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A Tanzanian Woman's Place is on Top: An Exploration of Women's Participation in Kilimanjaro's Trekking Tourism Industry

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**A Tanzanian Women's Place is on Top: An Exploration of Women's Economic
Participation in Kilimanjaro's Trekking Tourism Industry**

Margeaux Elizabeth Prinster

21 May 2017

MA Research Paper

**Submitted to the faculty of Clark University, Worcester,
Massachusetts, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
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Community and Environment**

And accepted on the recommendation of

Jude Fernando, Chief Instructor

ABSTRACT

A Tanzanian Women's Place is on Top: An Exploration of Women's Economic Participation in Kilimanjaro's Trekking Tourism Industry

Margeaux Elizabeth Prinster

While high poverty rates persist for women in Tanzania, the growing trekking tourism industry surrounding Mount Kilimanjaro and its resulting demand for labor presents these impoverished women with a potential avenue for economic empowerment. This paper examines the national and local realities of women's work in Tanzania, analyzing culturally informed gendered patterns of employment against the colonial and sexist histories of tourism and commercial mountaineering on Mount Kilimanjaro to identify barriers to women's economic participation in Kilimanjaro's trekking tourism industry. This analysis is followed by a cross-cultural comparison with Nepal, focusing specifically on women's barriers to participation in commercial mountaineering, and a preexisting model for women's integration into the mountain guiding profession. Created by Three Sisters' Adventure Trekking, a private sector trekking tourism company, this Nepalese model provides a basis upon which a preliminary international development project design aimed at integrating impoverished women into Mount Kilimanjaro's trek guiding industry is discussed.

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DEDICATION

For my Dad, who encouraged me to follow in his footsteps and climb Kilimanjaro. For Gilbert, my guide, who's expertise and encouragement made Kilimanjaro the climb of a lifetime.

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It Began on the Summit: An Introduction

A pink band of light cast a halo of iridescent glow just above the horizon line, illuminating the vast savanna stretched out below as I warmed my frozen fingers atop the summit. It was July 2015. My guide, Gilbert, and I had begun our moonlit trek to the summit of Mt. Kilimanjaro just after midnight. It was now five am, and I finally had the breath to voice the thoughts that had been marinating in my mind for the past five hours. “Gilbert, where are the women on Mt. Kilimanjaro? I have seen only men guiding and working as porters.” Gilbert chuckled. After six days of trekking with a headstrong American woman who insisted on carrying her own gear, such an inquiry did not surprise him. “Women do not work on the mountain. There are maybe three women who guide. I do not know of any that are porters.” Active in the Mount Kilimanjaro Porter Society and once barred from guiding by the Tanzanian Government for his advocacy efforts to protect guides’ rights, Gilbert was deeply involved in the Kilimanjaro trekking community and knew it well. I trusted that he was right, but I wanted to know what cultural and economic factors influence this gendered reality.

Just a year later, Tanzania’s Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children reported in 2016 that, “60 percent of women in Tanzania live in absolute poverty.” According to the World Travel & Tourism Council, Tanzania’s travel and tourism industry constitutes five percent of the country’s total GDP, a figure that, “is expected to grow by 6.2 percent by 2025” (Council, 2015). This burgeoning travel and tourism industry, which encompasses Kilimanjaro’s trekking economy, will require an expanding supply of labor. This demand for labor creates a potential and lucrative employment opportunity for Tanzania’s impoverished women.

Creating employment opportunities for women in Kilimanjaro's growing trekking tourism industry requires a robust understanding of how gendered inequalities play out within national and local economics in Tanzania. Such a goal also necessitates answering the question: where gendered inequalities exist within the global tourism industry and commercial mountaineering sector, in particular? Exploring the causal intersections between these global, national and local realms will illuminate historically and socially structured forces influencing women's economic roles within Tanzania's trekking tourism industry, insights critical to improving women's employment opportunities in the rural and urban areas surrounding Kilimanjaro. To dissect these structures, I will first examine national and local trends of women's current roles and employment opportunities within Tanzania's labor force, and the gendered cultural dynamics informing each. Utilizing this information to shed light on gendered economic inequalities, I will analyze the gendered nature of the tourism industry and specifically commercial mountaineering, exploring how each informed the history of Kilimanjaro's trekking tourism industry and women's changing roles therein.

