning rooms</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tour guides</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On-site</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrators</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooks</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waiters</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drivers</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receptionists</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Souvenir Vendors</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardeners</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guards</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Path Maintenance</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricians</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.7: Jobs by gender as reported by managers, part 1
Table 5.8: Jobs by gender as reported by managers, part 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pseudonyms</th>
<th>Antonio</th>
<th>Esteban &amp; Julia</th>
<th>Juan</th>
<th>Anita</th>
<th>Pedro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lodge Region</td>
<td>Cloud Forest 1</td>
<td>Cloud Forest 1</td>
<td>Cloud Forest 1</td>
<td>Cloud Forest 2</td>
<td>Sierra 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleaning rooms</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tour guides</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On-site Administrators</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooks</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waiters</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drivers</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receptionists</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Souvenir Vendors</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardenders</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guards</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Path Maintenance</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricians</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

gender of jobs. This shows that awareness of the gender of labor is consistent across different groups of stakeholders at ecolodges.

5.4 Explaining gendered job assignment

As previously stated, the small population of employees at each lodge negates the utility or necessity of a statistical analysis to compare lodge employment patterns to regional employment patterns. A better understanding of gendered labor dynamics at each lodge emerges instead through a qualitative analysis of the wishes and desires of local workers and managers. In the following sections I first describe local employees’
perspectives on the gender of jobs and then describe managers’ expectations of the
gender of jobs.

5.4.1 Employees’ perspectives on gendered job assignment

The most effective way to learn how labor norms from nearby communities may or may not affect a particular ecolodge is to simply ask employees about typical tasks that are done by men and women in the local community and in the ecolodge. The employees’ responses about norms for men’s and women’s jobs varied widely at times. Employees’ responses are not indicative of a generalized community view of labor norms, as a much more extensive survey of the community would be necessary to make such a claim. Yet, employees were able to provide a detailed account of very small-scale labor norms, those of the community of employees that were currently working at the ecolodge. The labor norms of the wider community were often translated into the ecolodge.

At a very personal scale of analysis, I asked employees if they would prefer a different job (¿Preferiría un trabajo diferente?) from the one they currently had. Many were content with their jobs but 31 of the 66 interviewed said that they would like to change their job in some way. Seven wanted a job that paid a higher wage, three wanted an easier job, three wanted a job farther away from home, two wished that they worked closer to home, one wanted to work more, and one did not explain the change he would like. The most common response was that they simply wanted to do something different. In a few cases a particular job was mentioned, but for most an unspecified change in job
was desired. No men said that they would like to do jobs currently performed only by women and no women wished to do jobs performed only by men at each lodge.

One of the most fruitful lines of inquiry from interviews with employees led from questions about whether any jobs done at the lodge did not match with typical male and female jobs within the local community. This question allows one to see how the gender of employment at the lodge compares to employees’ views of local labor norms. The match or mismatch to local gender roles gives insight as to how ecotourism jobs differ from local norms, but also gives detailed insight into employees’ expectation of the type of jobs they will do. In most cases employees were content with their job duties, but a few described changes that they would like to make. Tables 5.9 and 5.10 display representative responses that employees had about differences between the gender of labor in the home and at the lodge.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Explanation/Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>They cook and clean clothes. I cook here but not in my home. I clean my clothes but not in my home.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>It is not usual that men help in the home…. Only if our wives are sick or are not around.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Usually men work with their hands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Speak English.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Here men do all jobs. They help out at home.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Jobs are the same. They help in community projects.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Personally, I do the same work. I have to wash my own clothes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>They work with tourists. The men serve tourists, wash plates. This is different.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Here they work in the restaurant. Clean. In their homes they only pass time. They don't often cook or clean in the home.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Cleaning, but they do that in the community too.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes, working with the computer and cleaning. Men cook at home.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>The jobs are similar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Help to make beds, help to set tables, serve food. Some men help at home, most do not.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Cooking. Men don't like to serve meals. They like to go out with machetes to clear paths.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Men get to know people here. Learn other languages. Men help wives in their homes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>People do what they can.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Cleaning, cooking. Other than my husband, men do not help out in the kitchen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Cooking. Usually men work in the fields.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.9: Employees reporting of mismatch in labor norms for men
Table 5.9 Continued

### Cloud Forest 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Explanation/Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Clean. A boy helps in the kitchen. In my home men don’t cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Guiding. Not killing animals. Caring for the forest. Wash clothes and dishes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Sierra 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Explanation/Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Men work in gardens at home, but the gardens are different.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>The jobs are the same, but the food is different.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>We plant things. The plants are sometimes different from what we plant on our own land.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>It is a little different in the fields. We grow different things.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Sierra 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Explanation/Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>My husband helps with cooking and helping to clean the house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>I help my wife…men help the women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Laundry.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Is there a job in tourism that women do, but usually don’t in their home or community?

#### Orienta

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Explanation/Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No. Their jobs coincide. Women work in their chakras (gardens) in the communities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>They do similar work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Women do not do a lot of jobs in tourism. We are working to train them in jobs in tourism, like artisans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>They do pretty much the same. But they are not usually waitresses, or administrators at home.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Costa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Explanation/Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Working in the kitchen is similar to work at home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Lots of women work at hotels. The work is the same, just more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>It is the same.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Continued

Table 5.10: Employees reporting of mismatch in labor norms for women
Table 5.10 Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Explanation/Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Women only work in the home. Nothing like here.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>When we work with machetes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cloud Forest 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Explanation/Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Some women are guards at [a nearby lodge], but not here.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cloud Forest 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Explanation/Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Women are guides in this area. Women guides just work locally. It depends on the family.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sierra 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Explanation/Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Women usually work in agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Here we clean rooms. At home we harvest crops.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sierra 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Explanation/Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>In this area men help with horses.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although questions about the gender of jobs were generally fruitful, some respondents did not interpret this question as I intended. Respondents described jobs that are unique to tourism, rather than how jobs in lodge compared to gender roles. Some men mentioned jobs like using a computer and speaking English as being strange to them. While true, these responses are more of a comment on jobs in an industry that is new to the area rather than on differences in gender roles. I followed up by asking if it seemed strange that a man would do any of the jobs at the lodge. This follow up question usually clarified the information that I sought. From these questions I am not able to
provide a generalized overview of gender relationships in each community. However, I argue that, for the small community of workers that I interviewed, understanding the range of variation in perspectives about the gender of jobs is more valuable than a generalized description of gender relationships in the community. In a small work community the perspectives and opinions of just a few people may have a significant impact on daily activity.

Responses to questions as to whether jobs at ecotourism lodges matched gendered expectations varied from lodge to lodge (Table 5.11). Male and female employees expressed that that they think men are more likely to do jobs that are different from what they would normally do at home or in the community. In all likelihood this is because more men than women are employed at each lodge. Men perform more tasks and therefore, are more likely to do jobs that are different from what they would do in their homes or communities. However, some of the differences noted for men may be because many tasks in ecotourism are related to hospitality; tasks similar to those often completed by women in local communities.
Percent of employees that think jobs at the lodge do not match with local gender roles for men, women, or both men and women.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>% that noted difference for men</th>
<th>% that noted difference for women</th>
<th>Total % that noted difference for either men or women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cloud Forest 1</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloud Forest 2</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloud Forest 3</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriente</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra 1</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra 2</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.11: Percent of employees reporting mismatch in gendered labor norms

Further research on this topic is necessary to draw more certain conclusions. The topic is significant because a mismatch in expected gender roles between the community and the lodge may signal potential conflict or a source of social change for the community. Tourism’s potential to initiate change in nearby communities has been well documented (see, for example, Belsky 1999, Brandth and Haugen 2007, Campbell 1999, Dilly 2003, Jones 2005, Marshall 2001, Wall 1996, and Wilkinson and Pratiwi 1995). Cases where gender roles in the community and the lodge match well indicates that local social structures influence employment patterns are not described in tourism literature.

5.4.2 Managers’ perspectives on gendered job assignment

On-site managers were also asked whether employees at each lodge completed jobs normally done by women and if women did jobs normally done by men in the
community. Managers’ responses to this question were similar to employees’ responses (Tables 5.12 and 5.13).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lodge</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CF2</td>
<td>David</td>
<td>Cleaning, working in the kitchen, Men usually do not help with cooking and cleaning in the country. In the cities they do help.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2-</td>
<td>Diana</td>
<td>Domestic jobs. Like making beds, washing dishes, cooking, clean bathrooms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sani:</td>
<td>Laura</td>
<td>Cooking, cleaning, laundry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alandaluz:</td>
<td>Pablo</td>
<td>Cleaning, separating garbage, they help a little with washing dishes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CF1:</td>
<td>Antonio</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CF1:</td>
<td>Juan</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.12: Managers reporting of mismatch in labor norms for men
Table 5.13: Managers reporting of mismatch in labor norms for women

One difference was that managers did not acknowledge diversity in gender relations within the community as was fairly common for employees. When employees answered this question they couched it in terms of their own personal experience, or acknowledged that expectations may be different from household to household. For example, “Other than my husband, men do not help out in the kitchen.” and, “Women are guides in this area. Women guides just work locally. It depends on the family.”

5.5 Employees’ adaptation strategies

Although the focus of my research was to find examples of managers’ adaptation, one can see evidence of employees’ gendered adaptation to work demands in their responses to questions about ability to complete all duties. The main type of adaptation
for employees deals with scheduling time. Other types of employee adaptation are discussed in section 5.5.2.

5.5.1 Scheduling

In interviews with employees at ecolodges I asked for a description of their work schedule and if there are any variations in the schedule over time. Tourism jobs can be challenging for workers because of irregular hours. At least one person needs to be available to guests at all times of the day for service and security purposes. Small off-the-beaten-track lodges seem to be particularly susceptible to schedule fluctuations depending on whether tourists are present or not.

Thirty of sixty-five respondents said that their work schedule was susceptible to variations. The most common response, given by fifteen employees, described schedule changes when more guests are present. Nine described regular schedule rotations; usually on a weekly or monthly rotation. Seven said that they complete different jobs depending on which tasks were most pressing. One respondent said that different tasks are completed when guests are present. Only two employees said that their schedule varied due to reasons outside of the lodge; one mentioned that sometimes he arrived late when it rained and another said that work might be missed if he had other obligations.

