WOMEN IN TOURISM

CHALLENGES OF INCLUDING WOMEN IN THE MALDIVIAN RESORT SECTOR

Authors: Eva Alm & Susanna Johansson
Supervisor: Catia Gregoratti

Abstract

In the Maldives tourism dominates the economy directly and indirectly with 70% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) making the country's economy heavily dependent on this sector. This should (theoretically) also imply many job opportunities for the Maldivians; however only 3% of the tourism labour force is made up by Maldivian women as opposed to 51% which are Maldivian men. This low number of female workers confounded us so a qualitative study was undertaken in the Maldives during the second half of 2010 to find out reasons why. The purpose of this thesis was to explore the challenges for including Maldivian women in the resort sector, and it aims to show some initiatives taken by resorts to include women as either employees or entrepreneurs. Involved participants in the study were private sector, the government, UNDP Maldives, an NGO and Maldivian women from local communities. Based on our findings guided by theoretical approaches in the feminist political economy and cultural theory this thesis serves as an examination and analysis of the low female participation in the Resort industry. The findings showed that there is not only a sea between the resorts and the women on the local islands. Historical aspects, perceptions based on culture and religion, as well as woman's role in society were factors that have a large impact on the limited participation of Maldivian women in the resort sector.

Key Words: Women, Tourism, Culture, Gender, Inclusive Business, Maldives

"So close yet so far away"

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

ADB	Asian Development Bank
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GIM	Growing Inclusive Markets
IPE	International Political Economy
ITUC	International Trade Union Confederation
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MED	Ministry of Economic Development
MNCCI	Maldives National Chamber of Commerce and Industry
MoFA	Ministry of Fisheries and Agriculture
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
SME	Small and Medium sized Enterprises
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UN Women	United Nations Women
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organization
WBCSD	World Business Council for Sustainable Development
WDC	Women's Development Committee
WEP	Women's Empowerment Principles

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

> *Aisha is a 24 year old woman living on a local island in the Maldives. Although tourism is one of the largest industries in the country, Aisha herself has never stepped foot on a tourist resort island and she has no interest in doing so. The cultural and religious differences between the resorts and the Muslim local islands are too large she says, and she would never pursue that kind of work stating: "Working in a resort as a woman is perceived as bad, as going the wrong way, not a good place for women to be ".*

Aisha's[1] perception is not uncommon in the Maldives and despite the fact that Tourism is the largest industry in the country; very few Maldivian women are involved in employment or have any kind of relations with the resort sector. Concurrently very few tourists entering the Maldives will actually see and interact with the real culture and life of the Maldivians. The resorts and the local islands are two different worlds apart.

Separating the resorts and the local islands has been a part of the early Maldivian tourism strategy, with all-inclusive resort islands, catering to the high-end tourism market. This strategy has also been upheld as successful in terms of gaining economic development (Scheyvens, 2002: 236). Since the 1970's tourism has become the most important economic activity, and the Maldivian economy is today heavily dependent upon this sector. The tourism sector accounts directly for about 30% of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Ministry of Planning and National Development (2007a: 9). Furthermore, UNDP Maldives (2011a) estimates that tourism contributes both directly and indirectly with approximately 70% of the GDP. Tourism being the largest economic contributor has a large potential for creating employment opportunities, however the challenges of including women in this sector are many.

In the recent decade a larger emphasis has been placed on the role the private sector can play in development in societies in the global south. Not least in the Maldives, where the Ministry of Economic Development (MED), Maldives National Chamber of Commerce and Industry

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[1] Aisha and most other names in this thesis are pseudonyms.

(MNCCI) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Maldives, in 2010 placed a focus on corporations role in development in the Maldives through initiating the idea of a UN Global Compact local network to promote sustainable business practices in the country. The increased focus on corporation's role can be seen throughout the world through the concept of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) and the emergence of networks such as the UN Global Compact, World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD) and UNDP's Growing Inclusive Markets (GIM) initiative who all promote business as part of the solution to eradicating poverty and inequalities. For instance, the GIM initiative aim to show how the private sector can contribute to human development, by using inclusive business models to involve the poor as consumers, producers, business owners or employees (GIM, 2010). The preliminary findings of the Global Report on Women and Tourism (UNWTO & UN Women, 2010: i) further highlights that tourism entails great potential for including in particular women in economic activity both in the informal and formal sector. This leads us into the topic of this thesis; women in tourism in the Maldives. Therefore, before presenting the research problem and questions, a brief background on tourism and women in the Maldivian context will be presented.

Development of Tourism in the Maldives

The Maldives[2] is the smallest country in South East Asia comprising of 1192 small coral Islands, where about 198 Islands are populated and 99 are developed as exclusive tourist resorts[3] (Ministry of Tourism, 2011). Tourism first entered the Maldives in the 1970's with the first resorts established in 1972 (Sathiendrakumar & Tisdell, 1989: 258). Since then air travel and the growth of charters boosted the country to develop as a world known resort destination (Ibid: 259). The Maldivian tourism sector is based on a concept where each resort is isolated on its own island; also referred to as enclave tourism. This gives little

Box 1. Quick Facts

> **Republic of Maldives**
>
> **Population:** 324992 (Census 2009)
> **Capital:** Malé
> **Religion:** Islam
> **Language:** Dhivehi
> **President:** Mohamed Nasheed (since 2008)
> **Ruling Party:** Maldivian Democratic Party
> **Economy:** Dominated by Tourism & Fishing
> **Number of Islands**: 1192
> **Inhabited Islands:** 198
> **Resort Islands**: 99

Census 2009 Source: Department of National Planning (2010)

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[2] For more information about Maldives see Box 1 for Quick Facts, and see Appendix A for map of Maldives.
[3] Tourist resorts in the Maldives are all-inclusive establishments, where most of the tourist's daily needs can be catered for on that particular resort.

opportunity for interaction between resorts and local island communities. The employees of the resorts also live on the resorts in staff accommodation as the geographical spread and limited transportation prevents workers from going home after work.

The geography of the Maldives and the history of separations between resorts and island communities have had an impact of how the resort industry looks like today[4]. Sathiendrakumar & Tisdell (1989: 259) state that development of tourism in the Maldives is founded in the idea of isolating the tourists from the indigenous Maldivians. This was initiated because they wanted to protect traditional lifestyles and religion in the rest of the country (Scheyvens, 2002: 168). These separations can also be seen in the early tourism master plans by the Government that restricts resorts to certain zones and islands close to Malé (Government of Maldives n.d.). Still today there is very little interaction between the resorts and the local communities, preventing the full potential for economic development in the islands. This leads us into the next section on women's social and economic development in the Maldives.

Women's Social and Economic Development

The Maldives has reached two of the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDG); no 1, reducing the population living under the poverty line and no 2, offering universal primary education to the entire population. Despite this, poverty still exists in other dimensions such as gender inequity and income disparity between the capital Malé and the island communities (UNDP Maldives, 2011b). The MDG no 3, to promote gender equality and empowerment has not yet been reached in the Maldives, which indicates that there are still challenges in gender equality in the country. Unemployment is approximately 24% among women, compared to 8% for men (UNDP Maldives, 2010a: 12). Women's participation in the labour force drastically declined between the years 1978 to 1995, from 60% to 21%, however it has steadily increased since then (ADB, 2007: 1). Underlying reasons for the decline in female labour participation can be traced back to the shift in the economic landscape of the Maldives. Fishing used to be the main income generating activity where women participated actively with drying and processing (UNDP Maldives, 2010a: 11). In the 1970's, at the same time as the processing of fishing was industrialized the tourism industry was introduced (Ibid.). Although the tourism sector created new job opportunities, women were practically excluded from employment in

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[4] See also Appendix B for an illustration of what Maldives look like in terms of the geographical separations between the resorts and the local communities

the sector (ADB, 2007: 1-2). Then, along with the rise in men's income the need for women's income decreased, and traditional roles of women in the household were reinforced (Ibid.).

The current high female unemployment rate in the Maldives has been recognized as an issue in reports by both government and development agencies[5]. Women's participation in labour is the highest within sectors such as education, health, manufacturing and agriculture and lowest in the tourism sector (Ministry of Planning and National Development, 2007a: 19). Furthermore women's participation in entrepreneurial activities relating to the resort sector is practically non-existent in the Maldivian context (UNWTO & UN Women, 2010: i). This leads us to further explain the role of women in Maldivian society.

Women's role in Maldivian Society

Since 1993, the Maldives is a signatory of the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination (CEDAW) and gender has been mainstreamed in the national development plan since the fifth development plan 1997-1999 (ADB, 2007: 3-4). ADB states that "Women in the Maldives are among the most emancipated in South Asia and in the Islamic world" (2007: 1). Females have the same access to education and health services as males, and women in the Maldives do not face the same experience of poverty as other women in the same geographical region (Ibid.). In the Maldives an average household houses 6.6 people and an average of 3 children (Ibid.). Childcare and domestic work is perceived to be the domain of women and almost 50% of Maldivian households are female headed (Ibid.). Men are expected to be the breadwinners in Maldivian society, working away from home, usually in resorts, in Malé or in other atolls. As a result of this, many families are separated for long periods leaving women on the islands with large responsibilities to bear alone (Ibid.).

This section has attempted to explain a background about tourism development and women in the Maldives including historical separations between islands and resorts, women's low participation in the labour force and women's role and responsibilities in society. Based on this background the problem statement of this thesis will now be presented.