This deep understanding of gender inequalities embedded in history, culture and economics will provide me with the contextual lens I need to understand gendered economic inequalities effecting women's participation in Kilimanjaro's trekking tourism industry, and formulate strategies for women's entry into Kilimanjaro's economy. The following research questions with focus my exploration: (1) What national and local gender inequalities shape economics in Tanzania? (2) What creates and fuels these inequalities? (3) What gender inequalities exist in global tourism industries and specifically within the commercial mountaineering sector? (4) How have the gendered inequalities both locally, nationally and within the tourism and commercial mountaineering sectors interacted with Tanzania's colonial

history to produce gender inequalities within the trekking tourism sector today? (5) What are the barriers to women's participation in the Kilimanjaro trekking industry and why do they exist?

For the purpose of this paper, I defined economic participation in trekking tourism as, 'working as a paid mountain guide or a paid porter.' Also for the purposes of this paper, labor force participation refers to, 'engagement in paid work, not including unpaid domestic work in a familial household.' Trekking constitutes the cornerstone of tourism economies in developed and developing countries across the globe. Comparing my findings on women's paid participation in Tanzania's trekking tourism industry with women's roles in that of Nepal will allow me to further analyze the matrix of gender and trekking tourism. Within this comparison, I will analyze Three Sisters Adventure Trekking, a private sector Nepalese trekking tourism company, founded by three Nepalese women, that trains and employs local women as mountain guides, utilizing their programming as a model for gender integration into sustainable trekking tourism international development projects applicable to Kilimanjaro. I encourage readers to utilize the gender-explicit framework for analysis and theory of change configuration presented to inform their own gender curious research in tourism and trekking tourism specifically in other countries across the globe.

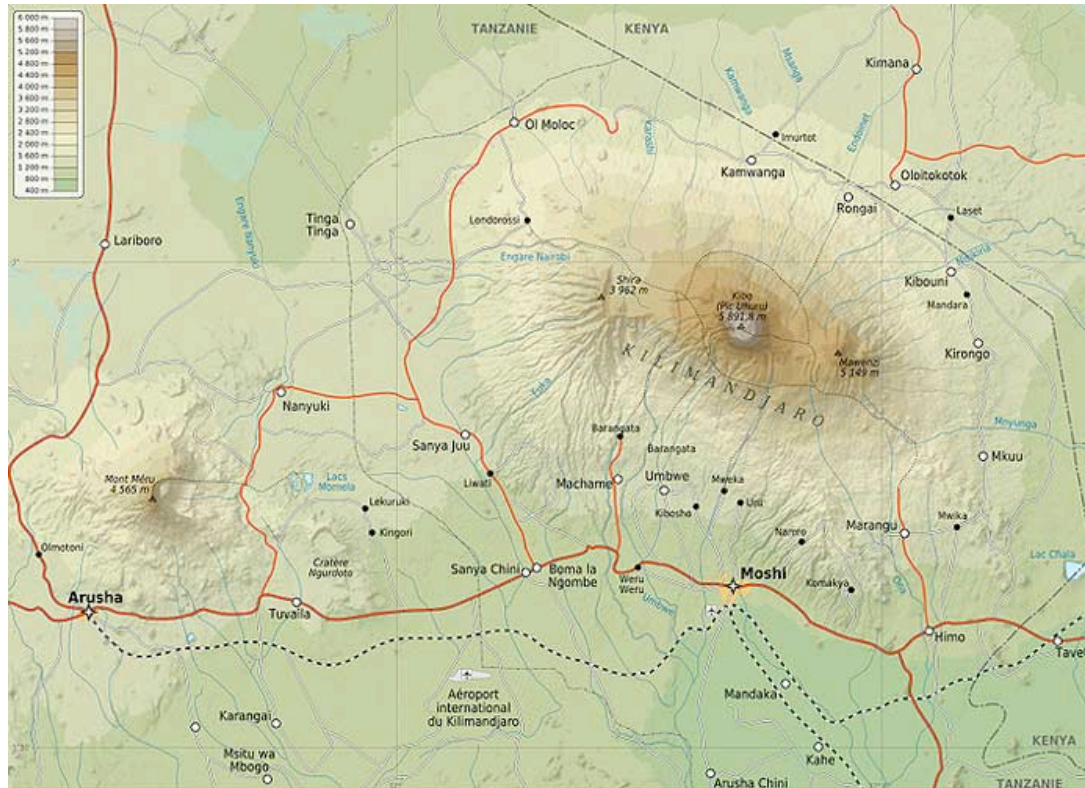
Before delving into the analysis that follows, readers must be mindful of three misconceptions. First, that Tanzanian culture and associated gender roles account solely for the marginalization of women in Kilimanjaro's trekking tourism industry. The masculinization of the mountaineering industry compounds gendered cultural practices, creating barriers to women's participation. Second, that gender issues pervade trekking tourism industries only in developing countries. Gender issues within the mountaineering industry constitute a global phenomenon, not one unique to developing countries. To quote the American Mountain Guide