Women with children were most likely to say that their schedule varied throughout the year. Men, whether they had children or not, were about as likely as not to mention schedule variations. Women without children were least likely to mention schedule variations and women with children were most likely to mention schedule variations (Table 5.14). Causality for these trends cannot be determined based merely on
descriptions of schedule variations. However, changing schedules may have a large
impact on employees’ ability to balance home, community, and work duties. Women
with children may be most likely to note schedule variations because even slight
schedules changes might signify significant difficulties in completing home and
community tasks.

| Are there variations in your schedule during the year? |
|----------------|---|---|---|---|---|
|                | Yes | No | Total | % Yes | % No |
| Men with children | 14  | 12 | 26    | 54    | 46   |
| Men without children | 7   | 8  | 15    | 47    | 53   |
| Women with children | 12  | 5  | 17    | 71    | 29   |
| Women without children | 2   | 5  | 7     | 29    | 71   |
| Total            | 35  | 30 | 65    |        |      |

Table 5.14: Employees reporting of schedule variations

Another series of questions, about how home, community, and work obligations
are juggled, revealed more about how gender affects negotiations of work schedules at
ecolodges. I first asked employees if obligations to their job affected their obligations in
their homes or communities (Tiene usted obligaciones en su trabajo que afectan sus
obligaciones en el hogar o en la comunidad?). I then followed up by asking if their jobs
affected care of their children, their ability to complete work in their homes, or caused
stress in their marriage or with other members of their families (Ha afectado el cuidado
de sus niños? Ha afectado su habilidad a completar tareas del hogar? Ha afectado con
estres en su matrimonio o con otros miembros de su familia? Tiene usted obligaciones
en su hogar que afectan sus obligaciones en su trabajo?)
Differences between lodges correlate with the volume of tourists, rigidity of schedules, and with distance of the lodge from employees’ homes. For example, the lodge in the Costa is located within fifteen minutes walking distance from most employees’ homes. However, the volume of tourists is high and some employees need to be present at all times. Fewer tourists visit the lodge in the Oriente, but most employees live several hours from the lodge necessitating that they live on-site while on their schedule rotation. The Cloud Forest 2 lodge is located several hours from most employees’ homes, but tourist volume is fairly low. While regional variations in balancing home and work duties are not strongly evident in my data (Table 5.15), overall gendered patterns were apparent (Table 5.16). The percent of employees that reported conflict between work and home responsibilities closely mirrors figures for men and women with and without children that noted variations in schedules (Table 5.17).
Does your job affect obligations in your home or community?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>% yes</th>
<th>% no</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Costa</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriente</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloud Forest 1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloud Forest 2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloud Forest 3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra 1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra 2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.15: Employees reporting work conflict with household responsibilities by lodge

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>% yes</th>
<th>% no</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men with children</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men without children</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women with children</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women without children</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.16: Employees reporting work conflict with household responsibilities by gender and family

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Care of children</th>
<th>Ability to do home or community work</th>
<th>Affected stress in home</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men with children</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men without children</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women with children</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women without children</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.17: How jobs affected household and community obligations by gender and family

Sixty-six percent of respondents mentioned that their jobs affected their home or community obligations in some way. Twenty said that care of their children was affected.
by their job at the ecolodge, thirty-two said that jobs at the ecolodge affected their ability to do work at home or in their communities, and seven said that their jobs had an effect on stress in their marriage or with other members of their family. Table 5.18 provides a representative sample of ways that ecotourism jobs affected employees’ obligations at home or in communities.

### Does your job affect obligations you have in your home or community?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Children?</th>
<th>Quote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>“No. I come when I want.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>“I have to work”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>“No. I always have free time”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>“So far I’ve had no problems getting off”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>“My husband cares for the children while I am at work.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>“No. I don’t have to do anything at home. I’m single. I want to work because I like to. I want to learn how to work.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Affects childcare

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Children?</th>
<th>Quote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>“I am at work all day and my daughter is at home alone”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>“If my mom is sick I have to watch my sisters.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>“A little. Sometimes I can’t go to school meetings for my son. Only once in a while.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Affects jobs in home or community

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Children?</th>
<th>Quote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>“Yes. I have to build my house, but because of this job I can’t.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>“Sometimes. There are community meetings where we talk about water issues and sometimes I can’t go.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>“I want to help in my community but I’m tired from this job”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>“No…yes. I am supposed to help my mother with community projects.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>“Yet at times. I have little to do. It is difficult for my daughter because she studies. She cleans and washes. My daughter helps me.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Affects stress

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Children?</th>
<th>Quote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>“I am separated from my family, my wife and child”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>“Yes, my children want to visit me at home during the holidays. But I can’t be with them. It is difficult. They also want me to come to visit, but I can’t.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>“Yes, a little. When I am tired there are more problems”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>“My mother is bothered that I am away for as much as 15 days.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.18: Examples of how jobs affected household and community obligations
In general employees were much less likely to report that community or home obligations affected job obligations. Not surprisingly, unpaid work was more likely to be neglected than paid work (Tables 5.19 and 5.20). Cloud Forest 1 and Sierra 1 had the greatest percentage of employees reporting that home and community obligations interfering with ecolodge duties. For Cloud Forest 1-- unlike other lodges in the cloud forest-- every employee had children, but most were single parents. For Sierra 1 many employees were attending in school in addition to working at the lodge. Sometimes work would be missed if they needed to go to school. By far, women with children were most likely to note that home and community obligations will sometimes conflict with work obligations. Representative quotes are presented in table 5.21

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Do obligations in your community or home affect your obligations at work?</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>% Yes</th>
<th>% No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Costa</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriente</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloud Forest 1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloud Forest 2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloud Forest 3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra 1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra 2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.19: Employees reporting of household responsibilities affecting work responsibilities
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Do obligations in your community or home affect your obligations at work?</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>% Yes</th>
<th>% No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men with children</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men without Children</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women with children</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women without children</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.20: Employees reporting of household responsibilities affecting work responsibilities by gender and family

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Do obligations in your community or home affect your obligations at work?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Home or community obligations do not affect job</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Home or community obligations affect job</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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Table 5.21: Examples of how household and community obligations affected jobs

A great deal of information about employees’ daily effort to balance home, community, and ecotourism duties is revealed in these quotes. For example, children have a greater affect on women than they do on men. Women without children report the least amount of conflict between home and community duties and work duties, but...
women with children report the greatest amount of conflict. It is clear that for many women a great deal of home duties revolve around the care of children. Some adaptation strategies include finding another community member to fill in for them at work, having other family members care for children, and taking time off work to care for sick children.

5.5.2 Other changes in work

Employees used adaptation strategies for situations beyond arranging home and work schedules. I also asked the local employees to describe two aspects of their job that they would change if they could (¿Si podría cambiar dos aspectos de su trabajo, cuales cambiaría?). Many workers did not have any complaints about their jobs and most were just happy to have a job at all. Thirty-four said that they would not change anything about their job at all. Two simply stated that they did not have the power to change anything. I followed up by stressing that the question was hypothetical, but they repeated that they could not change anything. Thirty respondents described something that they would like to change. The changes that were listed were quite varied. Four men expressed that they would prefer to do a different job at the lodge that was more commonly associated with male labor (e.g. three male cooks at three different lodges in three different regions said that they would prefer to work outside). Two employees said that they would prefer to concentrate on a single job (e.g. to only clean rooms and not work as much in the kitchen). A guard said that he was concerned about the riskiness of his job. One woman said that she does not like doing laundry by hand.
5.6 Managers’ adaptation strategies

Managers were not directly asked about their adaptation strategies in large part because most do not recognize their management strategies as adapting to norms of a gendered division of labor. Examples of managers’ adaptation strategies were derived from questions about how managers view ecotourism jobs in relation to local gender roles, managers’ descriptions of the gender of jobs, and from employees’ responses about the willingness of management to respond to their concerns.

Managers must juggle the needs and desires of many different people (employees, tourists, travel writers, the government, professional organizations, themselves) to maintain the operation of an ecotodge. For the sake of brevity, empirical examples of managers’ adaptation strategies are limited to those related to the gender of jobs and scheduling modifications in response to reproductive and community labor demands.

5.6.1 Gender of jobs

If local gendered labor norms were the only influence on job assignment and scheduling, then gender relationships in lodges located in the same region would be very similar. However, gender relationships for two lodges located within easy walking distance of each other were different and within lodges gender relationships changed over time. The dynamic relationships between managers and employees played a strong part in establishing the gender of jobs in ecotourism.

Managers were asked if the gendered distribution of jobs had changed over time in the lodge. A few on-site managers indicated that there had been changes. At Cloud Forest 3 Monica indicated that more women were guides and more men were working in
the kitchen than when the lodge first opened eight years earlier. For Cloud Forest 3 changes in the labor force were the result of deliberate decisions made by on-site managers. Monica had a flexible gender ideology and wanted to shake up local notions of the gender of jobs. She said that she wanted to give women jobs so that they could learn more than they would if they just worked in their homes. She has also made an effort to place men in jobs that they are less accustomed to doing in their homes or in other jobs. For example, when I asked who cooks at the lodge she replied, “Both [men and women]. I’m trying to make men cook.” Her efforts have changed the gender of labor at the lodge, but her efforts may explain problems described by Monica in Cloud Forest 3; high rates of job turnover and additional training costs.

The managers of Sierra 1 also had flexible gender ideologies and made an effort to train women to be guides, but recognized that local gender roles would likely restrict the type of guiding that women could do. For example, one manager indicated that it would not be well received by the community if women led an overnight hike. The managers also believe that community members would think it strange if men cooked for tourists on an overnight hike. Their ideal scenario would send both men and women on the hike to match with community expectations while empowering women through greater opportunities to earn wages at the same time.

In the case of Cloud Forest 1, two managers based in Quito described that local gendered labor norms became evident over time in the workplace. The on-site manager who had a more inflexible gender ideology was able to provide more detail. When the lodge first opened six years before there were few employees and jobs were not very specialized. As more employees were hired a gendered division of labor became more
distinct in response to employees’ preferences. When I visited the lodge all jobs were strongly associated with a specific gender.

At the lodge in the Costa, an on-site manager said that all kitchen workers and those that clean cabins used to be women. Over time more men sought jobs at the lodge so men began working in the kitchen and some now clean in cabins. In this case, changes in the gendered labor norms at the lodge occurred because of changes in local employee perspectives about ecotourism jobs. As the lodge became established jobs were no longer considered to be only “hospitality jobs” that are more commonly associated with women. In the cantón of the Costa lodge men are much more likely to work in formal employment outside of the home and ecotourism jobs gained acceptance as reliable well-paid jobs in the local economy for men. Although the managers expressed flexible gender ideologies, local gender norms in formal employment patterns became more evident over time. In this case, women working as cooks and maids in the lodge was more atypical of local gender norms than men working as cooks and maids. Yet, in keeping with other lodges where managers had flexible gender ideologies, a higher percentage of women were employed at the ecolodge in the Costa than is typical of the cantón.