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[5] Ministry of Planning and National Development (2007a), Ministry of Planning and National Development (2007b), ADB (2007), Government of Maldives (2009), Ministry of Tourism & Civil Aviation (2008) and UNDP(2010a)

Problem Statement

As mentioned previously tourism is the largest income generating activity in the Maldives. One would think this vast economic contributor would imply a great source of employment for both men and women. However only 3% of the total labour force in tourism is made up by Maldivian women as can be seen in Graph 1[6]. The graph also shows a heavily skewed male/female ratio where a total of 92% of

Graph 1. Maldives tourism labour participation
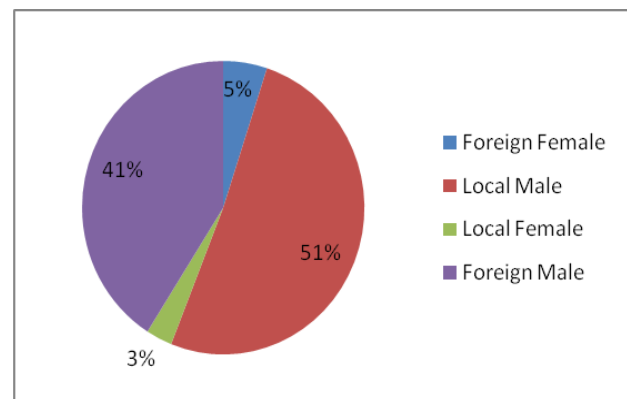
Source: Ministry of Tourism & Civil Aviation (2008: 3)

the tourism labour force is made up by men, while the total for women is 8%. In addition to this, the UNWTO & UN Women (2010: i) state that in the Maldives there is literally no participation of women in entrepreneurial activity related to the resort sector either. This brings us to the focus of this thesis; Women in tourism and Inclusive business in the Maldivian resort sector. Based on the research problem of the low participation of Maldivian women in the sector, the research purpose and questions are outlined in the following section.

Research Purpose and Questions

This thesis is a based on a qualitative study (For methodology see Chapter 3) which aims to explore the underlying challenges of including Maldivian women in employment and entrepreneurial activity in the Maldivian resort sector. Two initiatives of inclusive business practices will be used as examples to show how two resorts have included women in their businesses. We wish that this research can shed light on the important issue of women in tourism in the Maldivian context. Based on the research problem and the research purpose the following research questions have been developed:

1. *What are the main challenges in including Maldivian women in the resort industry?*

2. *How have resorts tackled some of the challenges in including women in their businesses as either employees or as entrepreneurs?*

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[6]The Graph in Box 2 is reproduced based on information by: Ministry of Tourism & Civil Aviation (2008: 8)

With these questions in mind the thesis will draw on insights from two theoretical approaches; cultural theory and feminist political economy. As emerging themes in the empirical findings were culture and gender we believe that the issue of low female participation in the resort sector can benefit from drawing on these theoretical insights. Before moving on to the analytical framework where these theories will be elaborated on, a short outline of the thesis will be presented.

Outline of the Thesis

Chapter 1 presented the background on women's involvement in economic activity in the Maldives, particularly in the tourism sector followed by research problem and questions. This is followed by *Chapter 2,* where the analytical framework is presented, which will introduce previous research on women in tourism, the concept of inclusive business, and the theoretical approaches; cultural theory and feminist political economy. *Chapter 3*, the methodological section then explains the qualitative research methods used in the research. This is followed by the empirical part of the thesis; the findings from the research in the Maldives. The findings focus on two issues divided into *Chapter 4*; Challenges in Employment and *Chapter 5*; Challenges in Entrepreneurship in the resort sector. The two issues will be supported by one case for each issue. Lastly, having analysed the empirical data guided by theory, *Chapter 6* will sum up the study and attempt to answer the research questions.

CHAPTER 2

Analytical Framework

This chapter will present previous research on the topic of women in tourism followed by an explanation of the concept of inclusive business which is central to the cases that will be explored. The second part of this chapter will explore the theoretical framework drawing from Hofstede's cultural theory and feminist political economy. This framework will later be incorporated in the analysis and discussion of empirical data in chapter 4 and 5.

Previous Research

Before the 1970's the issue of gender in tourism was almost entirely neglected in research on tourism (Scheyvens, 2002: 123). Scheyvens argue that within tourism studies on gender,

issues such as sex tourism have received a lot of focus in favour of other issues concerning women (Ibid: 122). Kinnard and Hall (1996) (cited in Scheyvens, 2002: 123) contributed in the 1990's with the perspective that a gender aware analysis was urgently needed in tourism research arguing that gender relations are continuously defined and redefined in its relationship with tourism processes.

On the issue of women and employment in tourism, Sinclair (1997) and Chant (1997) (cited in Ferguson, 2009: 10) argues that tourism is a gendered industry, where women tend to possess the low paid, seasonal and part-time jobs. Furthermore, Scheyvens (2002: 124) states that there have been three prevalent issues within the literature over the years: 1) women's lower pay in the tourism industry; 2) the employment roles women possess within the tourism industry are usually related to work similar to domestic roles of women such as being a waitress, hostess or chambermaid; and 3) women working in tourism are likely to perform both the paid work and the domestic work in their home. This last aspect will be further elaborated on in the theoretical section relating to the concept of social reproduction.

There has also been made research focusing on the positive aspects and opportunities tourism can provide for women. Kinnard, et al. (1994) and Chant (1997) (cited in Scheyvens, 2002: 128) argue that women's employment within the tourism industry provides an opportunity of enhancing confidence and independence, and it can contribute to changing power-relationships between the sexes in the household. On the other hand Scheyvens (2002: 128) notes that women's income to the household can also create tensions when women start making a living and become more independent.

Prieto-Carron (2010) and Ferguson (2010) have recently contributed to the literature highlighting issues such as women's role in employment in the tourism industry and women's domestic responsibilities drawing on empirical examples from Latin America. Ferguson (2009: 10) criticizes the little attention international tourism development policy is paying to the issue of gender both implicitly and explicitly. She proposes that in order for tourism to contribute to reaching MDG no 3[7] gender needs to be a central point in the discussions of tourism policy development (Ibid: 19).

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[7] MDG no 3: To promote gender equality and empower women

In the Maldivian context there has been undertaken little academic research on the issue of women in tourism. However recently, Shakeela, A., Ruhanen, L. & Breakey, N.'s book *Tourism in the Muslim World* (2010) explores women's participation in the tourism sector in the Maldives through a religious lens. The key findings of their research suggest that religion was a central factor limiting woman from participating in employment in the resort industry in the Maldives (Shakeela, Ruhanen & Breakey, 2010: 65-66). Furthermore, they point to that the enclave model of tourism and lack of facilities such as childcare and a weak transport system limits women from working in the resorts (Ibid: 67). Their perspectives on women's tourism participation is similar to the focus of this thesis, however this thesis explore the issue with guidance from cultural theory and feminist political economy (For Theoretical Approach see p. 15).

Although there has not been much academic literature published on the issue of women and tourism in the Maldives, several reports void of theoretical analysis have been published by the government of Maldives and international organisations such as the UNDP, ADB and the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)[8]. These reports shed light on women's low participation in the resort sector. For instance ITUC (2009: 4) found that women in the Maldives are not participating in the resort sector due to the social perception that unmarried young women should not work in the resorts and be away from their home environment for extended periods. Furthermore the report states that mothers are limited from participating in the sector due to the lack of childcare facilities in the country (Ibid.).

This section has explained previous research on women in tourism, and shown that little research has been undertaken on this matter in the Maldives. This thesis attempts to add to the literature through focusing on challenges of including Maldivian women in tourism. By doing so we take use of examples of how resorts have included some of these women in employment and entrepreneurship. Therefore, we now turn to explain the concept of inclusive business.

The Concept of Inclusive Business

"Business works for development and development works for business" (GIM, 2010). This is what the Growing Inclusive Market (GIM) initiative argues. The GIM was initiated by UNDP with the purpose of contributing to achieve the MDGs by enabling, inspiring and understanding how inclusive business models can assist in creating improved lives for

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[8] Ministry of Planning and National Development (2006: 156), Ministry of Planning and National Development (2007a: 19), ADB (2007), Government of Maldives (2009), Ministry of Tourism & Civil Aviation (2008), ÚNWTO and UN Women (2010), UNDP (2010b), and ITUC (2009:4).

vulnerable people (GIM, 2010). Inclusive business strategies straightforwardly try to include the poor or vulnerable people in different ways as either clients or consumers on the demand side, and on the supply side as employees, entrepreneurs, distributors, retailers, or other sources of viable income earning ways within the value chain (Nelson & Prescott, 2008: 2). These business approaches aim to link businesses with low income communities in different ways to reduce poverty and create value for the business and the community it is operating in. Deveshawar (2011: xxxvii) argue that it is important to encourage these corporate strategies and business models to be innovative and allowing for the companies to co-create opportunities for sustainable livelihoods with local communities. This is reinforced by Hart & Simanis (2008: 2) who argues that in inclusive business it is important to foster deep dialogue and mutual commitment between community and business partners. Furthermore Porter & Kramer (2011: 64) proposes that in companies' quest to create economic value, they must also take the communities, environment and societies needs into consideration by creating shared value between the company and communities.

On the issue of women, Prahalad (2006: 108) argues that little attention has been given to including especially women to lead the development process of market creation. Furthermore, the UN Global Compact recently placed a particular focus on the inclusion of women in business as part of inclusive business models through the Women's Empowerment Principles (WEP), that promote "empowerment of women in the workplace, marketplace and in the community" (UN Global Compact, 2011).

When discussing inclusive business strategies it is important to be aware that the idea of inclusive business itself cannot solve poverty issues alone. The role of the state also plays an important role to create an enabling environment. As Karnani (2008: 49) argue the role of the state for poverty reduction has been underestimated emphasizing the importance of legal regulations, social mechanisms and the opportunities for employment that should be in place to protect vulnerable people (Ibid.). Moreover, we suggest that in the discussion about inclusive business in the tourism industry it can be valuable to include insights from both cultural theory and feminist political economy. Therefore, the next part will introduce these theoretical aspects.