Association (AMGA), female rock, alpine and ski guides combined constitute only 8% of AMGA staffing (Richardson, 2016). “Those numbers alone are striking, but the gender disparity becomes more concerning when coupled with a 2014 Outdoor Foundation survey that found 46 percent of outdoor participants are women. So where are the women mountain guides? And what’s inhibiting their success?” (Richardson, 2016). Third, for those of us who are Westerners, when we engage in the trekking tourism industry, our role always assumes the form of a consumer as the trekker. Note that Westerners also guide and coordinate mountaineering expeditions, the majority of whom are male, but do not assume the role of the porter. Therefore, regardless of our engagement with this industry, we must consider how our role reinforces colonial and cultural gender regimes.

I. Where are Tanzania’s Women? An Exploration of Women’s Roles in the Labor Force

Despite the seeming absence of women within the Kilimanjaro trekking tourism industry, the country’s paid labor force at large exhibits near perfect gender equality. According to The World Economic Forum’s Global Gender Gap Index, Tanzania’s labor force participation ranks fifth in the world for gender equality with a female-to-male ratio at .99 on an equality scale of 0-1 (Forum, 2015). The Tanzanian Ministry of Labor and Employment’s Integrated Labor Force Survey, which details women’s paid participation per industry, pinpoints agriculture, wholesale and retail trade, and accommodation and food service as the top three industries women are paid and participate in. Indeed, 69.9 percent of paid women worked in agriculture, forestry and fishing in 2015; 12.8 percent in wholesale and retail trade, and 6.5 percent in accommodation and food service activities (Statistics, 2014). In rural areas, a classification under which the small villages surrounding Mount Kilimanjaro fall, 88.8 percent

of women work agricultural jobs, while in smaller urban centers¹ akin to Moshi, women predominately work in agriculture with 41.5 percent employed, service and retail jobs with 21.5 percent employed, or elementary occupations, which the International Labor Organization (ILO) defines as, “simple and routine tasks which mainly require the use of



Moshi constitutes the urban and economic hub closest to Mt. Kilimanjaro’s most popular trailheads- Machame and Marangu- accessed via the Machame and Marangu villages. The city’s accordingly robust tourism industry draws in men and women alike from the surrounding rural areas to service hotels and restaurants as well as retail jobs. However, agriculture also constitutes a major economic activity, proliferating around the city’s periphery and extending into the villages at the base of the mountain, where coffee and banana cultivation predominate. © <http://www.findtripinfo.com>

¹ The Ministry of Labor and Employment utilized only two categories to classify all urban spaces: ‘Dar es Salaam’ and ‘Other Urban.’ Lumping all towns and cities other than the capital into one category fails to capture the nuances of smaller urban centers and the industries that drive their economic development, as in the case of Moshi and Kilimanjaro’s trekking tourism industry.

hand-held tools and often some physical effort” (2004, 1), with 24.1 percent employed (Statistics, 2014).