In the case of the Oriente lodge managers expressed a desire for more female participation in the ecolodge workforce. In this case the managers expressed inflexible gender ideologies yet men worked as cooks and cleaned guest rooms; jobs that women would normally complete in the home. Once again, gendered norms in formal workforce participation took precedence over norms in the gendered norms of particular tasks.
Most managers said that it made no difference to them personally if a man or
women completed a particular job. If managers did not employ adaptation strategies, the
norms of the local division of labor would *not* influence hiring decisions at the ecolodge
and gender would not be associated with particular positions at the ecolodge. Job
assignment would follow a random pattern. Clearly this is not the case as evidenced by
managers’ and employees’ reporting of the gender of jobs. With few exceptions, jobs are
associated with a single gender. This shows that managers frequently bow to local
norms, or at least their perception of local norms.

However, managers do not perceive that their management strategies have
adapted to local gender norms because when asked whether they personally thought it
made a difference whether a man or woman completed a particular job a common
response was that it did not make a difference. One cannot reconcile the idea that gender
is an unimportant consideration in hiring when a gendered division of labor in clearly
evident in lodges. Managers with both flexible and inflexible gender ideologies adapted
their decisions about job assignment to local labor norms. The types of adaptation that
were necessary varied according to gender ideology. Further consideration and
description of patterns in adaptation strategies according to gender ideologies are
discussed in section 5.7.
5.6.2 Scheduling and reproductive labor

In the literature on coping strategies, balancing productive and reproductive labor is usually described purely as the concern of employees, not employers (see Argent 1999, Chang and Ling 2000, Chase 2001, Laurie 1997, Moss 1997, Preston et al. 2000). The reason for this is likely because the surplus pool of labor in poor countries is large. If the employee cannot meet the scheduling demands of the job, the employer can simply find a replacement. In the cases I studied, however, this was rarely the case. Managers often responded positively to reasonable employee demands for schedule changes due to responsibilities outside of their paid jobs. The small intimate scale of ecolodges may be responsible for managers’ willingness to accommodate employees. Several managers also indicated that employees rarely requested time off. This section provides examples of how managers react when an employee asks for time off and whether employees feel comfortable asking for time off. Finally, I address cases where reproductive work blends with productive work.

Employees at each lodge said that they were able to get days off if they asked in advance or if they were sick. Common reasons to ask for a day off were for community work days (minga), for community meetings or, if children had a vacation day from school. At Sierra 1 the owners commented that employees do not normally want to take time off because they want to work as much as possible to make as much money as they can. In some cases the managers would allow another person from the community to work in place of the employee if time off was needed.
In some cases employees requested the opportunity to work more hours to earn more money. If the request could be accommodated most employers happily complied. Allowing people to complete more work is not always possible, however, especially since tourism profits fluctuate a great deal. Employees at a few lodges reported that they were not paid on time or did not receive a promised bonus because there were not enough visitors.

Managers also responded to employee complaints about difficulties with the working hours at an ecolodge. In each lodge at least one person needs to be available to visitors at all times in case of an emergency. At Sierra 1 women had a particularly difficult time adjusting to the demanding evening schedule. Jobs for women at Sierra 1 demand longer hours than those for men because women are responsible for cooking and clearing dishes. Work for men, mostly gardening and building maintenance, in large part must be completed during the day. Women did not want to work at night so the owners developed a rotating schedule so the burden of working in the evening would be shared among all women workers. Cloud Forest 1 and Sierra 3 both had men that worked as night guards. This job is demanding because it reduces daytime hours that can be spent with families and the work at night is solitary. Once again, a rotating schedule was introduced to share the burden among all male workers.

In every lodge, with the exception of Cloud Forest 3, managers said that children of employees were allowed to visit the lodge. For example, at Sierra 3 babies of nursing mothers were brought to the lodge for feeding. The owner of the lodge did not want the children to stay all day for fear of accidents in the kitchen. However, with the exception of Sierra 2, children did not routinely stay with parents while working. While not stated
explicitly it appeared that other arrangements needed to be made if the child needed to be attended to for a full day.

In most cases, managers treated employees’ needs with understanding. In small lodges, relationships between employers and employees is personal. Employees said that managers really seemed to care about employees’ families and worked to improve wages or allow for schedule changes. The care was reciprocated in at least one lodge. The owner of Sierra 3 said that when the lodge was going through a long period with few visitors the employees offered to work for reduced wages until the difficult period was over. Several managers expressed that they were friends with their employees.

5.7 Trends in management adaptation strategies

Given the desires and expectations of locals, the next step in this analysis is to gain a better understanding of how managers respond to local conditions given their gender ideologies, described in Chapter 4. The interaction of managers’ ideologies and local labor norms leads to unique dynamics at each lodge. When managers’ gender ideologies do not match with employees’ expectations of the gender of the labor force at the ecolodge, adaptation strategies play a role.

Questions that revealed managers’ gender ideologies (i.e. Do you personally think it makes a difference if a man or a woman does a particular job?) are also useful in determining management adaptation styles. Managers’ responses indicate their flexibility in accommodating schedules, provision of training, and recognizing or resisting local gender roles.
5.7.1 Adaptation Styles

I identify four different adaptation styles that emerged from interview data: 1) *hands tied*, 2) *proactive*, 3) *functional*, and 4) *maintenance* of gender roles. The first group, *hands tied*, describes managers that expressed that they would have liked to alter gender roles at ecolodges, but that it was not possible given local norms. This adaptation style is closely associated with an inflexible gender ideology. The *proactive* adaptation style describes individuals that actively work to change gendered labor norms. In most cases this style is associated with flexible gender ideologies and a feeling of power by managers. But, these were also the people that most often expressed frustration that their power was limited by local norms. *Functional* adaptation styles are quite varied in practice. *Functional* managers are most concerned with the smooth operation of the ecolodge and do not express a specific agenda in regards to the gender of labor. Job assignment is based on particular skills that employees have. *Functional* managers often acknowledge that skills may be associated with a particular gender but will train whatever person is most willing or capable to take on a particular task. This adaptation style is associated with both inflexible and flexible gender ideologies. Finally, managers that actively work to *maintain* local gendered labor norms are associated with flexible gender ideologies. These managers fear that labor norms are changing in an undesirable way and work to prevent too much change.
Figure 5.2: Gender ideologies relationship to adaptation styles

### 5.7.2 Adaptation style cases

All manager interviews were analyzed, but the focus of this section is on the managers of lodges that I was able to visit during my fieldwork. Table 5.22 displays the percent of female employment at each lodge as compared to cantón data. The final column describes the gender ideology and adaptation style of the manager or managers that have the most decision making power over hiring, job assignment, and scheduling at each lodge. Interview data was utilized to determine adaptation styles and how these adaptation styles may have influenced female labor force participation rates. Lodges with managers with flexible gender ideologies and proactive management styles were most likely to have female employment rates in the lodge that are higher than female employment rates for the cantón.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Lodge workforce % female minus--</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lodge workforce percent female</td>
<td>Canton workforce percent female</td>
<td>Canton workforce percent female</td>
<td>Canton service sector percent female</td>
<td>Canton primary sector percent female</td>
<td>Manager gender ideology/adaptation style</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Oriente</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>-7.6</td>
<td>-32.0</td>
<td>-7.6</td>
<td>inflexible/hands tied</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Costa</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>flexible/proactive &amp; flexible/functional</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Cloud Forest 1</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>-8.8</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>inflexible/hands tied</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Cloud Forest 2</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>-5.9</td>
<td>-18.3</td>
<td>-5.9</td>
<td>flexible/uncertain</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Cloud Forest 3</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>-23.4</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>flexible/proactive</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sierra 1</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>32.8</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>-5.0</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>flexible/proactive</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sierra 2</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>-5.1</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>flexible/uncertain &amp; inflexible functional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sierra 3</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>36.5</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>-12.9</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>flexible/functional</td>
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Table 5.22: Gender ideologies, adaptation styles, as compared to female employment at lodges and in cantones

In the Oriente lodge female employment at lodge is lower than female employment for the cantón. Two managers of the Oriente lodge were interviewed. One coordinated more of the logistics from Quito and the other worked more with on-site logistics. Each expressed that they wished that more women worked at the lodge and gave similar reasons for why female employment was low. Local norms, the distance of the lodge from the nearest community, and language barriers made it difficult to increase female employment. Women in indigenous communities of the Oriente were less likely to speak Spanish than men. For example, men in the community have said that they think women might flirt with tourists if they work at the lodge. Also, women are usually most responsible for maintaining home gardens and caring for children. Workers at the lodge
live on-site for three months at a time. It would be very difficult for women to be away from their home and family obligations for that period of time. This is a clear case where the managers think that gender roles are inflexible and that as much as they might want to see a change, their hands are tied due to local social structures.

The case of the Costa lodge is quite different from the Oriente. For the Costa lodge the most influential managers were the on-site manager that handled day-to-day decisions and the original owner who lives in Quito that set the standard for employee expectations. The on-site manager has a flexible gender ideology and a functional adaptation style. When the on-site manager was asked if the distribution of jobs for men and women has changed over time he said that only women used to work in the kitchen. Over time, as the lodge became more established men began to seek more jobs in hospitality, even as kitchen workers. When I visited the lodge the head cook was a man. The original owner was more proactive in his adaptation style. The lodge’s cantón has the lowest female workforce participation of any other lodge. However, the lodge has among the highest female employment rates of all the lodges I studied. This appears to be in large part due to the owner’s early efforts to recruit female employees. He said that he was the first in the area to pay women wages equal to men. The owner acknowledges that local norms might slow the rate of change, but that change is happening. Given that gender norms in the community have changed so that men feel comfortable working in hospitality jobs, it becomes even more important that managers remain proactive in recruiting female workers.

At Cloud Forest 1 the on-site manager expressed a hands tied adaptation style. In general he did not say that he personally wanted to change the gender of jobs at the lodge,
but expressed that tourists will occasionally ask why none of the guides were women. The on-site manager explained that few women are guides because married women do not like to leave their husbands for long periods of time and that single women are shy. The gendered distribution of jobs has changed over time, but the changes occurred due to learning what needs to be done at the lodge and which people could do the job best. When the lodge first opened tasks were not associated with a particular gender, but that now employees are more specialized. In this aspect the on-site manager expressed a functional adaptation style.

Cloud Forest 2 did not have a strong central manager or hierarchy in employees. The relationship between the manager and other employees was much more informal so it was difficult to identify a management style. The manager was as likely to act as a guide, harvest the garden, or work in the kitchen as to assign schedules or work to other employees. The lodge organization had a strong community component. Decisions would be decided by a majority vote at meetings among community members. It is difficult to speculate on why the percent of female employees was lower at this lodge than in the rest of the cantón and in a neighboring cloud forest lodge. This lodge had a strong conservation research component (in other lodges research stations are operated in a facility separate from the ecotourism lodge) and hiring was strongly based on the presence of a specific skill set, like knowledge of afforestation.