Theoretical Approach

Culture and Gender Matter

This theoretical section will present Hofstede's perspectives on culture and then move from culture into feminist political economy emphasizing the concept of social reproduction. As illustrated in Model 1, we aim to bring forward culture and gender as important aspects that need to be considered if wanting to include women in the resort sector. These two theoretical approaches were chosen because they are intertwined and they matter equally much in understanding and systemizing the empirical data of this research. To

Model 1. Theoretical approach used to analyse the empirical data

analyse the findings, the different theories will be interchangeably weaved into the analysis and discussion.
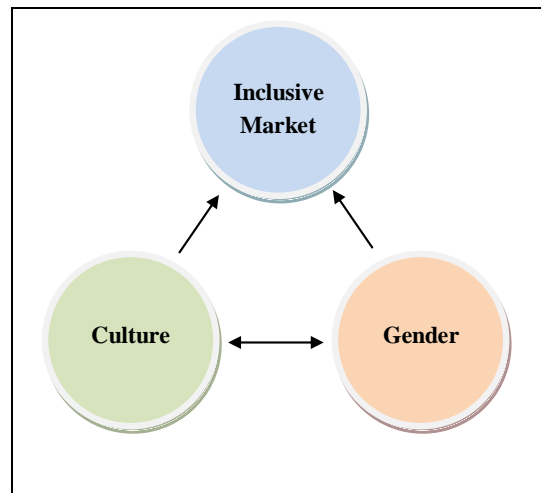
Culture and Cultural Differences

It has been argued that in economic history, culture is what has made almost all the difference (Landes, 2000: 2). Porter (2000: 14) further argues that it is not about 'if' culture plays a role in economic development but how to understand the role culture does play. In the world, people, groups and nations have different perceptions, they feel and act differently which causes confrontations. At the same time there is a necessity for these groups to work together for the solution of these issues (Hofstede, 1991: 3). For the purpose of this thesis culture is defined as the inner beliefs, values and attitudes that guide a population (Bhavnani, Foran & Kurian, 2003: 6). Culture is by Hofstede (1991: 10) further described in different layers including national, regional, ethnic, religious, gendered, generational and social class level as well as organisation or corporate level.

Hofstede (1991: 7) argues that in the study of different cultures the anthropological notion of cultural relativism is significant. Cultural relativism can be understood as, and articulated by the anthropologist Claude Lévi Strauss as "one culture has no absolute criteria for judging the activities of another culture as low or noble. However, every culture can and should apply such judgments to its own activities, because its members are actors as well as observers" (cited in Hofstede, 1991: 7).

Cultural differences can be apparent in different ways. In national culture Hofstede proposes five dimensions to describe the differences in culture; these are: power distance, collectivism vs. individualism, femininity vs. masculinity, uncertainty avoidance and long-term vs. short-term orientation (Hofstede, 1991: 14). These dimensions aim to show that people think, act and feel differently in different countries (Ibid.). Hofstede (1991: 7) further explains that culture manifests itself in terms of symbols, heroes, rituals and values (See Diagram 1). Symbols are the most superficial and carry the meaning "words, gestures, pictures or objects that carry a

Diagram 1. Onion Diagram
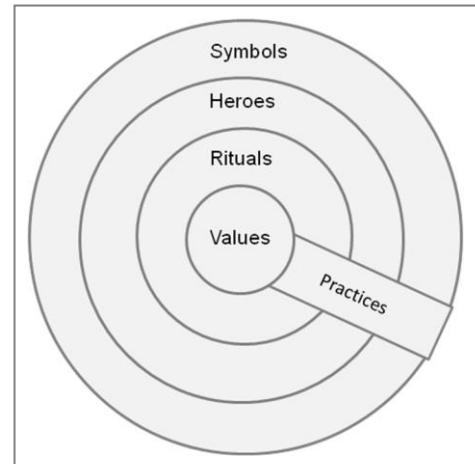
Source: http://home.mnet-online.de/wendland/publications/img/oniondiagram.png

particular meaning by those who share the culture" (Ibid: 7). Heroes stand for the people, "alive or dead, real or imaginary, who possess characteristics which are highly prized in a culture" (Ibid: 8). Rituals are further explained as the collective activities that are socially essential within a culture (Ibid.). These three are all termed under practices which means they are visible to an outside observer, however the cultural meaning of them is invisible (Ibid: 8). Lastly, the values that are the deepest expression of culture; the things we have learned implicitly from childhood (Ibid.). Values can be defined simply as "a broad tendency to prefer certain states of affairs over others" (Hofstede, 2001: 5). They are programmed within us and all values carry a plus and a minus pole such as 'evil' vs. 'good' or 'dangerous' vs. 'safe' (Ibid: 6). The theory of Hofstede's onion diagram will not be tested in this thesis; however his ideas of symbols, rituals and values will be used to discuss some of the cultural and religious aspects of the empirical data.

Within a culture there are also gender differences. Hofstede (1991: 16) explains that the woman's culture and the man's culture within each society are different from each other and this partly explains the difficulties to change traditional gender roles. Jobs that are traditionally aimed for men are not always considered for women (Ibid.). Societies recognize behaviours related to procreation, but also which different behaviours belong to the man and the woman in different societies (Hofstede, 1991: 80). For instance, it is suggested that men "are supposed to be assertive, competitive and tough while women are supposed to be more concerned with

taking care of the home, of the children, and of people in general" (Hofstede, 1991: 81). This brings us over to the next theoretical approach which is feminist political economy.

Feminist Political Economy

A fundamental aspect within the feminist political economy is the view that labour markets are part of social systems, where there exist certain customs, norms and power relationships that also incorporate a gender dimension (Cook, Roberts & Waylen, 2000: 21). Furthermore Pearson (2007: 1) argue that also in discussing the role of the corporation it is essential to consider that the labour markets and supply chains themselves are gendered institutions, founded on a socially constructed separation of female and male labour. Elson (cited in Cook, Roberts & Waylen, 2000: 21) argue that the macro-economic paradigm includes only the formal productive economy and fails to recognize the value of the informal reproductive economy. This brings us to introducing the concept of social reproduction. This concept refers to that:

> Women globally have always born the main burden of 'social reproduction' that is the primary unpaid work that is carried out in the home and community, which helps to sustain the formal economic system of production including biological reproduction, childcare and household chores […]care for elderly and social networking (Prieto-Carron, 2010: 1).

These types of activities are often perceived by society as a women's domain and hence women and girls are often expected to take on these roles in the household and in society at large (Ibid: 1-2). Cook and Roberts (2000: 19) explain that the unpaid work in the household is not considered economic activity, as it does not enter the formal economy. Nevertheless, it can be argued that this unpaid work is essential to the reproduction of the labour force that in the future will be of benefit to society. Pearson argues that "one of the main reasons why women and men's priorities differ is because of the gendered nature of women's obligations to meet domestic and household commitments as well as their employment-related responsibilities" (2007: 736).

In the International Political Economy (IPE) there has been little focus on the issue of childcare and parenting (Ferguson, 2010: 873). Fergusons (2010: 875) study on social reproduction and women's workers in the tourism sector in Central America brings up the conflicting roles women are faced with between parenting and work in the tourism sector (Ferguson, 2010: 875). In her research from Montverde and Placencia in Costa Rica and Belize the government provides minimal support for childcare. Hence; many socially important tasks are not being performed in these communities, which have resulted in that

female tourism workers have been forced to look for alternative ways of solving childcare issues (Ferguson, 2010: 876). Ferguson (Ibid: 879, 882) argues that the responsibility for social reproduction should be borne by the government. On the same issue Prieto-Carron (2010: 3) argues that there is a need to look past established labour rights issues and also incorporate social reproduction issues, such as childcare, maternity leave, harassment and transportation on the agenda.

This section has presented cultural theory and the feminist political economy, highlighting their importance in understanding women's role within the culture, in the household and in the workplace. These theories will later be incorporated into the discussion of the empirical findings in chapter 4 and 5. Prior to going into the analysis of these findings, the next chapter will explain the methodology used in the research process.

CHAPTER 3

Methodology

This part will explain the methodological process of this thesis, including the research design, epistemology and ontology followed by a description of research methods, interview-techniques and selection of cases and sampling. The chapter will conclude with discussing the process of data analysis, ethical considerations and research constraints.

Research Design

Bryman defines research design as a "framework for the collection and analysis of data" (2004: 27). There are several kinds of research designs from experimental, cross-sectional, longitudinal, case study and comparative design (Bryman, 2004: 26-54). To explore the research questions a case study research design was chosen, as a social phenomenon is being explored and we seek to investigate the topic in-depth. Yin's definition of a case study is an "empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in-depth and within its real life context" (2009: 18). In this research a multiple case study design has been employed through the use of two cases. The reasoning for choosing two cases was to illustrate different ways of including women in the resort sector; as either employees or as entrepreneurs. As Yin argues, "analytical conclusions independently arising from two cases [...] are more powerful

than those coming from a single case" (2009: 61). The chosen cases can be seen as exemplifying cases, which according to Bryman (2004: 51) is common in research, as many cases themselves are not extreme or unusual, but will provide a suitable context for the examination of social processes. The research has been inductive, which according to Bryman involves "drawing generalizable inferences out of observations" (2008: 11). In this research it implies that we first went to the field to observe and to collect data. Then after identifying patterns and themes in the data, we explored appropriate ideas of theories that could guide the empirical data to make general conclusions.

Epistemology and Ontology

The interpretivist epistemological stance proposes that the study of the social world is different than the study of the natural world; hence a different logic for conducting social research and research procedures is needed in social research processes (Bryman, 2008: 15). Furthermore feminist epistemological stances suggest that marginalized groups, because of their positioning, are able to perceive different perspectives of knowledge that might not be seen by the dominant research groups (Harding 1986, 1991, 1993, cited in Assiter, 2000: 331). As our research explores issues within the social sciences and gender, our approach is interpretivist. At the same time, we acknowledge the perspective from feminist epistemologies, that all research is value based and that the researchers always bring a part of their own values into the validation if something can be perceived as true or false (ibid.). The ontological considerations of the research undertaken is founded in the constructionist ontological positioning, which understands social phenomena as a continuous process created and negotiated by social actors, in a constant process of change (Bryman, 2008: 18).

Methods

The primary data collection methods used in the research is qualitative. Bryman and Burges (1999) define qualitative methods as a method that "seeks to understand the world through interacting with, emphasizing with and interpreting the actions and perceptions of its actors" (cited in Scheyvens and Storey, 2003: 57). The techniques used were individual and focus group interviews. Bryman (2004: 319) argues that in qualitative interviewing there is a greater emphasis on the interviewee's perspective than in quantitative research; hence this technique is suitable to the study as it seeks to include people's perceptions, thoughts and values in exploring the challenges of including women in the resort sector. In the data collection process, data has been collected through 35 interviews with 68 people from different groups of Maldivian society, including NGOs, private sector, government and women from local

communities[9]. With NGOs, resort managers and government the interviews were conducted in English and interviews with local women were translated in Dhivehi[10]. Qualitative data is supplemented with secondary data to triangulate the findings. Deacon et al. (1998) (cited in Bryman, 2008: 379) suggests that triangulation is a method to cross-check findings obtained from both qualitative and quantitative sources.