Survey results illuminated significant gender disparities in high-level managerial positions, mean monthly income, vulnerability and unemployment rates, and time spent on unpaid domestic services. While Tanzanian men and women share nearly equal employment rates, “the share of males in senior and middle management occupations is higher at 82.6 percent compared 17.4% for females. [Furthermore,] across all senior and middle management occupations females have the lowest shares compared to males (Statistics, 2014). Men also earn significantly more than women, regardless of industry and position. The study notes that the, “mean monthly income earned by females is less than that earned by males regardless of type of employment. For instance, in agriculture the mean monthly income for males is nearly two times (TZS 150,665) the amount earned by females (TZS 92,882)” (Statistics, 2014). Compounding disparities in high level positions and low pay rates, employed women often do not have access to benefits or social protection. The study defines such women as vulnerable workers: “contributing family and own account workers...unlikely to have formal employment arrangements or access to benefits or social protection programs, and... more at risk to the effects of economic cycles” (Statistics, 2014) In Tanzania, vulnerable workers predominate, “ in rural areas with 93.9 percent of all employed persons vulnerable” (Statistics, 2014). Gender disaggregated vulnerability rates show that women constitute the most at risk with 88.9% of all employed women considered vulnerable compared to 78.2 percent of all men” (Statistics, 2014). However, 12.3 percent of women struggle to find even the lowest paying and most vulnerable jobs, an unemployment rate higher than that of men at 8.2 percent currently unemployed (Statistics, 2014). In Tanzania, domestic services conducted within the household

constitute a realm outside of paid employment and unemployment, whereby women receive no payment for productive economic activity. The study notes that, “participation rates in unpaid domestic services for household use [exhibit] a noticeable gender difference with 87 percent of females [active] compared to 47 percent of males” (Statistics, 2014).

The aforementioned national level statistics for women’s participation in Tanzania’s paid labor force illuminate the existence of four specific areas of inequality pertinent to Kilimanjaro’s trekking tourism industry in the current era: (1) women in both rural and urban contexts surrounding Kilimanjaro predominately work agricultural jobs, (2) women in these jobs earn significantly less than their male counterparts and do not hold leadership positions, (3) women generally lack the protection and benefits offered to male workers, placing them most at risk in the event of an economic downturn and in the growth/maturation phases of the agricultural cycle whereby women receive little to no profit, and (4) women assume responsibility for the majority of unpaid domestic household duties. Understanding what creates and fuels these gendered inequalities within Tanzania’s labor market requires exploration of the local cultural context of the Chagga, the tribe constituting Kilimanjaro’s ethnic majority. Because resource control in terms of household income and associated intra-familial decision-making power stems from gendered familial power dynamics (Desai, 2010), special interest must be paid to how gender structures power relationships and therefore intrahousehold resource control and household decision-making regarding wages in Chagga culture.

II. The Local Realities and Roots of Disparity: Sociocultural Dimensions of Tanzania's Gender Gap in Rural Moshi

The distinct industries within which women work, and the notable gender gaps defining the positions they hold, incomes they earn, and benefits they receive delineate the existence of gendered structures barring women's access to certain economic opportunities within the Tanzanian labor market. As previously mentioned, the macro-level data presented above, while serving as a useful tool for locating large-scale gendered patterns, often fails to explicate the local realities of these statistics and the gender structures informing them. Josephine Minde's exploration of gender roles within Chagga households engaged in banana selling in the rural villages of Moshi District illustrates the local economic realities for women living around the base of Kilimanjaro. Minde's work additionally highlights the gender structures shaping this reality (Minde, 2015). Although the Chagga constitute the ethnic majority living around the base of Kilimanjaro and its surrounding rural and urban areas, they migrated to Kilimanjaro, "between 250 and 400 years ago from the Northwest, following local upheaval in that area" (Ltd., 2016), eventually driving out or absorbing the preexisting Wakonyingo, Wangassa and Umbo tribes native to the area. "Initially, these immigrants [had] different beliefs, customs and even languages...[but] when the Germans took control of the region during the latter part of the nineteenth century... [they] put aside their differences to present a united front in disputes with their colonial overlords... From this evolved a single, collective Chagga consciousness" (Ltd., 2016). The local operationalization of national economic gender inequalities in the rural and urban areas surrounding and providing labor to Mount Kilimanjaro thus stem in part from this Chagga consciousness and associated culture.