The manager at Cloud Forest 3 was clearly proactive in efforts to change gendered expectations for appropriate work in the lodge. The manager encouraged women to work at the lodge to teach them that they can take on roles beyond that of wife and mother. The manager was also very proactive in assigning men cooking and
cleaning jobs. Her efforts were not always well received by employees. Some male employees were resistant to learning new tasks in the kitchen and required constant supervision and direction. The manager expressed that she had a problem with rapid labor turnover. One possible reason for the high turnover for female employees is because while the manager was aware of women’s heavy workload in the home, she did not offer much flexibility to help women balance productive and reproductive responsibilities. The manager said that workers must have flexible availability depending on the number of guests and that employees’ children are not welcome to come to the lodge. Since the manager is proactive in hiring women it is surprising that the ratio of female employees is lower than the cantón average. However, the Could Forest 3 lodge also provided training for Oriente lodge workers. Therefore, labor norms of the Oriente skewed the data for this lodge.

The owners of Sierra 1 were a couple with closely aligned gender ideologies and adaptation styles. Both owners showed a flexible ideology and a proactive adaptation style. This case strongly reinforces the idea that managers struggle with making decisions to suit their own needs, the needs of the employees, and the local community. The owners recognized that the job opportunities at the lodge could change expectations of gender roles and empower women in the local community. In some cases they encouraged women to take on new tasks, like guiding tours. Community members doubted that women could take on a difficult task, especially if they had to care for babies. Female employees proved that they could guide while carrying children. However, the lodge owners were reticent to push for large changes in local gendered norms. They recognized that both female employees and other community members
would not like women to camp alone with tourists overnight. Proactive hiring of women is evident in that Sierra 1 was the only lodge that hired more female than male workers and hired women at an appreciably higher rate than the average for the cantón.

In the case of Sierra 2 the owners are a married couple that make joint management decisions. The owners have differing gender ideologies so it was more difficult to determine a consistent adaptation style in this location. The male owner has a more inflexible ideology as expressed when he said that women are better suited for some jobs because they are more detail oriented. But, his wife mentioned that male employees often complete jobs that are very different from what they would normally do in their homes. Additionally, the staff consisted of only four employees so gendered ratio of labor is easily skewed. In general a functional adaptation style seems to prevail. The male owner said that employees are hired according to their skills. Jobs are strongly associated with a particular gender. The functional adaptation style extends to hiring patterns and allowing for a blending of productive and reproductive worlds. The lodge has a family atmosphere and several of the employees are married to each other or to employees in a farm associated with the lodge. In fact, the young daughter of one employee spends days with her father while he works at the lodge.

The manager of Sierra 3 has a flexible gender ideology and a functional adaptation style. It is difficult to speculate on how gender ideology has affected the gendered hiring of employees because I was not allowed the opportunity to interview employees. The manager seems well attuned to local conditions because the gendered employment ratio closely mirrors the cantón average. The functional adaptation style was revealed through conversations about how the gender of jobs has changed at the
lodge over time. For example, at first the manager’s expectation was that women would light fires in guest rooms because women are usually in charge of fires in their own homes. However, over time, men were assigned fire lighting duties because female employees argued that men had less to do at the time the fires are lighted at the lodge. The lodge manager was not promoting a specific agenda in regard to changing gender roles at the lodge, but she changed job duties in order to allow for smoother daily operations.

For lodges with several managers I found that different managers have different gender ideologies. In lodges where different managers had different gender ideologies and adaptation styles I did not observe an increase in conflict. This may be because hiring decisions are usually made by only one manager or different managers are responsible for hiring different people.

5.8 Conclusion

As stated in the introduction to this chapter, I focused on describing adaptation strategies of managers, but it is difficult to say where employees’ adaptation strategies end and management adaptation strategies begin. Adaptation strategies of managers and employees are very much interconnected. For example, if an employee asks for a day off to attend a community meeting and the manager okays the request, it is an example of an employee employing a adaptation strategy to adjust to lodge procedure and an example of a manger employing a adaptation strategy to adjust to local norms?

Similar practices were employed to address employee needs for schedule changes but the frequency of accommodations varied according to managers’ adaptation
strategies. The gender of jobs was more clearly linked to managers’ adaptation strategies than scheduling variation. Figure 5.3 displays the frequency of different ideologies and management strategies in my sample. This analysis points to a way to understand the diversity of relationships of practice in ecolodges in Ecuador.

![Managers' Gender Ideology/Managers' Management Style: All Lodges](image)

Figure 5.3: Managers’ gender ideologies and managers’ adaptation styles for all lodges

Similar adaptation strategies are employed by all managers. Nearly every manager understands the multiple tasks that must be completed by their employees outside of paid labor and occasionally allows for scheduling changes. Nearly every manager took into account employees’ desires and skill sets in assigning jobs. Managers
generally recognize that different employees have different needs, but do not necessarily recognize their needs as gendered. The significance of gender goes beyond sex difference in that gender roles change over the course of one’s lifetime, especially for women. Evidence that emerged from interview data clearly showed that mothers need more accommodations to be able to work at ecolodges. Even though accommodations were similar for all lodges, regional differences in local gender relationships emerged, especially for the Oriente lodge. Stronger cultural norms that limit women’s interaction with outsiders and longer distances between the lodge and home of employees means that it is more difficult for women’s employment to be accommodated by managers. However, if managers had greater awareness of the intersectionality of gendered identities (Valentine 2007) managers could do a better job of identifying constraints on locals’ ability to take on and maintain positions of greater power and prestige in the ecotourism operation. If managers were more aware of gendered constraints they could do a better job of communicating with employees and encouraging local involvement in the development of ecotourism. The next chapter focuses on how the lack of a nuanced understanding of gender roles and the diversity of relationships between managers and employees in ecolodges in Ecuador influence ecotourists’ perceptions of gender in ecolodges.
CHAPTER 6

GUEST PERCEPTIONS OF GENDERED LABOR

6.1 Introduction

Ecotourism guests’ experiences with local gender norms are manipulated through a variety of means: self management, local employees’ management, managers’ management and so on. In essence, the impressions of local gender relationships that ecotourism guests take home is the result of the management of intercultural contact and affirms that the ecotourism experience is inherently the result of global power relationships of the cultural economy.

In this chapter I address how tourists perceive people that live near and work for ecolodges in Ecuador and what factors affect interactions between locals and tourists. Both tourist responses to paper and pencil surveys and interview data with managers are used to learn how tourist experiences are managed. Data from managers’ interviews contribute to understanding of the tourist experience managers must maintain productive working relationships with employees, as in any other business, but, if they are to be successful, also provide a satisfying environmental, social, economic, cultural, and entertaining experience for guests at the same time.
The chapter begins with a brief description of the tourist survey and its distribution methods. The next sections focus on information gleaned from the surveys, including demographic information, and tourist responses to questions about their observations of gender at the lodge. Finally, I describe how managers influence the tourist experience based on managers’ perceptions of tourist priorities and through the lens of their gender ideology and adaptation style.

6.2 Survey Instrument

Most of the data for this chapter is drawn from forty-nine surveys that were distributed to guests at lodges (forty six surveys) and on tours (three surveys). The small number of surveys returned from each lodge does not allow for a statistical comparison of responses. The greatest number of surveys returned from one lodge was fourteen and for one lodge only one survey was returned. Surveys were placed in a public area of participating lodges. Participation was voluntary and respondents were self-selected. Two lodges were located in the Sierra, two in the Cloud Forest, one in the Oriente, and one in the Costa. The travel agency distributed the survey to tourists traveling all around Ecuador.

The surveys included questions about general information about the lodge or tour to encourage managers to distribute the survey to guests and to provide an understanding of the nature of visits and tourists’ travel experience. The next section of the survey queried tourists’ observations of gender at lodges. The final section of the survey collected demographic data (See Appendix D to view the survey instrument).
6.2.1 Respondent demographics

Demographic information about tourists lends some insight about predetermined perceptions of local gender relationships. Age, gender, education, country of origin, and travel experience contribute to tourists’ exposure, knowledge, and predisposition about gender in Ecuador. Demographic information is not a determinate measure of tourists’ gender ideologies, but it can provide an indication of common tourist characteristics and for whom the lodge experience is geared.

In general ecolodge tourists are well educated and well traveled. Almost half of all respondents have completed a graduate degree and almost all take at least one international trip per year (Figures 6.1 and 6.2). From this information one can surmise that ecolodge guests in Ecuador have been exposed to a variety of cultures different from their own through travel and educational experiences.
33. What is the highest level of education that you have reached?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education Level</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Some high school</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School degree</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some college</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College degree</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some grad school</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grad school degree</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Answer</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6.1: Tourist education
3. How many international trips do you take in a typical year?

![Bar chart showing the distribution of international trips per year.](image)

Figure 6.2: Tourist trips per year

Other characteristics that may affect tourists’ perceptions of local gender relationships are their own gender, age, and country of origin. Sixty-five percent of respondents were female (Figure 6.3). From personal observation I suspect that this may be skewed due to the subject matter of the survey. Most lodges have a fairly even balance of male and female guests. Ecolodge guests are also fairly young (Figure 6.4). The mode age was between twenty-five and thirty-four. Many lodges are fairly difficult to access and good physical health is necessary. The rugged landscapes and lack of sophisticated health services may deter senior guests from venturing to some of the more remote lodges. However, few respondents were between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four. The cost of international travel may deter people that are less established in their
careers from visiting as well. Finally, most respondents were from Western Europe or the United States (Figure 6.5).

Figure 6.3: Tourist gender
Figure 6.4: Tourist age
Question 30. What is your home country?

No Answer: 1
Mexico: 1
Australia: 1
Germany: 2
The Netherlands: 3
France: 3
Ecuador: 5
Canada: 5
The United Kingdom: 9
The United States: 19

Figure 6.5: Tourist country of origin

6.2.2 How tourists learn about gender relationships in destinations

Demographic information points to likely preconceptions that tourists have about gender relationships in local communities near ecotourism sites. Another source that may contribute to preconceptions of local gender relationships are promotional materials and narratives encountered when planning for travel to Ecuador. The first question asked in the survey was, “How did you first learn about this tour/lodge?” (See Figure 6.6). Recommendations from friends and family was the most common means of learning
about their destination, followed closely by travel agents in their home country and internet sources. Eleven tourists indicated a variety of other sources such as contacts through work, and guidebooks. Initial sources of information give a glimpse of the type of experience that a tourist can expect to have on a given tour or at a given lodge or if the tourist has prior knowledge of gender norms near the lodge.