Secondary Data and Observations

In fieldwork it is standard practice and necessary to collect secondary data (Overton & Diermen, 2003: 42). Electronically published reports and documents from the government, United Nations (UN) and Asian Development Bank (ADB) have been used[11]. Furthermore we have taken use of data published on websites belonging to UNDP Maldives and GIM. These sources contribute with important information on the development context of women in the Maldives. Moreover, internet allows for anyone to publish documents, therefore when using secondary data from the internet it is important to be critical to the source as the quality of the data is difficult to control (Bryman, 2008: 300). Observation was another method used as we have made subjective observations of the women's situation in the Maldives through living in the Maldives during a period of five months. Field-visits were made to both local islands and to resorts to get an insight in both worlds. These observations have been important in validating the findings.

Individual and Focus Group Interviews

Interviews are beneficial because they seek to gather data on not only hard facts but also peoples perspectives and thoughts (Overton and Diermen, 2003: 41). All the interviews were designed as semi-structured with open-ended questions. Bryman (2004: 321) argue that semi-structured interviews allows for more flexibility, and gives the opportunity to ask relevant questions related to the research, and follow-up questions for more in-depth answers. Brockington and Sullivan (2003: 58) emphasize that the focus group technique can also be beneficial when discussing a particular issue when wanting to observe both how people discuss an issue and what they are actually saying. Our rationale for applying focus group interviews was to view the group dynamics and also for the practical reasons, to gain as much information as possible from the groups of local women. Dictaphone was used in the

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[9] See Appendix C for full list of interviews

[10] Dhivehi is the official language spoken in the Maldives

[11] Ministry of Planning and National Development (2006: 156), Ministry of Planning and National Development (2007a: 19), ADB (2007), Government of Maldives (2011), Ministry of Tourism & Civil Aviation (2008)

interviews where consent was given, and recorded interviews were transcribed ad litteram. This has given us the opportunity to recall the context and meanings of the interviews. Quotations from interviews presented in the empirical data in chapter 4 and 5 have in some instances been grammar corrected for the purpose of improving clarity.

Selection of Cases

Two cases (see box 2 and 3) were identified to showcase examples of how resorts try to give Maldivian women opportunities for employment and entrepreneurship. Prior to collecting the data from the case some operational criteria's should be defined to make sure they can serve as a case (Yin, 2009: 90). The case criteria's in this research were the following:

- The women involved must be Maldivian;
- The women must be participating in some sort of economic activity or planned economic activity related to the resorts;
- There must be a written agreement between the resort and the women.

Few initiatives fitting these criteria were identified in the resort sector. Therefore, the rationale for choosing these specific cases was based on availability and accessibility. In both cases interviews were initially conducted with resort management. The resorts then referred us to speak to further informants and respondents. Resorts and an NGO assisted in the planning, selection of interviewees and carrying out the interviews with the women.

Box 1.   **Box 2.**

Case 1: The Green Ladies at Hilton

This case is about Hilton Iru Fushi Resort, and how the resort through a joint initiative with Sun Foundation[12] and a local Women's Development Committee[13] (WDC) have given women employment opportunities, by outsourcing a sweeping service to a nearby local island. Individual interviews were initially conducted with Sun Foundation followed by interviews with the Resort Management. A field visit to the resort was made to interview the Green Ladies (Sweepers) in a focus group. Direct observation was also used, and interviews were also conducted with one of the Green Ladies family.

Case 2: Chili Sauce at Veymandhoo

This case is about Soneva resort and how they have participated in a joint venture with the local WDC of Veymandhoo and the NGO Live & Learn, Ministry of Fisheries and Agriculture (MoFA) and the UNDP in promoting women's entrepreneurship through the production of Chili Sauce. Individual interviews were initially conducted with the social and environmental manager of Soneva Resorts and the NGO Live & Learn. This was followed by individual and focus group interviews with the women participating in the project on Veymandhoo. Direct observation was also made during a three day field visit to Veymandhoo Island.

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[12] Sun Foundation is a foundation funded by Sun Travel Resorts (one of them Hilton). This foundation is devoted to social and environmental causes to help local island communities in proximity to the resorts.

Sampling

The sampling of the research was partly made through purposeful sampling. According to Bryman (2004: 333) this way of sampling is strategic in qualitative research because it samples on the basis of finding people relevant to the research topic. For instance, the Ministry of Tourism, UNDP Maldives and the NGO Live &Learn were approached based on their expertise on the research topic. Snowball sampling was also used to identify the women, as we asked initial interviewees if they could refer us to people with certain characteristics that were needed for the research (Overton & Diermen, 2003: 43). Identifying the women would have been difficult without the assistance of gatekeepers such as the UNDP Maldives, the NGO Live & Learn and the resort management.

Process of Data Analysis

The process of analyzing data already started during the collection of data in the field. Key reflections and issues were continuously noted down to systemize interesting information to follow–up on in later interviews. The coding of data in qualitative research can be explained as sorting data into different categories (Mikkelsen, 2005: 182). Based on the research questions, interviews were analysed meticulously and coded into main themes to detect patterns and possible outliers.

Reliability and Validity

Reliability and validity for qualitative research have by LeCompte and Goetz been discussed in both external and internal terms (Bryman, 2008: 376). External reliability is about to what extent the research can be replicated. This might not always be easy as it is impossible to 'freeze' a social setting (Bryman, 2008: 376). This is also applicable to the Maldivian context which has changed dramatically in the recent decade. Being two people doing the same research strengthens the internal reliability as it has been possible for us to discuss the individual observations, and agree on what was experienced during the research (Bryman, 2008: 376).

Validity refers to if you are observing, measuring and identifying what you say you are (Bryman, 2008: 376). Five months were spent in the Maldives which allowed us to experience

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[13] Women's Development Committees are semi-NGO's aimed at increasing women's participation in community activities and national development (ADB, 2001)

the country at a somewhat deeper level. Bryman (2008: 376) argues that prolonged participation in the social life allows for the researcher to guarantee a higher level of resemblance between concepts and observations, hence it strengthens the internal validity. External validity is about to what degree the study can be generalized across a social setting (Ibid.). Due to time and cost restrictions we were not able to carry out more than 35 interviews. Therefore, there will be limitations to what extent our sample can be generalized for the whole population.

Ethical considerations and Researching women

It is important to keep in mind that research might actually harm, exploit or expose the researched (Scheyvens & Leslie, 2000: 119). To protect our interviewees they were provided with a letter of intent either in English or translated in Dhivehi explaining the purpose of the study and their right to withdraw. Researchers are responsible for the integrity of the research and its process (O'Leary, 2000: 50). Therefore, we have ensured no names will be revealed in our thesis without previous consent in order to protect the participants. Most names in this thesis are pseudonyms.

Scheyvens, Scheyvens & Murray (2003: 169) argue that it can be difficult to do research on women as they might be very busy and taking care of the household duties. In some interviews we experienced the women as quiet and few-worded. This could be based on shyness but also reluctance to express themselves freely to outsiders (Scheyvens & Leslie, 2000: 120). To prevent this we attempted to make the interviewees feel comfortable by making the interviews less formal and conversational.

Kapoor (2004: 627) discusses Spivak's (1988) reflections on third world research and emphasizes the importance of being aware of one's own positioning as a researcher in terms of historical, cultural, gender and socio-economic background. Furthermore, he argues that the researcher's background taints the perceptions and interpretations he/she will take (Ibid.). With this is mind, we recognize that we as researchers are not Maldivians, nor from a developing country. Hence, we are aware of our position as western researchers attempting to interpret a reality very far from our own. Nevertheless, in this research we have attempted with open and unconstructed minds to learn from these women and to make their voices heard.

Constraints and Limitations

Many of the interviews were conducted with a translator. Scheyvens & Storey (2003:133) argues that using an interpreter has some disadvantages as the interviewer receives the information second-hand, and the information might have been changed by the interpreter to avoid potential discomfiture.

In interviewing corporations, organizations and the government, it must be recognized that there might be a bias and that there is a chance that certain information have been left out of their answers. Regarding the process of selecting cases it is also significant to be critical and aware that the resorts have an interest in showcasing best practices. In the case of the Green Ladies at Hilton, the interviewed women were selected by the resort, and this could have an influence on the results. In the analysis of the cases we have therefore not attempted to evaluate the success of the initiatives, the purpose is purely to illustrate how women have been included in the resort industry and to discuss challenges of inclusion. Moreover the research was also made during limited time period. This could have an effect on our interpretation of the Maldivian context.

One of Bryman's (2009: 392) critiques of qualitative research methods is that there is often a lack of transparency in the research process, referring to the often unclear information of the selection of interview subjects, how data has been analysed and how conclusions have been drawn. Acknowledging this, we have attempted with this methodological section to explain these aspects to make the thesis research as transparent as possible. Having discussed the methodological approach, the next two chapters will present, analyse and discuss the empirical data that was collected in the research. Chapter 4 will explore challenges of including women in employment and Chapter 5 will explore challenges of including women in entrepreneurship in the resort sector.