Minde interviewed a gender-balanced sample of 100 respondents across two villages (50 per village) under the Moshi District Council, Kirima Boro and Kirima Kati, of which subsistence agriculture constitutes the main economic activity. Her questionnaire, based structurally on the Harvard Analytical Framework for Gender Roles and Gender Analysis, “provided data that gave a clear picture of who does what, when and with what resources, making women’s roles and work visible as well as distinguishing between access to and control over resources” (Minde, 2015). Minde’s findings revealed the existence of gendered inequalities in, “division of labor, access to and control of resources, [the] position of women in society [and] levels of participation in production activities” (Minde, 2015). These gender inequalities stem from the patriarchal social structure of the Chagga, whereby men hold more power than women (Minde, 2015). Meeker and Meekers reinforce Minde’s argument in favor of the persistence of culturally-rooted gender inequalities, utilizing the Chagga’s unequal land ownership practices as an example:

“Rural women’s difficulties in obtaining access to land are also reinforced by cultural practices... in both patrilineal and matrilineal [Tanzanian] cultures [whereby] women typically obtain access to land indirectly through men, usually a male lineage member or the women’s husband... While marriage provides a woman with access to agricultural land, it also places her labor and that of her children formally under the control of her husband, the landowner” (Meekers, 1997).

Women’s access to and control of resources and their participation in community activities and local leadership roles most readily exhibit the sociocultural effect of patriarchy on gender disparities. Indeed, “men ranked high in terms of control and ownership of resources compared to women... [and] men [also] dominated in terms of participation in [community] meetings and activities by over 70%” (Minde, 2015). While Chagga women participated more than men in a variety of economic roles and generated the majority of net income for the household, men

controlled the allocation of household resources. Meeker and Meekers note similar occurrences in Tanzania's Kaguru tribe: "Women are typically engaged in agricultural, household and income-earning work. Although women often have a heavier workload than do men in these three spheres of their daily work, they typically do not experience equal access to resources, both educational and economic" (Meekers, 1997). Indeed, Minde's study reveals that, "a number of farm activities were mostly done by women in both villages such as farm preparation, planting, weeding, farm inputs, harvesting and storage. In comparison, men [performing] the same activities" (Minde, 2015), participated up to 30% less. For example, 36% of women contributed their labor for farm preparation, while only 6% of men did (Minde, 2015).

The income earning work cited above by Meeker and Meekers as assumed by women in addition to their agricultural and household responsibilities stems from the reality that "agricultural crops rarely provide for all the requirements of a household" (Meekers, 1997). In Moshi, Minde notes that women sought supplemental income from their ripe banana businesses. Banana selling constitutes merely one supplemental income generating activity women pursue in Tanzania. Meeker and Meekers note that, "Often, women also obtain income through non-agricultural activities, such as bee keeping, making pottery, baskets, mats, charcoal and beer brewing. These additional sources of income are particularly important in times of economic hardship" (Meekers, 1997). Minde notes that while selling bananas, "provided a major alternative source of income for households in the study area... it was also a burden to women as it took almost a day, resulting in household chaos and poorly performed agricultural activities" (Minde, 2015). The time constraints additional income generating activities placed on Chagga women in the sample villages strained their abilities to balance agricultural and

household duties. Meeker and Meekers confirm the existence of these time constraints stating that, “In addition to the time they devote to food production, rural [Tanzanian] women typically spend numerous hours per day on food preparation, cooking, collecting firewood and water and caring for children” (Meekers, 1997). Although male assistance holds the potential to alleviate the large burden of work women execute in limited time, due in large part to additional income generating activities, Minde found that in 2015, women received little help from men in the domestic arena and, “were responsible for the majority of the reproductive activities with 32 percent of women fetching water compared to 4 percent of men, only 8 percent of men participating in household cleaning, and almost no male involvement in child care” (Minde, 2015). Thus, women almost exclusively bear the burden of subsistence agriculture, banana retail and domestic duties, while men participate, “in formal jobs as guards and shop sellers in Moshi” (Minde, 2015).

Furthermore, men control the resources accrued by women in their various jobs and unfortunately, male investment decisions often overturn women’s original intentions for resource expenditure, bearing little to no returns for the family. Thus, women compete with their husbands, not only for resource control, but also for intra- familial decision-making power over resource expenditure. Indeed, Minde found that, “despite Chagga women being household wives, mothers, producers, cultivators, laborers and business makers they still face inequalities in terms of ownership and control of resources... [Indeed,] Chagga women... had to give their husbands part of [their] income for drinking” (Minde, 2015). Across the two villages, 65% of men used net income earned by women for their personal consumption rather than for their family’s livelihood (Minde, 2015). Meeker and Meekers provide additional insight into Chagga husbands’ control of household net income explaining that, “the [Tanzanian] household is