![Figure 6.6: How tourist learned of destination](image)

**1. How did you first learn about this tour?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Answer</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From friends or relatives</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel agent in home country</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printed brochure</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internet</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6.6: How tourist learned of destination

### 6.2.3 Tourist observations

Tourists’ observations of gendered labor at ecolodges were the main focus of the survey. Respondents were asked to report the gender of employees at their present
ecolodge (Figures 6.7, 6.8, 6.9 and 6.10). Common ecolodge jobs were listed in the survey and respondents also had an opportunity to write in examples of any other jobs that they noticed at each lodge. The instructions on the survey specifically stated that their answers were to be based strictly on their personal recollection of the gender of jobs at each ecolodge. Tourist reporting of the gender of jobs reveals what they notice about gender and what goes unnoticed at each lodge. In general tourist reporting of jobs done by men and women correlated closely with the comprehensive survey that I completed at each lodge during fieldwork. Very few respondents reported that jobs done by men were done by women or vice versa.
Questions 13-16. Indicate whether the tourism workers were male, female, both male and female, you do not know, or if this question is not applicable to your tour/lodge.

Figure 6.7: Tourist report of gender of tourism workers- On-site managers, room maintenance, restaurant servers, cooks
Questions 17-20  Indicate whether the tourism workers were male, female, both male and female, you do not know, or if this question is not applicable to your tour/lodge.

Figure 6.8: Tourist report of gender of workers- Drivers, desk clerks, souvenir merchants, tour guides
Questions 21-24. Are there any other jobs that we did not ask about?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Maintenance/construction</th>
<th>Other guides</th>
<th>Gardeners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6.9: Tourist report of gender of workers- Maintenance/construction, other guides, gardeners
Questions 21-24. Are there any other jobs that we did not ask about?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Washing clothes</th>
<th>Cutting firewood</th>
<th>Booking agent in Quito</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6.10: Tourist report of gender of workers- Washing clothes, cutting firewood, booking agent

However, some jobs, such as cooks and those that cleaned rooms were less visible to tourists. Usually guest rooms are cleaned during the day while tourists are away from the lodge. In some cases cooks were very visible to tourists. At each of the Cloud Forest lodges the kitchen was integrated with the dining areas. In the Oriente and Costa the kitchens were partially visible to tourist spaces. For the lodges in the Sierra tourists would need to make a more concerted effort to look for kitchens if they had an interest. Cooks and room cleaners had the highest number of reports that they did not know whether a man or woman completed the job and the highest number of reports that
women completed these jobs. Jobs that are predominately associated with women are also the least visible.

6.2.4 Tourist assessment of gendered labor at ecolodges

The next set of questions on the tourist survey gauged ecolodge guests’ assessment of gender roles at the lodges. Tourists were asked to give their opinion as to whether jobs at the ecolodge matched well with other jobs in the surrounding community and whether the gender of jobs matched their personal expectations.

In some cases tourists did not interact with or even see people outside of the lodge. The Oriente lodge and a cloud forest lodge were not located near any local communities. If tourists did see not people from outside of the lodge they skipped questions that asked them to compare lodge jobs to other jobs in the community (Figure 6.11). When tourists compared jobs in the lodge to community jobs most indicated that jobs completed by men in the lodge seemed similar to jobs done by men in local communities, and jobs completed by women in the lodge seemed similar to jobs completed by women in communities. More tourists made a comparison of jobs for men than for women, in large part due to the lack of female employees at the Oriente lodge. In nearly every case, if a tourist noted that community and lodge jobs were different for men; difference was noted for women as well (Figures 6.12 and 6.13).
Question 25. Did you interact or see local people other than those employed by the tourism company/lodge?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>No Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Count</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6.11: Tourist interaction with locals

Question 26. Did men working for the travel company/lodge seem to be doing the same jobs as men in that region generally?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>No Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Count</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6.12: Tourist observation of men’s labor norms
Question 27. Did women working for the travel company seem to be doing the same types of jobs as women in that region generally?

![Bar chart showing responses to Question 27](chart)

Figure 6.13: Tourist observation of women’s labor norms

Questions that asked tourists to share whether the gender of jobs at ecolodges matched their expectations of the gender of jobs were much more revealing. The tourists were first asked whether they were surprised to see a man doing a job they expected a woman to do. If the tourists indicated that they were surprised, a follow-up question asked them to indicate which jobs in particular surprised them. The next questions asked for the same information in relation to jobs completed by women.

Eight respondents said that they saw women doing jobs that they expected that men would do. Unexpected jobs for women were all related to doing heavy labor like carrying luggage or working in agricultural fields. Fourteen respondents said they saw men doing jobs they expected women would do. Each of these was related to domestic chores like cooking, cleaning, and serving tables. Seven respondents indicated that they
had no expectations or were not aware of typical jobs done by men or women (Figures 6.14 and 6.15).

Figure 6.14: Tourist perception of mismatch with male labor norms

Figure 6.15: Tourist perception of mismatch with female labor norms
Tourist assessment of atypical jobs for men matched fairly closely to atypical jobs described by employees in their interviews. However, tourist assessments of atypical jobs for women were not the same as those described by local employees. Heavy labor, especially in agricultural fields is very common for most rural women in Ecuador.

In general when tourists noted that they were surprised by the gender of workers performing a job, their assessment was often accurate. However, silences in tourist reporting were more common. Thirty one tourists did not note that they were surprised by the gender of jobs. Results of tourist reporting of atypical jobs for men were particularly striking for the Oriente lodge. Employee reporting of jobs different from traditional roles was highest at the lodge in the Oriente, but tourist reports of surprise at gender of jobs was lowest for the Oriente lodge.

Six tourists expressed a reluctance to answer questions as to whether they were surprised to see men doing jobs they expected women to do and women doing jobs they expected men to do. In some cases tourists said that they were not aware of typical jobs for men and women in the area and others said that they had no expectations.

Compared to employee accounts, tourists underreported when lodge jobs did not match well with local gender roles. Silences in tourist reporting of local gender roles may indicate assumptions that gender roles of at lodges are representative of the larger culture or a lack of knowledge of typical gender roles for local areas. However, every task completed at the lodge will not be performed in front of tourists and jobs that do not match well with local gender roles may only be completed occasionally.
6.3 Management of the tourist experience

A better understanding of the tourists’ perceptions of locals helps one to better understand impressions tourists take with them from their experience, but what and who controls interactions with locals? Managers of ecolodges can control some aspects of tourists’ experiences with local communities. Managers can maximize or minimize interactions with local employees in many ways. They can plan, organize, and recommend tourist activities, and arrange tours. Managers decide who to hire and fire. Managers decide whether to hire local or non-local employees. Employee schedules can be arranged to minimize or maximize contact between tourists and employees. Even the design of lodges can be utilized to minimize or maximize links between tourist and employee spaces.

Yet, although managers have the ultimate power in making decisions about contact between locals and tourists, managers must make decisions that will be well received by tourists. Based on tourist survey responses, most tourists were very happy with their experience (Figure 6.16), would like to return to Ecuador for future vacations (Figure 6.17), and would recommend their tour operator or ecolodge to friends and family (Figure 6.18).
Question 8. In general, how satisfied were you with this tour/lodge?

Figure 6.16: Tourist satisfaction with experience
Figure 6.17: Tourist likelihood of return to Ecuador

Figure 6.18: Tourist likelihood to recommendation experience
Open-ended survey questions asked tourists to describe their favorite and least favorite aspects of their visit. Answers to these questions give clues about what tourists see as important to their experience. Thirty two respondents commented that some aspect of the natural environment was the most enjoyable part of their visit, fourteen commented that the accommodations were the most enjoyable aspect, and twelve commented that interacting with or viewing people was the most enjoyable part of their visit. Ten respondents said that some aspect of the natural environment was the least enjoyable part of their visit least enjoyable aspects of their visit, twenty one commented that the accommodations were the most enjoyable aspect, and one tourist commented that interacting with local people was the least enjoyable part of their visit.

Five respondents, ten percent of my sample, expressed a desire to know more about local cultures near the ecolodge. Four of those five had visited the lodge in the Oriente. When the gender of lodge workers is obviously skewed, as in the case of the Oriente lodge, tourists were more likely to express that something was missing from the cultural experience.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicators of tourists’ interest in ecotourism experience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Natural environment</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Accommodations/Infrastructure</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>People</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.1: Indicators of tourists’ interest in ecotourism experience
In most cases tourists did not mention that experiences with local culture had a negative impact on their experience and, overall, the gender of labor at ecolodges was not a priority concern for tourists. Tourists’ rating of their satisfaction with their visit is not connected to management gender ideologies or management styles. Therefore, it is not surprising that managers do not make connections between the gender of labor at lodges and the tourist experience. Only a few managers responded affirmatively when asked if they thought it makes a difference to tourists whether a man or a woman does a particular job. However, tourist needs and wants cannot be met unless the lodge operates effectively. Tourists might not know whether all of their desires for an authentic cultural experience are met.

Somewhat unexpectedly, managers’ gender ideologies and management styles did not seem to influence tourists’ responses about the gender of labor at ecotourism lodges. Guests at lodges with proactive managers did not express a greater awareness of local gendered labor traditions or have greater accuracy in reporting the gender of jobs at the lodge. Several tourists at lodges with proactive managers expressed that they were not aware of traditional gender roles or expressed that they would not expect particular jobs to be associated with men or women.

Management strategies in regard to managing gendered labor did not seem to extend to management of the tourist experience. When managers practiced proactive management strategies in trying to improve women’s status, managers did not link the strategy to the tourist experience. Some tourists might like to know whether the presence of tourism is empowering female employees. A similar pattern emerged when managers worked, or felt compelled, to maintain traditional local gender roles in lodges. Such
managers could argue that the presence of ecotourism does not interrupt local cultural traditions, that ecotourism respects local traditions.

6.4 Conclusion

Tourists’ lack of interest in understanding of local gender roles does not mean that local gender roles are unimportant to the tourist experience. Whether managers intend for tourist experiences at ecolodges to have a strong gendered component or not, tourists take notice of the gender of jobs at ecolodges. Tourists’ observations of whether men or women were completing particular jobs were almost always correct. Tourists take their personal observations with them as a part of the tourism experience. Therefore the visibility of certain jobs will affect tourist perceptions of the roles of men and women at ecolodges. Even in cases when the gendered balance of employment was nearly equal, tourists interacted and saw men more frequently.

In ecotourism, managers bear a responsibility to improve the tourist experience. In most cases tourists assumed that the gendered pattern of labor in place at ecolodges was representative of local patterns. Only in the case of the Oriente lodge, where almost all workers were male, did tourists suspect that lodge employment did not accurately reflect local gender roles. Learning about local gender roles and traditions directly relates to one of ecotourism’s main goals; to build cultural awareness and respect. In most ecolodges that I visited, little emphasis was given to cultural understanding and interaction with local culture. Several managers, especially those that worked in the Oriente, expressed that they wished to promote female empowerment through tourism
employment, but that they also wished to respect local gendered cultural norms that
discourage female work outside of the community.