CHAPTER 4

Challenges of including Women in Employment

With the research questions in mind this chapter will present and explore findings from the field in terms of challenges of including women in employment in the resort sector. The

challenges will be followed by a case from Hilton showing one initiative they have taken to provide employment opportunities for local women in their resort. The challenges that were identified in the interviews were: culture, religion, and women's role in the family, the role of the family, safety, geographical spread, transportation, education and awareness. Due to limited space and that we would like to analyse the findings more in-depth, the most dominating findings relevant to our theoretical framework will be discussed. These are:

1. Culture and Religion
2. Women's role in the Family
3. The role of the Family

Culture and Religion

Women from local islands expressed that the main reasons why so few women work in the resort sector are due to cultural and religious issues. All the women associated the resorts and resort life[14] with western culture. Culture and religion were the issues also seen by resort management to be the main causes for the low female labour participation in tourism. All women interviewed had experienced negative attitudes towards women working in resorts by family members or by people in the local community. Many of the interviewed women themselves uttered their unhappiness and disapproval with women working in the resorts. It was described by a woman from a local island:

> In the Maldives there is a belief that girls are not supposed to leave their parents and work in separate places like that. For boys it's ok, It's a cultural and religious thing (Yasmin 23, 2010)

In the light of the above quote it was also apparent that the main concerns with resort employment seem to apply only to women. This can partly be explained by Hofstede's notion that different roles are assigned to men and women within a culture (Hofstede, 1991: 16). In the Maldives women's role is according to UNDP Maldives (2010a: 10) influenced by South Asian heritage and Islamic traditions where men stand high in the social hierarchy, while women are subordinates. Maldives is officially a 100% Sunni Muslim country where religion is a central part of people's lives; thus one could assume that the women's status in society is highly influenced by the cultural interpretation of the religion. Islam does not prohibit women to work away from home (Shakeela, Ruhanen and Breakey, 2010: 68); however, in the Maldives the woman's role is primarily seen to be in the household. This can partly be

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[14] Resort life refers to the life employees live at the resort. The majority of the resort employees live on the resort island due to geographical context and limited transportation possibilities.

explained by the 'culture of protectiveness' that exist in the Maldives, where females have since childhood been encouraged to stay at home while the boys are encouraged to be out-going (UNDP Maldives, 2010a: 10). This was backed up by majority of the informants explaining that the low participation of women in the resort sector is due to deeply rooted cultural traditions and protectiveness of women.

When discussing the low female participation in the resorts, issues relating to religious beliefs came up particularly with the notion that resorts are associated with eating pork meat, wearing bikinis (nudity) and consumption of alcohol. These actions might be seen as related to the outer layer of 'symbols' of Hofstede's onion diagram illustrated in the theoretical section (See p. 16). These actions could by the Maldivians be associated as symbols of the 'western culture' and not compatible with the Islamic religion. Furthermore, in some of the interviews it was indicated that resorts were also associated with places where extramarital sexual interactions could take place, which is perceived as haram[15] in Islam. Therefore, women working in the resorts are according to one of our informant often stigmatised, as the resort is perceived as an inappropriate environment for women to be surrounded with.

Another issue related to religion that came up was the wearing of burqa[16] during work hours in the resorts. Some resorts provide women with the choice to wear burqa, and have included it in the design of their uniforms. Other resorts have policies whereby burqa is prohibited to be worn by staff working frontline; hence there are different perceptions between the resorts on this issue. When asking the resort employees if they would still work if they could not wear the burqa, the answer was 'No'. This allows for conflicting interests between the resorts and potential female employees. Furthermore, on the issue of religion some of the women stated they thought resorts should become 'more Muslim' to attract Maldivian women. What many of them did not know is that the resorts in the Maldives do provide mosques for their Muslim employees to perform their religious prayers that are central to the religion of Islam. These prayers can also be related to Hofstede's rituals in the second layer of his onion diagram, as activities that are essential within a culture (Hofstede, 1991: 8-9). This lack of awareness indicates there is room for more communication between the resorts and the local communities to enhance awareness of what facilities the resorts provide for their Muslim employees.

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[15] From Arabic: 'Forbidden' (Oxford Dictionary, 2011)

[16] Burqa is what all Maldivians refer to as the veil or headscarf covering the hair, but not covering the face.

Cultural and religious barriers exist; however the situation is more complex than just saying that religion and/or culture is the reason why so few women are involved in the resort sector. When looking into the building blocks of Maldivian households it is inevitable to see that some women have no choice but staying at home. This will now be explored further and it brings us to the next challenge, women's role in the family.

Women's role in the Family

It is of high significance to understand the real situation that the women on local islands live under if a sustainable inclusion of women into the resort industry is to be made. Throughout history the social reproductive role has according to ADB (2007: 2) been borne by the women in the Maldives, and the men work away from home leaving their wives on the islands in charge of the household. Therefore, it is difficult for the women to leave their islands to work in a resort as being an employee in a resort usually means that you have to live in the resort.

Ferguson's (2010: 875) studies of female tourism workers in Costa Rica and Belize find that women are facing a dilemma between her domestic work and expectations of employers in the tourism industry. Although Ferguson's research deals with women on another continent, there are similarities of what problems women are faced with in combining employment in tourism and reproductive responsibilities. In the Maldivian context combining childcare and working in a resort is not compatible, particularly because there is no public system of childcare (UNDP Maldives, 2010a: 12). In fact, one female resort employee stated that when she gets married she will quit her job in the resort due to family duties. This indicates that even though the resort has managed to recruit a woman, they might face difficulties in retaining her when she starts a family. This issue is also emphasised by Pearson (2009: 746) who further argues that companies should start recognizing the substantial efforts women contribute with in social reproduction through domestic work, childcare and bearing forward a new generation of workers.

To include women in economic activity in resorts in the Maldives, it is essential that the private sector understand the cultural context that shapes women's everyday lives on the islands and the prerequisites women have to enter employment. This was also apparent as one manager explained:

> When your husband is working outside the island, how can the wife go and work, leaving the child alone at home? There is no system where you can leave your child to a nursery [...] The opportunities for women are limited, and the system is such, that the wife has to work at home

and the husband has to work away to support her. There is no way the women can continue their career in this system, in the infrastructure we have here (Resort Manager 1, 2010)

This quote underpins the lack of social support systems; hence the role of the state could be emphasized in this matter. It is argued that the state should provide the basic social services to support vulnerable people and to increase their productivity and employability (Karnani, 2008: 52). One of the strategies in the Maldives Strategic Action Plan for 2009-2013 is to "develop provision for child care facilities for working parents" (Government of Maldives, 2009: 227). Furthermore, as mentioned in the background, the Maldives is a signatory of CEDAW. This convention proposes that woman's reproductive rights must be acknowledged and child-care facilities should be seen as essential rights and necessary for enabling women to combine family and work (UN Division for the Advancement of Women, 2009). This shows that the government has recognised the issue of (lack of) child-care, and that they have committed to raise these issues. However, the implementation of the above mentioned strategy is yet to be accomplished.

This section has shown that the woman's role is perceived to be in the household while the men's role is to be the economic provider working away from home. The different gender roles are according to Hofstede (1991: 81), established from early childhood by parents, or other family members; therefore it is common that values pertaining to gender roles are proposed by the parents. This brings us to the next challenge which is the role of the family.

The role of the Family

Most respondents mentioned that that parents and husbands play a role in limiting women's inclusion in the resort sector. A frequent response from the women from local islands would be that the mother, father or husband would not send their wives or daughters to work in the resorts in fear of exposing them to 'western behaviour' and an insecure environment. One women working in a resort explains that:

> In Maldives, in our religion, we are not allowed to drink or be with just any guys and things like that. So our parents are scared about that (Maya 21, 2010)

The negative perception of resort life came up frequently in the interviews as an issue. The women do not want to stay overnight, as it was indicated that parents and the women perceive resort life as unsafe for a woman also due to the large quota of male workers. A father to a woman working in a resort expressed his concern on the issue as follows:

> If my daughter would not have the possibility of going home every night, I would not let her work in the resort, it is not safe [...] if a woman will not come home at night after

work, and she would maybe have a relationship with a man in the resort, which could result in a pregnancy [...] this would have very bad impact on the family and would not be tolerated (Mohamed 48, 2010)

By talking to different actors in the Maldivian society it became clear that the parents and husbands are hesitant and sceptical to sending daughters or wives to work in the resorts. These thoughts and feelings they have about women in the resorts are deeply rooted in their cultural values (See Hofstede's Onion diagram on p. 16.) One informant explained that resorts are by many seen as 'bad' or 'evil' places. On the issue of culture, Hofstede (1991: 4) argues that once a person has established these thoughts and feelings it is difficult to think and feel in a different way as they must be 'unlearned' before this can happen. Therefore, changing already established perceptions that parents or husbands have of resorts can be complicated. On this issue, one resort manager wanting to recruit more women to his resort said:

> Convincing the parents is difficult. They are very possessive of the girls. The parent's perception is that they will mix with the European culture and do bad things such as drinking alcohol (Resort Manager 2, 2010)

On the same issue a government representative highlights the need for awareness, by saying that there needs to be a focus on educating mothers and fathers of the women who are willing to join the industry and demonstrate that it is perfectly in order for their daughters to work in the resort sector. This was also reinforced by resort managers who all addressed lack of awareness as a big challenge of including women in their businesses.

We found that is not whether the resorts want more women working or not, because they all voiced they would like a higher ratio female employees in their resorts. Several resorts have made efforts to try to recruit more women. For instance Kuredo Resort has released a TV commercial aiming at encouraging more women to work in their resort. Other resorts outsource services such as sweeping and the preparation of Maldivian food, to women on local islands. One of these initiatives will now be explored further in the next section through the case of the Green Ladies at Hilton. This case aims to exemplify an initiative a resort has taken to give women from an island community an opportunity for employment.

Case: The Green Ladies at Hilton

The Green Ladies at Hilton

Hilton Maldives Iru Fushi is a resort located in Noonu Atoll in the north of Maldives. One of their daily activities is like in many other resorts in the Maldives to sweep and maintain the guest area from leaves and rubbish. The activity of sweeping has traditionally been a common work for the women on the islands.

To recruit more women, Hilton Iru Fushi has been outsourcing this activity to the Women Development Committee (WDC) on Holhudhoo, a nearby Island. This is a joint initiative between Sun Foundation[12] and Hilton who has identified a need to include more women into their resort. A written contract has been signed between Hilton and the WDC. The WDC is in charge of getting the job done and has approximately 10 women participating in the work. The WDC decide how to spend the money received for the service within their committee and shares the salary equally amongst the women. Hilton provides transport to and from the island on a daily basis, staff uniform (See photo) and access to the same staff facilities as the other employees.

Key Influential Factors

- Transportation provides facilitation for the women to come back and forth to work every day
- Gives women an opportunity to enter the formal economy
- Strengthens the Woman's Development Committee role on the island
- Supporting women's freedom to work outside their home community

Case Discussion

The case of the Green Ladies shows an example in how Hilton Iru Fushi in cooperation with Sun Foundation, has provided women an opportunity for employment. This case is not unique; in fact sweeping is done in most resorts in the Maldives. It can even be argued that these women only do a low-paid and unskilled job being sweepers, referring to Prieto-Carron who states that "there is a belief that women are more suited to jobs that are similar to domestic skills at home" (2008: 6). However, this case shows how the resort has managed to tackle some challenges that prevent women from entering economic activity in the resort sector.