generally not a joint decision-making and production unit. . . men and women in the household tend to operate individually, with separate budgets, each working to meet their own needs” (Meekers, 1997). While men possess a right to their wives’ income in Tanzanian society, “women traditionally have few rights to their husband’s income, where husbands fail to provide cash resources for food or other household items, there is pressure on women to use their own earnings for these expenses” (Meekers, 1997). Meeker and Meekers note that, “women frequently complain that their husband spends his income on home-brewed beer and other women rather than on his family” (Meekers, 1997). The authorization for men to claim women’s hard-earned income and spend it on their own personal consumption stems from the culturally-informed and perpetuated Chagga construction of gender roles, “that women are weak, undependable and unstable” (Meekers, 1997).

Overlap between and specific details from the aforementioned national and local studies on Tanzanian paid and unpaid labor signal three major conclusions about the gendered division of labor in the rural areas surrounding Kilimanjaro: (1) women predominately work in the informal and lower-paying agricultural jobs without benefits or protection, (2) in addition to their agricultural jobs, women assume full responsibility for unpaid domestic work critical to household maintenance and family livelihood, and (3) while women provide the majority of the household income, they rarely control resources and associated decision-making power accrued from their work and often compete with their husbands for net income needed to provide for the family. Thus, women living in the rural areas around Kilimanjaro are constrained (1) economically by the combined burdens of subsistence agriculture, domestic duties, and small-scale retail venture, and (2) physically, as mandated by the patriarchal cultural view of women as weak and unreliable and thus unfit for the physically demanding professions of porter or

guide that hinge upon reliability, and therefore do not participate in the mountain's trekking tourism sector.

III. The Mountains are for Men: Colonialist Gender Regimes in Kilimanjaro's Trekking Tourism Sector

Chagga cultural norms only partially explain the exclusion of women in the trekking tourism industry. The masculinization of tourism and trekking tourism in particular constitute the other half, reinforcing Chagga gender roles in the economic sphere. Because trekking tourism on Kilimanjaro grew out of the masculinized German and British colonial projects, understanding Tanzanian women's lack of participation in the trekking industry hinges upon an awareness of the colonial history of Kilimanjaro, and the masculinized legacies of tourism and eventually commercial mountaineering that grew out of that colonial legacy.

A. Kilimanjaro's History of Colonialism: The First Successful Summit Bid and the Development of the Commercial Mountaineering Industry

Because Kilimanjaro sits within the East African interior, colonial powers active along the coast of Tanzania only began to explore the mountain and its surrounding areas in the 1880s after Dr. Gustav Fischer "declared Kilimanjaro to be fit for 'European settlement'" in 1883 (Ltd., 2016). Fischer's comment piqued the interest of officials in both Britain and Germany, each of whom jockeyed for position in the region. Ultimately, the scramble for East Africa led to the October 1886 Anglo-German agreement under which, "the two parties agreed that their spheres of influence in East Africa should be divided by a line running from south of Mombasa, then north of Kilimanjaro to a point on the eastern shore of Lake Victoria" (Ltd., 2016). German

rule over the Kilimanjaro area proved harsh at first, provoking a violent backlash from the local Chagga tribes. Violence peaked when the Germans, “suffered a massive defeat at Moshi” (Ltd., 2016), which forced them to adopt, “a more benevolent style of government... This new ‘caring colonialism’ paid off, and for the last decade or so of their rule [in the early 1900s] the Germans lived largely at peace [with the Chagga]” (Ltd., 2016). This period of peace marks the first instance of colonial development on Kilimanjaro as the Germans began constructing huts in various locations on the mountain (Ltd., 2016). Despite a number of unsuccessful summit attempts in the late 1880s, including those by Count Samuel Teleki of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the American naturalist Dr. Otto, and Otto Ehlers of the German East Africa Company, Kilimanjaro’s first successful summit attack occurred in, “1889, [when] Hans Meyer, a male German geology professor, summited Kilimanjaro on his third attempt” (Ltd., 2016). Meyer’s mountaineering style, which ultimately led to his success, not only set the precedent for climbing style on Kilimanjaro, but also created the economic demand for porters. Indeed, Meyer recognized, “that the biggest obstacle to a successful [summit] assault was the lack of food available [near] the top. Meyer solved this by establishing camps at various points along the route that he had chosen for his attempt... food was brought to the camps by the porters every few days” (Ltd., 2016). Mountaineering on Kilimanjaro halted in the midst of World War I, at which time the mountain witnessed bloodshed as the British military attacked German forces at Moshi in 1916 (Baxter, 2016).