Based on survey data managers do not need to pay attention to representations of
gender at ecolodges to please tourists. Tourist that responded to the survey did not note
that they were bothered by inauthenticity in gender roles at ecolodges, at least not enough
to discourage tourists from potential future visits or from recommendation of the lodge to
others. Tourists’ lack of understanding of local gender roles has little to no economic
impact on lodges. Many tourists have faith that their interactions with local people will
be an authentic representation of local cultural traditions. Managers should pay attention
to gender of labor if they are concerned with providing an authentic experience for
tourists and to stay true to non-economic goals of ecotourism, and to make tourists feel
that their presence has a positive impact on local communities.
CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study was to learn how gender roles are constructed in ecolodges in Ecuador. I focused on recruiting of local employees, job assignment, and scheduling to demonstrate how gender is constructed and found that employees’ gender identities, managers’ gender ideologies, and, to a lesser extent, tourists’ expectations influence gender roles in ecolodges.

Existing literature about the benefits of ecotourism operations in developing countries for local populations provides several different and at times contradictory narratives. Based on one common narrative one would expect that ecolodges inevitably promote exploitation and domination of people in poor rural communities by exogenous elites because local norms are either disregarded or selectively amplified for the benefit of the exogenous elites (e.g. see Marshall 2001, Schevyns 1999, Mowforth and Munt 2003, Campbell 1999, Gentry 2007). The other narrative is more positive, that ecotourism brings opportunities to poor rural communities that at best would only be possible otherwise through activities that degrade the natural environment (e.g. Archabald and Treves-Naughton 2001, Björk 2000, Boo 2000, D’Amore1993, Garrett 2004/5). Researchers that promote either, or a hybrid (e.g. Belsky 1999, Epler Wood
of these two narratives usually suggest that the best way to enhance benefits of ecotourism to local communities is to encourage greater community participation or community run ecotourism enterprises. I argue that this recommendation is not sufficient to enhance benefits for all people in a community or to improve understanding between local communities and other exogenous stakeholders that are a necessary part of every tourism operation.

Examples of benefits to poor local communities and exploitation of poor workers can be observed in my case studies. But, this broad assessment (1) fails to acknowledge variation in ecotourism managers’ approaches towards interactions with local employees and (2) obscures ways that locals subtly influence everyday practice in ecolodges through negotiations with managers. Therefore, the construction of gender in ecolodges needs to be addressed for the following reasons: to demonstrate that diversity in construction of gender exists in ecotourism developments, to see whether it is possible for ecotourism to be largely positive and empowering for poor rural communities, and to develop practical recommendations for ecotourism managers to inform their management strategies.

7.2 Research approach

can be different based on gender and that these differential experiences matter (Rocheleau et al. 1996) especially as related to gendered knowledge of the natural environment (following Nightengale 2006, Walker and Peters 2001, Zimmerer 2000, Loftus 2007, Davidson and Stratford 2007). Finally, I use feminist conceptualizations of power relationships that influence decision-making in the global cultural economy.

Currently, work on the global cultural economy focuses on industries, like clothing design, film, dance, tourism, et cetera, that explicitly aim to draw on and/or create global culture (Aoyama 2007, Larner et al. 2007, Gibson and Connell 2003, Watson 2008). A feminist conceptualization of the global cultural economy studies more than the overt production of culture by exploring how everyday social interactions lead to the creation of culture within the workplace (Ettlinger 2003, Gibson-Graham 1996, Marchand and Runyan 2000, and Massey 2002, McDowell 1997).

Concepts from the three bodies of literature are applied in my research by finding causes of extant gender roles in ecotourism rather than only describing problems (i.e. effects) with extant gender roles. I argue that understanding mechanisms that guide managers’ decision making is necessary to offer meaningful recommendations for improving ecotourism. Learning what managers think they can and cannot influence and how local employees influence decision-making as related to gender roles in ecolodges demonstrates some of the mechanisms that guide ecotourism development in actual practice. Information about variation in specific strategies that guide managers’ decision-making about gender roles in ecolodges can only be learned through micro-level and multi-site analyses on the ground.
7.3 Summary of findings

Gender roles in ecolodges developed and continuously changed according to negotiations between managers and employees. To a certain extent managers were very knowledgeable of diverse responsibilities of employees based on their gender roles inside and outside of the ecolodge and demonstrated that, to a certain extent, accommodations were provided to employees that had to attend to obligations outside of the lodge that varied according to their gender. Managers understanding and flexibility in accommodating diverse needs of employees based on their gender is not acknowledged in current literature in ecotourism.

Second, diversity in perceptions of power among managers, expressed through their gender ideologies, which in turn led to diverse approaches to managing gender roles in ecolodges, is the norm. Managers’ perception of local gender norms as flexible or inflexible signaled whether managers felt that they had control over the construction of gender in ecolodges. If a manager feels that their decisions can influence local gender norms different strategies will be employed than if managers do not think that they can influence local gender norms. When managers had inflexible gender ideologies they usually expressed that gender norms of locals constrained the range of options available to them when making decisions. In general managers with flexible gender ideologies felt that their decisions could better or worsen gendered relationships between ecotourism employees and others in the local community and therefore felt more in control and felt a greater responsibility for their decisions. For both flexible and inflexible gender ideologies managers’ decisions were influenced by experiences with local employees.
In general, managers did not have a sophisticated understanding of gender and thus they were not able to critically evaluate whether their operation was successful or not in promoting empowerment for local women in particular. For example, some managers pointed to hiring females for positions of power or higher prestige as evidence that they do not discriminate against women and provided positive role models for local women. However, all women that held positions of power in ecolodges that I studied were not from the local population but rather from other areas of Ecuador, usually Quito, or from abroad. Local men held positions of power in three of the seven ecolodges that I studied. Following Massey (1995), I found that the gender roles in ecolodges reflected patterns of uneven development in Ecuador. While all managers expressed that bringing benefits to the local community was an important element of ecotourism and that those benefits should be distributed to both men and women, a lack of understanding of the intersectionality of identities --described by Gill Valentine (2007) as “the relationship between different social categories: gender, race, sexuality, and so forth”-- means that poor local women in particular are unlikely to be considered for or encouraged to take on positions of power or prestige in the ecotourism operation.

To understand the dynamics of relationships in the workplace one must recognize that managers’ perceptions of appropriate and possible gender roles in the ecotourism workplace are diverse and that the intersectionality of identity for all actors affiliated with ecotourism of fluctuates between spaces and over time. Through a study of everyday interactions between managers and employees, one is able to glimpse some of the varied ways that the intersecting identities of individuals are expressed and negotiated. Even though ideas of intersectionality were not explicitly articulated by managers, on a case by
case basis managers would make adjustments to accommodate employees in some fairly small ways. A more sophisticated conceptualization of intersectionality would help managers and locals to devise strategies that would lead to more significant benefits for all that are involved in ecotourism.

Finally, I found that overall tourists accurately identified whether men or women completed particular tasks and recognized that certain jobs were often associated with men or women. However, tourists did not question the division of labor in lodges and accepted that gender roles in the lodge were representative of the region. Overall, few tourists expressed that interactions with local people was a notable part of their ecotourism experience. Once again, managers’ lack of a nuanced understanding of gender meant that they did not recognize the value of or incorporate gendered knowledge of the natural environment into the ecotourism product.

7.4 Study implications

The findings of my study have implications for understanding decision-making power in the global cultural economy, for understanding how sophisticated conceptualizations of gender can be incorporated into practice in rural development strategies, and for demonstrating how recognition of gendered knowledge of the natural environment can improve both the tourist experience and local representation in ecotourism.

An understanding of mechanisms that influence decision-making as related to the construction of gender roles in the global industry of ecotourism aids in understanding sources of influence on those decisions. The understanding of decision-making
mechanisms can then be used to enhance positive interactions between poor locals and exogenous elites. In contrast to theorizations described by Castells (1996), Giddens (1991), and Harvey (1989) and applied in tourism research by Lumsdon and Swift (2001), Place (1998), and Wood (2000), the direction of influence in a global industry like tourism is not unidirectional from powerful players with influence at a global scale. In addition, local influence on the operation of tourism does not happen only through active resistance in contrast to theorizations described by Appadurai (1996) and Gibson-Graham (1996) and as applied in tourism research by Chang (1999) and Cleverdon and Kalisch (2000). Rather, negotiating gender roles in ecolodges is an iterative process with input from many stakeholders and influence on decision making in ecolodges is often unintentional and not recognized as influential even by those involved in the process.

More appropriate recommendations for enhancing local empowerment and gender equity can be enhanced by incorporating more sophisticated conceptualizations of gender (following McDowell and Sharp 1999, Valentine 2007, and Adib and Guerrier 2003) and through identification of strategic points of interaction between managers and employees (Ettlinger 2003) in ecolodges that influence the construction of gender. By identifying what managers feel they can control and cannot control in regard to the construction of gender roles in ecolodges better strategies may be identified to rectify enduring challenges in bringing benefits to and in empowering local men and women. Recommendations to enhance ecotourism benefits must be specific to address common decisions made by all managers (i.e. as related to recruitment, job assignment, and scheduling) but must also be flexible enough to accommodate diverse needs of different employees with diverse gender identities in diverse operations with diverse contexts.
Specific strategies that need to be employed to encourage empowerment of local populations will vary greatly because managers’ goals and gender ideologies vary and because local gender norms vary. More explicit attention and discourse about gender in the cultural economy of ecotourism needs to emerge in research and practice if more abstract goals of empowerment are to be reached. Unlike other work on the global cultural economy that focuses on the explicit production of culture for consumers I describe the everyday unintentional production of culture within the workplace.

Recognition of local gendered knowledge of the natural environment has implications for both the tourist experience and local involvement in development of the ecotourism product. Managers often speak about how locals must be trained for their jobs in the hospitality industry, but do not relate what could be learned by locals. Teaching seems to be unidirectional. For example, employees are taught how to cook food that foreign guests will eat, how to dispose of waste, how to diminish environmental degradation. The process of managers and tourist learning from locals is in some ways less structured and in other ways more structured than employee training. Learning about the locals is either very much ad hoc or else carefully planned information given by tour guides.

Gendered knowledge of the natural environment needs to be incorporated into the ecotourism product, even for populations that are not readily recognized as having a close or harmonious relationship with the natural environment for two reasons. Gendered knowledge of the natural environment enriches the tourist experience by contextualizing the natural sights that are the current focus of ecotourism are related to and as part of wider social environments. More importantly drawing on local gendered knowledge of
the natural environment provides a mechanism for locals to have a stronger connection to ecotourism development and for locals’ knowledge to be central to ecotourism, rather than incorporated only as peripheral support through hospitality infrastructure in a way that reifies neocolonialism.