As mentioned there are geographical distances between the different islands[17] and transportation alternatives are limited, which implies a dependency on the resorts to provide transport. In this case Hilton provides daily sea transport, which solves the transportation issue. In the interviews with the Green Ladies they expressed their content with the provision of daily transport. Transport is an issue not only related to mobility, but also to the fact that

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[17] See Appendix B for an illustration of what Maldives look like in terms of geographical spread of islands.

families would prefer their daughters and wives to be able to come home every day, as referred to in our findings in earlier section based on family's safety concerns.

The women themselves expressed that they enjoy working at the resort and if they would not have this job they would probably be unemployed on their home islands. The women stated that they spend the majority of their income on their families and the household economy. Earning an own income can contribute to reducing their dependence on others. This was identified in the interviews as the most positive factor as one woman said:

> To me, there has always been a dream to try and get money for my own work without bothering any other person, so I am very happy that I now can spend my own money (Adilah, 48, 2010)

Creating employment opportunities for vulnerable people is according to Karnani (2008: 53) the best way to get people out of poverty. In addition he adds that including women in the economy can also contribute to other benefits (Ibid.). Prieto-Carron (2008: 7) argues that paid work offers women opportunities to renegotiate power within the household and to challenge the perception of the male breadwinner. 23 year old Rana, one of the Green Ladies, is the only person providing income in her family, a household of ten people. Yet, she supports her family financially and has been able to refurbish her own room and bathroom with new tiles. Another lady has assisted financially in building a new roof on her family's house.

Prieto-Carron (Ibid.) also emphasises the benefit of female companionship. This was brought up by all the Green Ladies who mentioned that they enjoy working together in a group and that they appreciate the social aspect of working outside their own home sphere. Basically, this job in the resort gives the ladies the freedom to work in a different environment that their home island.

The resort also acknowledges the value of cooperating with the Green Ladies. The Human Resource (HR) Manager at Hilton emphasized that it is important for the resort to try to hire local people saying that:

> From our side it is more of a matter of making the nearby island work, instead of just bringing people from overseas or from somewhere else [...] it benefits the community and it also benefits us (HR Manager Hilton, 2010)

Porter & Kramer also argues in the lines of benefits saying that"a business needs a successful community […] to provide critical public assets and a supportive environment. A community needs successful businesses to provide jobs and wealth creation opportunities for its citizens"

(2011: 66). Based on the HR Managers quote and on the argument by Porter & Kramer, it can be argued that both the resort and the nearby islands are dependent on each other and can benefit from cooperation.

Summary: Chapter 4

This last chapter has analysed some of the challenges in including women in employment in the resort sector. It can be summed up by saying that there are several challenges to include more women in the resort industry. The cultural and religious differences between the resorts and the local communities are large and there exist negative perceptions towards the combination of women and the resort sector. Families are reluctant to send their wives and daughters to work in the resort, due to the inappropriate environment resorts are perceived to be. We also found that the woman's social reproductive role must be considered, as displacement of families gives little opportunity for women to leave their island to go and work in a resort, especially as there is no social provision of childcare in the Maldives.

The case of the Green Ladies at Hilton has shown that employment in the resort provides women with benefits such as experiencing a new environment, the possibility to socialize with others and earning their own income. If resorts in the Maldives in their inclusive business strategies, can ensure the provision of safe sea-transport back and forth there could be opportunities to bring more Maldivian women into employment. However when looking at the challenges and the case simultaneously, it becomes evident that transport cannot solve these challenges alone. To reach full potential for female inclusion major measurements needs to be made by both the private sector and government, taking gender and cultural issues into account. Next chapter will look into further challenges in including women in the resort sector, now with a focus on women's opportunity to enter the resort sector as entrepreneurs.

CHAPTER 5

Challenges of including Women in Entrepreneurship

The first part of this chapter will discuss some of the challenges for women from local islands in the Maldives to do business with the resort sector. The second part will investigate solutions to meet these challenges by exploring the case of the Chilli Sauce on Veymandhoo Island. Several challenges for including women in entrepreneurship in the resort sector were identified in the findings. Among them were power-relationships, women's responsibilities, and market access, access to finance, transportation, and lack of management skills. Due to limited space, only the below mentioned challenges will be discussed.

1. Power-relationships
2. Women's Responsibilities
3. The Context of the Resort Market

Power-relationships

To understand the existing power relationships the aspect of the historical separations between resorts and local communities are important to understand. As explained earlier when the resort industry was introduced in the Maldives there was little interaction with the local communities. These separations between resorts and local islands have lead to some issues, which are described by a representative from the government:

> The problem we have is that we have first class resorts in the Maldives, next to them are the third world local communities, the villages, so we have to get these engaged as the people from the island communities can get direct benefit from the resort industry through participatory involvement and inclusive growth. There is a need to focus on inhabited islands, this is very important for the successful operation of a tourist resort, this due to; social reasons [...] economic reasons and cultural reasons. Whatever reasons you may give it, there is an absolute necessity for the Maldivian to co-exist with tourism and derive the benefits from it (Government representative, 2010)

The above quote highlights the cultural differences between the resorts and the islands and the inequality in power relations between the two. It also points to the importance to overcome these differences and to work together so that people from the islands can derive benefits from the resorts and vice-versa. This goes in line with Hofstede's (1991: 3) earlier stated argument that people, groups and nations need to cooperate to solve issues that arise from differences in perceptions, feelings and ways of acting. Furthermore, Halme, Roome and Dobers (2009: 3) argue that context is intertwined with history; therefore reflection on historical developments is necessary. In this case reflecting upon the historical separations of the islands of Maldives is highly important in creating a picture of how to connect resorts with local islands. This brings us further into the issue of power-relationships.

The aspect of gender inequality and unequal power-relationships between resort and women from local islands was addressed as a challenge in explaining the lack of communication between the two parties. As an informant describes:

> The communication with the resort can be intimidating for the women. There is also the gender equality issue, for example during workshops if there are men and women together, the men will always go first and the women are often queuing behind […] Then just imagine as a woman going to a resort and negotiating business with high-level male resort managers (Anonymous, 2010)

This quote highlights the power and gender equality issues between women from local islands and the resorts. Hofstede (1991: 10) argues that in the contemporary world, different layers of culture, referring to the religious, social-class, gender and so on do not necessarily harmonize. He points to that expectations of for example religious and gender roles in a culture may often collide with the organizational practices of a company (Ibid: 11). In the case of the Maldives the gender role of the woman may stand in conflict with both the male dominated and the western culture of the resort. Resorts also expressed that when cooperating with local communities it was important to try to break down power-distances in communication with people from the islands by making encounters at the local islands informal and low-key. One of the resort managers explained:

> We have to make it casual for them, we have to meet them on their level […] If we go really casual they will slowly open up and be more cooperative (Resort Manager 3, 2010)

This quote indicates that the issue of inequalities in power-relationships is also recognized by the resorts themselves, and that measures are being made in an attempt to co-exist and cooperate with people from local islands. By analysing the gap between the local women and the (lack of) interaction with the resort it becomes relevant to bring in Hofstede's thoughts on intercultural encounters and the dimension of power-distance. Here Hofstede (2001: 424) argues that intercultural encounters do not necessarily foster common understanding between people. Furthermore he proposes that companies or organizations who do not adjust to the new situation of the countries in which they operate can experience collapse in communication (Ibid.).

Most of the resorts involved in this research were part of multinational hotel chains. Hofstede (1991: 229) argues that the multinational companies are forced to make the business and the national culture co-exists. He states that business ventures across national borders have often resulted in complete failures in cases where only the financial considerations have been taken into account (Hofstede, Hofstede & Minkov, 2010: 407). In including women in the resort

sector, there is a need for the corporation to understand not only the Maldivian culture at large, but also the 'women's culture' within the Maldivian culture. Thus, there needs to be a focus on the role that women play in the household and in society at large. We did in the previous chapter discuss women's responsibilities as a challenge preventing women from entering employment in the resorts. Now, the next section will further discuss this issue; now in the light of entrepreneurship.

Women's Responsibilities

As mention in the background and in chapter 4, women in the Maldives bear the main responsibility for the household duties. This was also expressed in the interviews with women from local islands. For instance, Shafia 26 describes a normal day on a local island:

> Women are very hard working on our island, they wake up early around 4.30-5am for prayer time, after that they sweep the area around the house [...] then there is breakfast preparation, and then they go to gardening and then they come back for housework and stuff, and again in the evening they do gardening, only the sleeping time is resting time (Shafia 26, 2010)

This quote illustrates women's responsibilities in the household. To analyse women's situation through the concept of social reproduction Pearson (2007: 736) argues that women have different priorities than men due to their domestic responsibilities. This is applicable to the context of the Maldives where the responsibilities of the housework is primarily performed by women. This may result in that men have a greater opportunity of engaging in entrepreneurship and work life on the Islands. Moreover the findings from UNDP Maldives (2010b: 10) indicate that women's entrepreneurs are often restricted to keeping their business activities within the household, as many women are responsible for the care of large families.

Pearson (2007: 736) found that in many developing countries the state has not taken any action in creating social systems, which are appropriate to women's reproductive responsibilities. Comparing with Ferguson's findings in her studies on women tourism workers in Central America the absence of social protection systems that provide childcare, elderly care and maternity benefits is hindering women from participating in economic activity (Ferguson, 2010: 873-75). As stated earlier public services such as childcare are practically non-existent in the Maldives, which makes it difficult for women with children, to have their own business outside the home. On this matter it becomes important to bring in the role of the government in providing social services. Karnani (2008: 49) underline that the government should play an essential role in providing a legal framework and an enabling environment for

vulnerable groups to take part in economic activity such as entrepreneurship. This brings us to discuss the context of the resort market and what challenges lies there.

The Context of the Resort Market

As there are 99 resorts operating in the Maldives one could assume that entrepreneurship opportunities related to the resort sector would be abundant. However in the Maldives virtually no female entrepreneurs work in the tourism sector (UNWTO & UN Women, 2010: iii). This is also reinforced by the UNDP Maldives SME Mapping Report (UNDP 2010b: 12) that found that out of 1161 entrepreneurs, only seven were cooperating with the resort market.