The British occupied Tanzania following the conclusion of the Great War and, “The twentieth century witnessed the inevitable but gradual shift away from exploration toward tourism” (Ltd., 2016). In 1930, the development of tourism infrastructure on and around the mountain kicked off with the 1932 construction of Kibo Hut. “With a ready base for summit

assaults eventually established, tourists began to trickle into Tanzania to make their own attempt on Africa's greatest mountain" (Ltd., 2016). Following the UN's declaration of 1967 as International Tourism Year, "Tourism was presented as an easy option for development because it relied largely on the national resources already present- sand, sun, friendly people- and required no vast capital investment. A number of developing countries [including Tanzania] embarked upon tourism [as an economic development strategy]." (Minde, 2015).

Despite continued developments on the mountain in light of the 1967 Declaration, the period between 1950 and 1990 saw less than a thousand tourists summit, but trekking tourism grew exponentially in the mid-1990s. Today about 35,000 tourists have summited and the industry exhibits no signs of slowing (Ltd., 2016).

B. Gender Regimes within the Tourism Industry Generally and the Commercial Mountaineering Industry Specifically

Gendered roles informing Tanzanian's participation within this burgeoning trekking tourism industry derive from what Phillips terms, 'gendered social regimes' (Phillips, 2003). Based on, "Foucault's concept of power and knowledge 'regimes,' to address ways that gendered structures of power and knowledge are normalized" (Phillips, 2003), Phillips utilizes gender regimes to describe the, "sexual division of labor... [stemming from] 'sociocultural norms' that feminize women's occupations... [and result in a general] regard [for] women as unsuited or unqualified for certain types of jobs" (Phillips, 2003). This concept describes the commercial mountaineering industry on Kilimanjaro whereby previously described cultural constructions of gender roles bar women from porter and guide positions, resulting in a male hiring monopoly by private sector trekking tourism companies.

However, Phillips argues that the “framing of culture as the source of blame for inequity in the sexual division of labor is problematic, in that it in no way accounts for larger social, political, and economic structures and relationships that are always at play in labor relations” (Phillips, 2003). Acker argues similarly that, “these regimes are linked to inequality in the surrounding society, its politics, history, [as well as] culture” (Acker, 2006). Indeed, cultural factors constitute only half of the gendered inequality equation in commercial mountaineering. The masculinization of the tourism and commercial mountaineering industries comprise this other half, combining with Chagga cultural constructions of women’s roles to create the gender inequality, which in turn has rendered the current Kilimanjaro trekking tourism industry impermeable for women.

While describing the gendered nature of tourism generally, Munshi notes the existence of a, “gendered character of employment patterns resulting from tourism [in which] there are differences in the nature and type of tourism generated employment that is available to men and women” (Munshi, 2006). Munshi argues that globally, women’s work in the developing world’s tourism industries overwhelmingly consists of domestic duties: “Chores like cooking, serving, cleaning, [and] washing, which are unpaid household work of the traditional housewife, now become commercialized [by tourism]” (Munshi, 2006). Brandth and Haugen support Munshi’s claim but contextualize it in the developed world stating that, “the tourism enterprise may maintain or even reinforce the traditional division of work by gender... [citing the realm of women’s work as focusing on the] three Cs: catering, cleaning and caring (Haugen, 2010). Enloe also argues similarly stating that, “Women in most societies are presumed to be naturally capable cleaners, washers, cooks, and servers. Since tourism companies need precisely those jobs done, they can keep their labor costs low- and their profits high- if they can define those

jobs as naturally women's work" (Enloe, 2014). Thus, in the tourism industry globally, "the woman of the house continues to play, to differing degrees, the quintessential mother, cooking, feeding and looking after the 'guest'" (Munshi, 2006). In contrast to women's roles, "men manage outdoor activities with the tourists... [and] activities [such as] boating, canoeing, fishing/angling, hunting, guided tours, and mountain climbing... constitute men's masculine domain... [and thus], men doing this work continue to perform in accordance with rural norms of masculinity" (Haugen, 2010).