7.5 Study limitations

In general my study would have benefitted from more in-depth information gleaned from interviews and surveys. Time constraints, due both to limited funding and a need to conduct short interviews that would not be too disruptive to the work day, limited the breadth and depth of data that could be collected.

Interviews with ecolodge employees lasted an average of fifteen minutes. More time would have allowed me to ask more questions and would have given the lodge employees more time to become comfortable answering questions.

I also would have liked to spend more time at each lodge. Ideally I would have liked to spend more time interacting with people in the community that were not directly employed by the ecotourism lodge. My research is very focused on relationships within the ecolodge. Spending more time in communities would have allowed me to learn more about gendered labor traditions in each community and would have helped me to learn more about local attitudes toward the ecolodges. I had hoped to learn how ecotourism affected or was affected by local gendered traditions for property rights. I would have been able to collect much more information related to property rights if I had interviewed surrounding landowners.
The tourist surveys would have greatly benefitted with greater depth. I wish I had been able to include many more questions. I purposefully designed the surveys to be brief because most people on vacation do not wish to spend a significant amount of time filling out surveys. The following are a list of questions that would have provided greater insights into tourist perceptions of local gender relationships by demonstrating what sort of knowledge of local culture tourists had before traveling to the ecolodge. I am interested to see whether topics that address gender relationships will emerge from tourist reporting of their knowledge.

- What have you have learned about the people of Ecuador during your trip?
- How much preparation & research did you do prior to your trip? Do you like to know a lot about a place before you visit or not? Why?
- What has surprised you the most about the people of Ecuador?
- How important was interaction with locals to your visit?
- Were you satisfied with your experiences with local people?
- What do you think the locals think about tourists in their communities?
- Did you ever feel uncomfortable with your interactions with locals?
- Did you engage in any activities other than those planned or arranged by the lodge?
- What part of your trip to Ecuador do you most want to share with friends and family back home?
- What about your time in Ecuador stands out most for you?
7.6 Future research directions

Investigations of gender and ecotourism could easily be conducted in the United States. Learning how gender in ecotourism is represented to potential travelers would demonstrate whether ecolodge workers and managers influence extends to promotion in the United States. Influence of local gender traditions in lodges can be subtle so one may wonder how far local influence will extend along a global network in tourism. In addition, conducting a study of gender roles in ecolodges in the United States would test the theory that local influence will be evident in all places.

Topics related to the geography of ecotourism in Ecuador have not yet been exhausted. A longitudinal study of particular lodges would provide greater insight into the iterative process of gender role negotiations in lodges. Further research that delves more deeply into relationships between lodges and communities would provide greater insight into the feminist political ecology of ecotourism especially as related to the utilization of gendered knowledge of the natural environment to increase locals’ contribution and connection to ecotourism development.

I would also like to explore further why managers’ seem reluctant to encourage local women to take on positions of power and prestige in ecolodges because this issue is applicable to many other types of rural development. Since close intense interactions between elite exogenous investors and poor local people take place in ecotourism, appropriate strategies to bring benefits to more people in poor communities may be easier to identify than in other types of economic development where knowledge of personal gendered roles and responsibilities are unknown to those that develop or use the end product. Therefore, it would be beneficial to explore whether some of the strategies
employed by ecotourism managers to accommodate employees differential gendered responsibilities could be applicable to other types of development (e.g. for manufacturing, agriculture, or silviculture).

7.7 Conclusion

This study demonstrates that explorations of global power relationships are applicable many different types of organizations. For this study the businesses were all fairly small. The largest establishment had fewer than thirty employees. To study mechanisms of the global economy one is not required to study large transnational corporations. If these are the only types of businesses studied, many other experiences with the global economy will be excluded. Studying smaller enterprises that are closely connected to global networks allows one to more easily observe how global power relationships are played out on the ground.

This study also explores critical relationships in a rural development strategy. Unlike many other studies of ecotourism I do not provide a list of problems with ecotourism, in part because problems with ecotourism have been well documented elsewhere. Rather, I concentrate on learning about what guides decisions made by managers, especially as related to day-to-day interactions with employees, to learn how to best address the desire, expressed by many managers, to respect local cultural norms while bringing economic and other intangible benefits to the community as a whole. By viewing interactions between managers and employees as diverse and personal, one is able to point to real solutions to neocolonial problems instead of simply characterizing all
rural development strategies as falling into one of the two stereotypes; exploitation or patronization.
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APPENDIX A

ECOTOURISM ON-SITE EMPLOYEE QUESTIONNAIRE
Nombre: __________________________ Destino: _________________________ Fecha: _________

1. Cual es su trabajo en turismo?

2. Ha tenido otros trabajos en turismo?

3. Por cuantos años he trabajado en turismo?

4. Por favor, describame su horario de trabajo de una semana típica.

5. Hay variaciones en su horario durante un año?

6. Tiene usted contacto directo con turistas?

7. Había hecho alguna vez un trabajo en turismo que usualmente no hace en su comunidad? Que trabajo?

8. Hay algun trabajo en turismo que los hombres hacen, pero usualmente no hacen en el hogar, o en la comunidad?

9. Hay algun trabajo en turismo que las mujeres hacen, pero usualmente no hacen en el hogar, o en la comunidad?

10. A cuanto tiempo esta su casa de este trabajo?

11. Como viene usted a su trabajo? A pie, en carro, en bus…?

12. Tiene usted obligaciones en su trabajo que afectan sus obligaciones en el hogar o en la comunidad?

   - Ha afectado el cuidado de sus niños?

   - He afectado su habilidad a completer tareas del hogar?

   - He afectado con estres en su martimonoio o con otros miembros de su familia?

13. Tiene usted obligaciones en su hogar que afectan sus obligaciones en su trabajo?

14. Tiene usted un sueldo en este trabajo lo suficientemente adecuado para sobrevivir o no?

15. Preferiría un trabajo diferente? Cual?
16. El jefe de su trabajo a implementado cambios en algún aspecto (sueldo, horario, responsabilidades en su trabajo) para ayudarlo a usted o a otros trabajadores?

17. Existen áreas a la que usted no tiene acceso directo por el turismo? Cuáles? Describame los restricciones por favor.

18. Si podría cambiar dos aspectos de su trabajo, cuáles cambiaría?

19. Hay algo más que quiere ud. compartir conmigo?

20. Cuántos años tiene usted?

21. Cual es su nivel de educación?

22. Es casado, soltero, orto…?
   - A qué edad se casó

23. ¿Cuantas personas viven en su casa?

24. Tiene Usted hijos?
   - Cuántos? De qué edad?

23. Cual es su sueldo promedio en un mes?
   - Hay variaciones en su sueldo durante el año?

24. Cual es el promedio de ingresos económicos en su hogar?
   - Hay variaciones del ingreso mensual?

25. Hay otros miembros de su casa que trabajan en turismo?

26. Tiene usted otros recursos de ingreso fuera del turismo?

27. Gender_____ Male ____ Female
Name: ___________________ Destination: ___________________ Date: _____

1. Que es su trabajo en ecoturismo?  
How do you describe your job in ecotourism?

2. Por cuantos años he trabajado en este u otras compañias turisticas?  
How many years have you worked in this and any other ecotourism operation?

3. Para Ud., que es “Ecoturismo?”  
For you, what is ecotourism?

4. Que cree usted que es el aspecto mas importante para el exito del ecoturismo es un destino en particular?  
What do you think is the most important element in improving the success of ecotourism in a particular destination?

5. Usted a tenido alguna vez, experencia trabajando con un destino ecoturistico que no tenia exito? Por que no piensa usted que no tenia exito?  
Have you ever had an experience working with an ecotourism destination that was not a success? Why do you think the destination was not a success?

6. Como promueve este destino?  
How do you promote your business? Fliers, Internet, travel guides, window advertisements, telephone, and word of mouth?

7. Cunatos operadores o agencias turisticas trabajan con este destino?  
How many tourism operators and travel agents do you work with?

8. Cuantas turistas puedan venir a este destino cada dia?  
How many tourists can this destination accommodate per day?

9. Cuantas turistas viene a este destino en una semana promedia?  
How many tourists come to this destination in a typical week?

10. Ayudó Ud. con el establecimiento de este destino?  
Did you help to establish this ecotourism destination?

11. Cuando empiece a trabajar con el establecimiento este destino?  
When did you begin work to establish this destination?

12. Cuales fueron los preocupaciones principales de gente que vivian cerca de aqui durante el establecimiento del destino?  
What were the main concerns of that people that lived near this area while the destination was being established?
13. Han cambiado, estas preocupaciones al traves del tiempo? Como? Have these concerns changed over time?

14. [Para este destino/Para estos destinos] con cuales personas o grupos trabajaba mas para conseguir asceso de esta area turistica? For this destination, which people or groups of people did you work with most closely to gain access for tourism in the area?

15. [Era, esta persona/ Eran estas personas] el dueño de la tierra? [Was this person/Were these people] the landowner(s)?

16. Había la mayoria de la gente con que tenia negociaciones eran hombres, mujeres, or una mezcla uniforme de hombres y mujeres? Were the people that you worked with mostly men, mostly women, or an even mix of men and women?

17. [If necessary] Había una mujer con que tenía negociaciones? [If necessary] Were any women from the destination area involved in these negotiations?

18. Había gente, de otra manera que los que tenía negociaciones, que tenian derechos para usar la tierra? Did any people other than those involved in negotiations have access to the area designated for tourism?

19. Hay restriciones en como gente que viven cerca de aqui pueden usar la tierra porque de turismo? Are there any restrictions for how people that live close to here are able to use the land?

20. Hay algun conflicto porque de las restrictiones? Has this ever caused a conflict?

21. [If never worked to establish a new ecotourism destination] Cuales son algunos de los preocupaciones de genter que viven cerca de este destino? What are some of the main concerns that people living near ecotourism destinations have?

22. Ha tenido, alguna vez, dificultades en el mantanmineto de medidas de conservacion? Have you ever had any difficulty with maintaining conservation in tourist areas?

23. Pueda describir me de estes dificultades? Can you describe these difficulties?

24. En este region en general, no especifico a ecoturismo, cuales trabajos han hecho por hombres?
Thinking in general terms, not specific to ecotourism, can you give examples of jobs that are done mostly by men in this region?

25. En este region en general, no especifico a ecoturismo, cuales trabajos han hecho por mujeres?
Thinking in general terms, not specific to ecotourism, can you give examples of jobs that are done mostly by women in this region?