Prahalad (2006: 108) suggest that more attention should be paid to including women in inclusive business initiatives. However, women from local islands indicated that they were not fully aware of the market opportunities that exist on the resorts. They had no knowledge of the sorts of products the resorts were after, nor how they would communicate with the resorts. As one women said in a focus group interview

> We didn't know about the market side [...] if we only knew about the opportunity (Bushra 42, 2010)

This quote stresses the lack of awareness of the opportunities that exist from the resort side. In all the interviews it was expressed that one of the things resorts could contribute with, was to give women opportunities to sell their products and services to the resorts. On the other hand the resorts expressed that they had little knowledge of what products and services the islands can supply.

Limited interaction and information sharing between the resorts and the local communities is a challenge, this can partly be explained by the power-relationships earlier discussed. In regards to this issue it can be argued that the resort can play an essential role in breaking down power-structures to create a basis for dialogue and knowledge sharing. Hart and Simanis (2008: 3) argue that in an inclusive business initiative it is important with co-creation and co-development between company and community. Thus, it can also be argued that it is not only the resorts responsibility, there also has to be an interest from the women in the community to cooperate with the resorts. Moreover, in order to bring about successful interaction and cooperation the two parties need to understand each other's cultural context. Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov (2010: 424) highlights that in cooperating in a multicultural world it is important to understand one's own cultural values as well as the 'others'.

The World Travel and Tourism Council (2002: 3) founds that tourism can play a large role in the aim to raise people's living standards and to reduce poverty, generate demand for locally sourced products which can provide jobs and give entrepreneurship opportunities to local communities. However in the interviews with respondents and informants, it was pointed out that there is a challenge for local producers to cater to the demand of the high-end, luxury resorts, both in terms of capacity and quality of products. As mentioned in an interview with an informant:

> The communities have to be very much upscale to be able to manage small businesses, because resorts are big business and they won't rely on people who can't provide for their demands (Anonymous, 2010)

The quote shows that the islands need to be able to provide certain volumes of produce. The geography of the Maldives puts constraints on the types of products that can be produced on the islands, due to scarce space and the coral soil. This limits the variety of produce and possibilities for large scale production, which is often necessary when catering to the resort market. For women who are responsible for the household it further limits her possibilities of participating in full time entrepreneurial activity outside the household.

Until now chapter 5 has discussed some challenges of including women as entrepreneurs in the Maldivian Resort sector including power-relationship issues, woman's role in the household and the context of the resort market. We will now turn to explore a case which aims to illustrate an initiative whereby women have been included in entrepreneurial activity relating to the resort sector. Moreover, it will be discussed how the project has tackled some of the above mentioned challenges.

Case: Chili Sauce at Veymandhoo Island

Chili Sauce at Veymandhoo Island

Veymandhoo is an agricultural Island situated in Thaa Atoll. To enhance women's economic opportunities a pilot project producing Chili Sauce for the resort market was initiated by Ministry of Farming and Agriculture (MoFA), UNDP and the local Women's Development Committee in 2008. The NGO Live & Learn took over the responsibility for the implementation of the project in 2009. Since then a partnership was established with the resort Soneva to develop the Chili Sauce enterprise further.

About 20 women are participating in the project. Making Chili Sauce was a natural choice as Veymandhoo is famous for its chili cultivation. The women are scheduled to work part time in producing the sauce. The product is developed to be sold as a souvenir and to be used in the restaurants in the resorts.

The NGO Live & Learn is providing the women with training in entrepreneurship and marketing skills. UNDP Maldives and MoFA fund the project and Soneva is financially supporting it and taking part in product development. Most importantly Soneva will provide a market by committing to purchase a quota of the production. So far the project has resulted in strengthening the capacity of the women by teaching them new skills and building confidence. The project is in the initial stages of commercialisation.

Key Influential factors:

- Culturally appropriate
- Strengthening partnerships
- Strengthening local capacity
- Locally produced
- Including women in entrepreneurial activity

Case Discussion

The project described above illustrates ways in which women have been included in entrepreneurial activities on a local island related to the resort sector. This project goes in line with the Women Empowerment Principle number 5 which aims to "expand business relationships with women-owned enterprises, including small businesses, and women entrepreneurs" (UN Global Compact, 2011: 3). A couple of aspects of this project will now be analysed.

The Chilli sauce project is appropriate to the context of Veymandhoo and is suitable to the social situation of the women on the island. This initiative is structured so that the women will work part time, which will allow them to make an income at the same time as having time for

household responsibilities. This is not to argue that the women should be working a 'double shift' as Bhavnani, Foran and Kurian (2003: 8) calls it, referring to the combination of domestic work and work outside the home. However, the project is built on an understanding of the cultural contexts of women's lives on the islands. Moreover in the Chili Sauce project the women can continue building on their current strengths in agricultural practices. Halme, Roome and Dobers (2009) argue that considering cultural context is essential to make corporate initiatives work in the developing world. This is strengthened by Hart and Simanis (2008: 3) who argue that inclusive business models should be suitable to the cultural context of the community in which they operate.

In the project, participants had little previous knowledge of the necessary skills to set up a business. To strengthen the women's capacity the NGO Live & Learn has provided business and management skills training giving the women confidences to take on the project. As Scheyvens (2002: 128) argue women's employment in tourism related activities can bring about positive changes, such as enhancing confidence and independence that can contribute to creating societal changes. The findings also indicate that the highest motivation for the women in participating in the project was to make their own income, the same factor as found in the case of the Green Ladies in chapter 4.

An important aspect of this project is the cooperation between a wide-range of partners from different sectors of Maldivian society. The NGO Live & Learn has played an essential role in reaching out to the community and mediating communication between the resort and WDC. This demonstrates the benefit of including third party actors such as the NGO, who understands the local culture and context of the women and can facilitate communication between stakeholders. Furthermore, the President of the WDC has played a substantial role by managing the project locally, to ensure local ownership.

Tourism development in Islamic countries is facing the challenge of creating a culturally appropriate environment for the Muslim to work in or with (Shakeela, Ruhanen & Breakey, 2010: 70). As explained in chapter 4 there are certain cultural challenges such as the prevalence of pork, nudity and alcohol in the resorts that conflicts with the Islamic culture, and hence many believe that the resort is an inappropriate place for Maldivian women to work. In addition to this it becomes difficult to combine work in a resort with family life. Therefore, it could be argued that women's entrepreneurship on the island is a more appropriate type of work to women's situation than actual employment at a resort island. The UNDP Maldives

SME mapping report (2010b: 10) strengthens this statement by arguing that entrepreneurial activities in the home islands are appropriate to women as they due to family bonds and responsibilities are obliged to stay on the island.

Creating entrepreneurial opportunities for particularly women on the Islands has been central for the resorts involvement in this project. As stated by Social and Environmental Manager of Soneva:

> We found it actually quite interesting because it has got all the elements necessary for a solid livelihood project. You got women involved, it's got livelihoods, it's got commercial value to it, and it's got localization aspect to it.[...] to involve vulnerable groups and so particularly we were interested in the fact that it was owned by women and creating opportunities for women (Social and Environmental Manager Soneva, 2010)

This quote demonstrates that the resort acknowledges women's social and cultural situation, and the importance of including women in their inclusive business strategy. It indicates possibilities of shared benefits for both the resort and the women in the project. London, et al. (2010: 11) argues that shared value offers the best outlook for creating economically feasible businesses, which enhances the lives of the poor. Thus, it can be argued that resorts should try to create strategies based on shared values. If the resorts and the women on local islands can create good relationships, there are possibilities for increasing the number of small enterprises which could (theoretically) translate into more opportunities for women. This is because the women can work on their home island, they do not have to sleep in the resort and there is no dependency on boat transport for commuting. Nevertheless, the role of the government must not be forgotten. This is emphasized by Karnani who argues that "it is the role of the state to foster modern entrepreneurship and job creation by implementing appropriate pro-market policies, providing infrastructure and sound legal and financial systems. Facilitating creation of job opportunities is not enough" (2008: 52).

Summary: Chapter 5

This chapter has discussed some of the challenges of including women in entrepreneurship in the resort sector, focusing on the challenges of power-relationships, women's responsibilities and the context of the resort market. It has been highlighted that there are existing power-relationships between the women and the resorts and that this plays a role in limiting women in interacting and communicating with the resorts. The role of women in the household is also a challenge in bringing more women into entrepreneurial activity outside the home sphere.

Furthermore the market context also puts constraints on women to do business with resorts, due to the geographical situation and little knowledge of market opportunities.

Furthermore when looking at the challenges and the case, it shows that to bring in women into entrepreneurial activity partnership between stakeholders is important in order to create a platform for knowledge-sharing, interaction and for breaking down power-inequalities. The NGO has played a fundamental role in facilitating communication between the women and the resort. Moreover the project is appropriate to the context and life situation of the women as it leverages on already existing agricultural knowledge and it allows for the women to combine work and family life. The case also shows that for women with families living on local islands, entrepreneurship can perhaps be a more suitable form of work compared to direct employment. Finally the responsibility of government has been addressed in creating an enabling environment for women to do business with the resorts.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis has been to explore challenges of including Maldivian women in the resort sector. Two issues in inclusive business have been discussed; challenges in employment and challenges in entrepreneurship. These issues were discussed with the support from two cases; the case of the Green Ladies at Hilton and the case of Chili Sauce at Veymandhoo Island. The empirical findings have been discussed through the theoretical approaches of cultural theory and feminist political economy. Although the resort industry provide opportunities for employment and entrepreneurship, it does not necessarily mean that Maldivian women will enter work in the resort sector; the situation of Maldives is more complex than that. To conclude, we start with answering research question 1: *What are the main challenges in including Maldivian women in the resort industry?*

Cultural and religious differences were found as highly influencing factors to why women's participation in the resort sector is remarkably low. The culture of the western resorts and the Muslim local islands differ in terms of values, practices and religious beliefs. The resorts are by many Maldivians perceived as an 'evil' industry due to the presence of alcohol, pork and nudity, which are not compatible with the religion of Islam. Furthermore the resorts are seen

as unsuitable places for women to work in, due to the skewed male/female ratio of employees and the fear of women's safety, and possibilities for extramarital sexual encounters. These perceptions and fears are especially reinforced by the protectiveness of family members. Furthermore large challenges for women to do business with the resorts were found to be the lack of awareness of the market and lack of communication between women and resorts. Thus, there is a need to enhance interaction and try to break down the power-distances that might hinder full cooperation.

This thesis has also emphasised the importance of looking at women's role in Maldivian society. Therefore, social reproduction cannot be ignored when attempting to understand the underlying reasons why so few women are involved in the resort sector. There exist no social provision of childcare in the country and it is common that the men are working in other locations than their home islands. Hence, many women have no choice but to stay at home and take care of their households. For the resort sector to include women in their businesses either as entrepreneurs or as employees there is a need for a deeper understanding of the nature of women's lives within the culture of Maldives. These aspects can be valuable for the resorts to be aware of in developing their inclusive business strategies. Next, to answer the second research question: *How have resorts tackled some of the challenges in including women in their businesses as either employees or as entrepreneurs?*

The two cases discussed in this thesis have both considered woman's cultural situation in the attempt to include them in the resorts as either employees or entrepreneurs. In the case of the Green Ladies at Hilton, the resort is providing daily and safe transport for the women, which makes work in the resort more accessible and they can go home to their families every night. The case of the Chili Sauce at Veymandhoo is appropriate as it builds on already existing agricultural skills and it allows for women to combine work and household duties. Including women in these two ways gives an opportunity to earn their own income, enhance independence and increase their confidence.

For women with families, entrepreneurship on the islands seems to be more appropriate compared to direct employment in the resorts because it facilitates combining work and family-life. Thus, efforts to include women should be diversified by creating different innovative inclusive business models that are cultural and gender sensitive to the Maldivian context. Both cases also demonstrated the usefulness of establishing partnerships with external

organisations, in these cases Live & Learn and Sun Foundation as they have played central roles in facilitating communication between the resort and the local WDC. It has also been emphasised that inclusive business models cannot solve the underlying challenges preventing the full potential for female inclusion in the resort sector alone. The government also plays a fundamental role in ensuring social mechanisms that supports women's opportunities to partake in economic activity. Therefore, accommodating to women's needs should be emphasized on the policy agenda of the Government and the Resorts, making culture and gender issues central in the pursuit to involve more women in the resort sector.

Further Research

This thesis has attempted to shed light on some of the issue of women's participation in the resort sector in the Maldives. We believe that the issue of women in tourism deserves more attention in both academic research and on the Maldivian political agenda. Based on the interviews conducted in this research, other issues concerning women in tourism came to our knowledge that could be further explored. These issues include: safety, corporate codes of conduct, labour rights, labour conditions, women's salaries compared to men and sexual harassment.

Word Count: 14939

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Appendix A: Map of Maldives

(Source: Commonwealth Secretariat, 2011)

(Source: The World Bank, 2011)

Appendix B: Geography of Resorts and Local Communities

The photo below shows an example of what Maldives look like. It is a country made up of 1190 small coral islands of which 198 are inhabited by locals and 99[18] are purely resort islands. The aim of this picture is to illustrate the geographical separations between the resorts and local communities. This image shows one island where a Maldivian local community inhabits and two resort islands located nearby. As can be seen in this picture the movement between islands in the Maldives is dependent on sea transportation.

Local Community Island

Resort Island

Resort Island
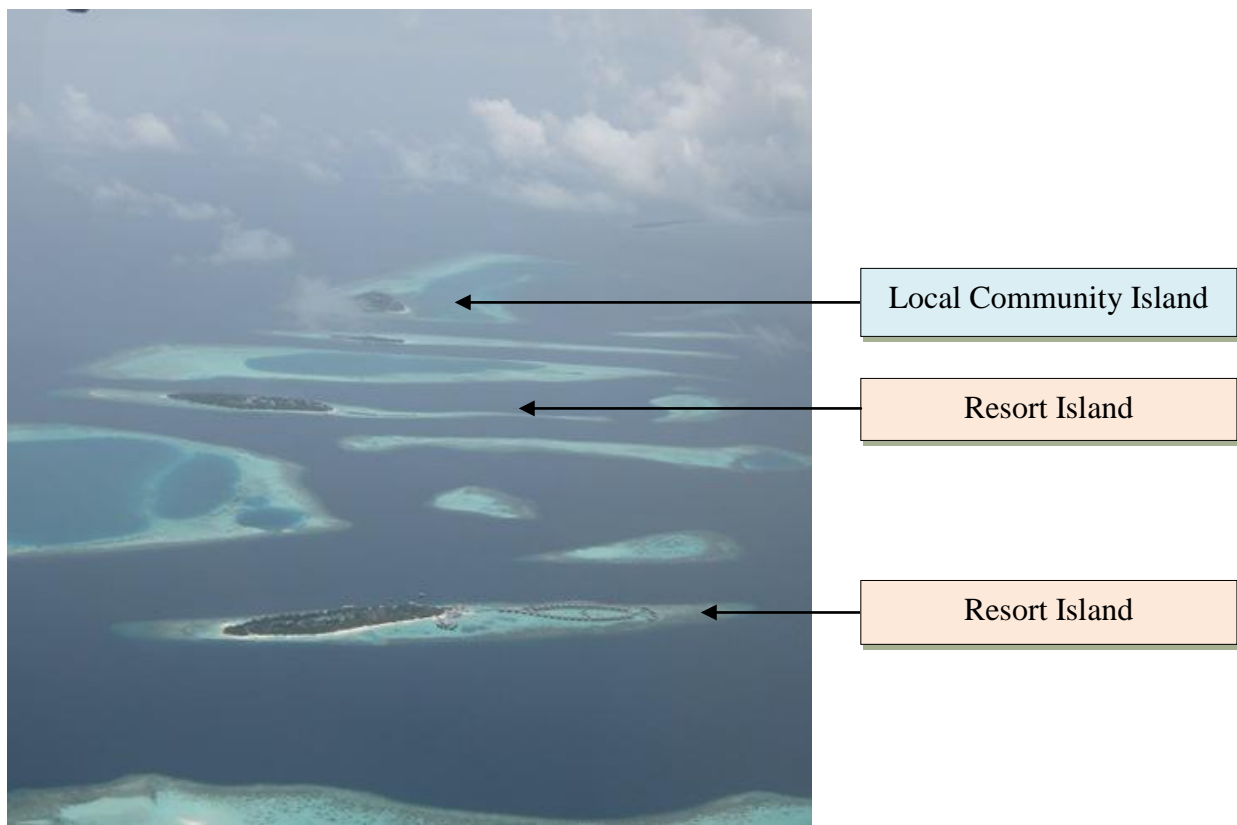
Disclaimer: The islands on this particular picture have not been involved in the research process of this thesis. The purpose of this picture is only illustrative.

[18] Source: Ministry of Tourism (2011)

Appendix C: List of Interviews

List of interviewees with all available names of companies, organisations and people involved in the research. A total of 35 interviews with 68 people were conducted.

	ACTOR	Representative(s)	Pseudonyms in text	Date	No. of people
	Resorts				
	Resort Management				
1	Soneva by Six Senses	Social and Environmental Manager		Part 1: 09.31.2010 Part 2: 12.23.2011	1
2	Hilton Maldives, Iru Fushi Resort & Spa	HR Manager		26.10.2010	1
3	Resort 1	Chief Operating Officer	Resort Manager 1	06.12.2010	4
4	Resort 1	General Manager	Resort Manager 2	17.12.2010	1
5	Resort 2	CSR Manager	Resort manager 3	19.10.2010	1
6	Resort 3	General Manager		27.10.2010	1
7	Resort 3	Director Human Resources		21.11.2010	1
8	Resort 4	Owner & CEO		06.12.2010	1
9	Resort 4	Owner		09.12.2010	1
10	Resort 4	Acting HR Manager		09.12.2010	1
11	Resort 4	Operations Manager		09.12.2010	1
12	Resort 5	General Manager		11.12.2010	1
	Local Island Women				
	Resort Workers				
13	Resort 1	Kitchen employees		17.12.2010	2
14	Resort 1	Receptionists	Maya, 21	17.12.2010	2
15	Resort 4	Sweepers		09.12.2010	2
16	Resort 4	Sweepers		09.12.2010	2
17	Resort 4	Laundry workers		09.12.2010	2
18	Resort 4	Food and Beverage		09.12.2010	2
19	Resort 4	Restaurant hostess		09.12.2010	1
20	Hilton Maldives, Iru Fushi	Green Ladies (Focus group Interview)	Rana, 23 Adilah, 48	26.10.2010	5
21	Hilton Maldives, Iru Fushi	Short eat Ladies (Focus group Interview)		26.11.2010	5
	Veymandhoo Island, Chili Sauce Project				
22	Veymandhoo Island	Chilli Ladies (Focus group interview)	Bushra, 42	02.12.2010	7

23	Veymandhoo Island	Chilli Lady 1	Aisha, 24	03.12.2010	1
24	Veymandhoo Island	Chilli Lady 2	Shafia, 26	03.12.2010	1
25	Veymandhoo Island	Chilli Lady 3		03.12.2010	1
26	Veymandhoo Island	Chilli Lady 4		03.12.2010	1
	Other Informants from local islands				
27	Resort Workers Family	Family of resort worker	Mohamed, 48	26.10.2010	7
28	Veymandhoo Island	Island Women	Yasmin, 23	03.12.2010	3
29	Ex-resort employees	Ex-employees females		10.12.2010	2
	Government				
30	Ministry Of Tourism	Representative		04.12.2010	1
31	The President's Office	Representative		12.2010	1
	Organizations /NGOs				
32	Maldives Association of Tourism Industry(MATI)	Representative		05.10.2010	1
33	Live & Learn NGO Maldives	Manager & Project Manager		05.10.2010	2
34	United Nations Development Program (UNDP)	Representative management level		23.12.2010	1
35	Women's Development Committee of Veymandhoo (WDC)	President of WDC		04.12.2010	1
				Total people	**68**

Note: Three of the quotes in this thesis are from anonymous sources, and cannot be traced through a pseudonym or other identification.