26. Para trabajos en ecoturismo, podría decieme si hombres, mujeres, o hombres y mujeres hacen los siguientes trabajos. Si hay variaciones regionales or etnicas, por favor digame.
Thinking about jobs in ecotourism, can you tell me whether mostly men, mostly by women, or by both men and women do the following jobs in this destination?
Liempieza de cuartos? Cleaning rooms?
Guias turisticas? Tour guides?
Administradores en el destino? On-site management?
Cocineros? Cooks?
Camareros? Servers in restaurants?
Chóferes? Drivers?
Recepcionistas? Desk clerks?
Los que venden recuerdos? Souvenir merchants?
Otros? Any others?

27. En este destino, hay algun trabajo en turismo que los hombres hacen, pero usualmente no hacen en el hogar, o en la comunidad?
In this ecotourism destination, do men ever do jobs that they would not normally do in their homes or in their community?

28. En este destino, hay algun trabajo en turismo que los mujeres hacen, pero usualmente no hacen en el hogar, o en la comunidad?
In this ecotourism destination, do women ever do jobs that they would not normally do in their homes or in their community?

29. Ha cambiado la distribucion de trabajos a mujers y hombres hasta que el establecimiento de este destino?
Has the distribution of jobs to men and women changed since initial hiring when this establishment was opened?

30. Cree usted que la distribucion de trabajos a hombres y mujeres en este destino es similar de la distribucion en la region, o el pais?
Do you think that the distribution of jobs to men and women at this destination is similar to the distribution regionally…nationally?

31. Para usted, cree que hace la diferencia de alguna manera que un hombre o una mujer haga un trabajo en particular?
Do you personally think it makes a difference whether men or women do particular jobs?

32. Cree usted que hace la diferencia de alguna manera que un hombre o una mujer haga un trabajo en particular para los trabajadores en los destinos? Do you think it ever makes a difference if a man or a woman does a particular job for the workers in this destination?

33. Cree usted que hace la diferencia de alguna manera que un hombre o una mujer haga un trabajo en particular para los turistas? Do you think it ever makes a difference if a man or a woman does a particular job for the tourists?

34. Is there anything else that you think is important for me to know for my research? Hay informacion adicional que usted quiere compartir conmigo que ayudaria con mis investigaciones?

35. Cual es el nivel mas alto de educacion que usted tiene? What is the highest level of education that you have reached?

36. Cuantos años tiene Usted? How old are you?

37. Es casado, soltero…? Are you married, single…?

38. Cuantos personas viven en su hogar? How many people live in your home?

39. Tienes hijos? Cuantos? De que edad? Do you have children? How many? What are their ages?

40. Cual es se sueldo promedio en un mes? What is your monthly individual income?

41. Are there variations in your wage during the year? Hay variaciones en su sueldo durante el año?

42. Cual es el promedio de ingresos economicos en su hogar? What is your monthly household income?

43. Hay variaciones del ingreso durante el año? Does your income vary depending on the tourist season?

44. Tiene usted otros trabajos fuera de turismo? Do you have any other jobs?

45. Gender M______________ F______________
APPENDIX C

MANAGERS IN QUITO QUESTIONNAIRE
1. What is your role in ecotourism?

2. How many years have you worked in this and any other tourism company?

3. For you, what is “ecotourism?”

4. What do you think is the most important element in improving the success of ecotourism in a particular destination?

5. What is the greatest challenge you face in tourism?

6. How do you choose ecotourism locations? What do you look for?

7. Are there any places in Ecuador that you think would not make good ecotourism destinations? Where? Why is that?

8. How is your company different from other ecotourism companies?

9. How is your company the same as other ecotourism companies?

10. Have you ever had an experience working with an ecotourism destination that was not a success? _____ Yes _____ No Where____________________________
   a. Why do you think the destination was not a success?

11. Do you know of any ecotourism projects that were not successful?

12. How do you promote your business?
   If necessary follow-up: Fliers, Internet, travel guides, window advertisements, telephone, and word of mouth?

13. In which regions in Ecuador do you have the most experience?

14. Which destinations have you worked with most closely?

15. Could you briefly describe the history of this tourism company?

16. Please describe the organization of your company…for example:
   a. Do you have direct control over the establishment of destinations?
   b. Do you have direct control over hiring decisions?
   c. Do you have direct control over conservation measures?
   d. Do you subcontract on-site management?
   e. Do your management decisions vary between destinations?
   f. Do your management decisions vary between regions?
g. Do your management decisions vary between ethnic groups?

17. Have you ever helped to establish a new ecotourism destination? Yes____ No_____
Which destinations have you helped to establish?…Where are they?

18. When did you begin work to establish this destination(s)?

19. What were the main concerns of people that lived near the tourism area while the
destination was being established?

20. Have these concerns changed over time? How?

21. For this destination, which people or groups of people did you work with most
closely to gain access to the land used for tourism?

22. [Was this person/Were these people] the landowner(s)?

23. Were the people that you worked with from the destination area mostly men, mostly
women, or an even mix of men and women?

24. [If necessary] Were any women from the destination area involved in these
negotiations?

25. Did any people other than those involved in negotiations have access to the area
designated for tourism? Who?

26. Does the presence of ecotourism restrict anyone’s access to any tourist areas?
Whose, How?

27. [If never worked to establish a new ecotourism destination] What are some of the
main concerns that people living near ecotourism destinations have?

28. Do some destinations have higher labor turnover rates than others? If so, which
ones?
-Why do you think this happens?

29. Are wages higher for some destinations than others? If so, for which ones?
-Why do you think this happens?

30. Are workers in some destinations more likely to organize labor than in other regions?
-Why do you think this happens?

31. Do relationships between men and women vary between regions or ethnic groups in Ecuador? How?

32. Now, thinking about jobs in ecotourism, can you tell me whether mostly men, mostly by women, or by both men and women do the following jobs? If there is regional or ethnic variation, please tell me.
   a. Cleaning rooms?
   b. Tour guides?
   c. On-site management?
   d. Cooks?
   e. Servers in restaurants?
   f. Drivers?
   g. Desk clerks?
   h. Souvenir merchants?
   i. Tour operators?
   j. Any others?

33. Do you think that the distribution of ecotourism jobs to men and women in Ecuador is the same as the distribution of ecotourism jobs in other countries? _____Yes _____No

34. Do you personally think it ever makes a difference whether a man or a woman does a particular job?

35. Do you think it ever makes a difference to tourism workers in the destination if a man or a woman does a particular job?

36. Do you think it ever makes a difference to tourists if a man or woman does a particular job?

37. Is there anything else that you think is important for me to know that would help me with my research?

38. Is there anyone else in your company that you think I should talk to?

39. What is the highest level of education that you have reached?

40. Does your income vary depending on the tourist season?

41. Do you have any other jobs?

42. Gender __________Male ______ Female
APPENDIX D

TOURIST SURVEY INSTRUMENT
If you are over the age of 18, please take a few minutes to complete this survey. Your participation is completely voluntary, but we would appreciate your response. Your answers will be kept completely confidential. The information on this survey will be used by the tour company to improve future tours and by a graduate student in geography at The Ohio State University for her research. If you have any questions or concerns please contact Oswaldo Muñoz at nmundo@interactive.net.ec or Julie Weinert at weinert.2@osu.edu.
1. How did you first learn about this tour? *(Please choose one)*
   - Internet
   - Printed brochure
   - Travel agent in your home country
   - From friends or relatives
   - Other: ______________________

2. Why did you decide to travel on this tour

3. How many international trips do you take in a typical year

4. Is Ecuador the only country that you are visiting or are you visiting other countries on this trip?
   - Ecuador only
   - Other countries and Ecuador

5. What is the main region that attracted you to Ecuador?
   - Sierra
   - Coast
   - Amazon
   - Galapagos
   - No region in particular
   - Other: ______________________

6. Do you think you will return to Ecuador for another visit?
   - Very likely
   - Somewhat likely
   - Neither likely nor unlikely
   - Somewhat unlikely
   - Very unlikely

7. Have you visited any other destinations in Ecuador?
   - Yes
   - No
   If yes, where?

8. In general, how satisfied were you with this tour?
   - Very satisfied
   - Somewhat satisfied
   - Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
   - Somewhat dissatisfied
   - Very dissatisfied
9. What did you enjoy the least about this tour?

10. What did you enjoy the most about this tour?

11. What could have been done to improve this tour?

12. Would you recommend this travel company to a friend or relative?
   - Yes
   - No

Please answer questions 13-24 based only on your memory. Think only of the tour that you are on right now. Indicate whether the tourism workers were male, female, both male and female, you do not know, or if this question is not applicable to your tour.

13. On-site managers:
   - Male
   - Female
   - Both
   - Don’t know
   - Not Applicable

14. Those that cleaned your room:
   - Male
   - Female
   - Both
   - Don’t know
   - Not Applicable

15. Servers in the restaurant:
   - Male
   - Female
   - Both
   - Don’t know
   - Not Applicable

16. Cooks:
   - Male
   - Female
   - Both
   - Don’t know
   - Not Applicable

17. Bus/taxi drivers:
   - Male
   - Female
   - Both
   - Don’t know
   - Not Applicable

18. Desk clerks:
   - Male
   - Female
   - Both
   - Don’t know
   - Not Applicable
19. Souvenir merchants:
   - Male
   - Female
   - Both
   - Don’t know
   - Not Applicable

20. Tour guides:
   - Male
   - Female
   - Both
   - Don’t know
   - Not Applicable

Are there any other jobs that we did not ask about?
21. Other:__________:
   - Male
   - Female
   - Both
   - Don’t know
   - Not Applicable

22. Other:__________:
   - Male
   - Female
   - Both
   - Don’t know
   - Not Applicable

23. Other:__________:
   - Male
   - Female
   - Both
   - Don’t know
   - Not Applicable

24. Other:__________:
   - Male
   - Female
   - Both
   - Don’t know
   - Not Applicable

25. Did you interact with or see local people other than those employed by the tourism company?
   - Yes
   - No
   *(If no, please skip to question 24)*

26. Did men working for the travel company seem to be doing the same types of jobs as men in that region generally?
   - Yes
   - No

27. Did women working for the travel company seem to be doing the same types of jobs as women in that region generally?
   - Yes
   - No
28. During your trip, did you see men doing jobs that you expected women to do?
   □ Yes  □ No
   If so, please describe the differences that you saw.

29. During your trip, did you see women doing jobs that you expected men to do?
   □ Yes  □ No
   If so, please describe the differences that you saw.

30. What is your home country?

31. Are you male or female?
   □ Male  □ Female

32. What is your age?
   □ 18-24  □ 25-34  □ 35-44  □ 45-54  □ 55-65  □ over 65

33. What is the highest level of education you have reached?
   □ Some high school
   □ High School degree
   □ Some college
   □ College degree
   □ Some graduate school
   □ Graduate school degree.

34. What is your profession?

35. Please use this space for any other comments about either the tour or the survey that you would like to share:

   Please put this survey in the envelope and return it to your tour guide. Thank you for your participation.