The ways in which the tourism industry discusses gender assumes that women benefit from economic opportunities generated by the industry in general, and that no issues exist. As Enloe illuminates, "a woman who has traded work as an unpaid agricultural worker for work as a low-paid hotel cleaner has not lost any of her femininity; she has simply confirmed it" (Enloe, 2014). However, Enloe also illuminates the inequalities underlying the gendered division of labor in the tourism industry stating that, "most women working in tourism are concentrated in the sectors that are the lowest paid and most vulnerable to off-season dismissals... [while men] were better compensated than their female counterparts" (Enloe, 2014). This gendered phenomena illuminates how around Kilimanjaro, "tourism reinforces the old division of labor" (Munshi, 2006) established by the Chagga and the inequalities that accompany this division. This tendency of tourism to reinforce gendered stereotypes and gendered divisions of labor illuminates how economic development driven by tourism hampers women's empowerment efforts. Indeed, "Researchers for UN Women... reported that... sexist stereotyping has prevented most women employed in the expanding tourism industry from gaining the development and empowerment benefits that tourism potentially could distribute" (Enloe, 2014).

Commercial mountaineering as a specific tourism industry mirrors the gender regimes

that effect tourism generally, but the aforementioned colonialist undertones and history of masculinized employment within the commercial mountaineering industry compound the gender regimes present in tourism generally, exacerbating the effects on women's employment opportunities. Prior to the 1970s, commercial mountaineering worldwide existed as an overwhelmingly male sport. Ortner describes it as a sector of tourism, "engaged in almost exclusively by men, both Sherpa and 'first world,' built on male styles of interaction derived from other all-male institutions...[and] always in part about masculinity and manhood" (Frohlick, 2000). The gender monopoly Ortner describes stems in part from the persistence of gender practices of masculinized colonialism and imperialism, both prevalent forces shaping politics around Kilimanjaro at the time of the mountain's initial development and ascent. Indeed, Toliver explains the masculinized colonialist roots of mountaineering culture as stemming from, "20th century mountaineering expeditions directed at climbing Mt. Everest, [which were] appropriated by popular forces in Great Britain... to promote nationalistic and imperialistic ideologies and activities" (Toliver, 2004). From this colonialist perspective, Toliver argues that male "climbers' conquests of mountains were custom-made to represent and propagandize broader geopolitical and cultural conquests by British proponents of imperial ideologies... [resulting in depictions of] mountain climbers... as masculine heroes" (Toliver, 2004). Rak reinforces Toliver's claims, stating that, "links between early high-altitude mountaineering and discourses of European masculinity connect the discourse of mountain conquest and exploration to imperialism and colonialism" (Rak, 2007). She continues to explain that the masculinization of high-altitude mountaineering, informed by colonialism and imperialism resulted in the nature of, "climbing, particularly before the 1970s, [as] a key way for modern men- and especially middle-class and upper-class white men associated with

imperial and colonial regimes- to imagine themselves as men who are socially productive (Rak, 2007). Additionally, the premise that, "Masculinity, often appears to be essentially a function of being on top" (Toliver, 2004), feminizes mountains themselves and masculinizes the male climbers who surmount them. In her analysis of mountaineering accounts, Frohlick observes that, "all mountaineers are presumed to be men...[and] high mountain peaks are presumed to be free of women... the space is aggressively masculinized" (Frohlick, 2000).

The common association of mountaineering with male conquest has indeed resulted in the creation of a gender regime whereby, as of 1988, "a complete history of women climbers did not even exist, much less a sustained treatment of gender issues in women's mountaineering" (Rak, 2007). With the advent of alpine mountaineering style in the 1970s, a lighter and quicker style of climbing that developed in opposition to the traditional gear-heavy and time-consuming siege style Meyer utilized in his first ascent of Kilimanjaro, "the freeing up of some social customs in climbing did not necessarily alter ideas about masculine supremacy in the mountains...although... more women did begin to climb and the idea of masculine 'sensitivity' did enter climbing discourse, it is not that machismo disappeared, but that it became problematized in this period" (Rak, 2007). Arlene Blum, leader of the 1978 first all-female expedition to summit Annapurna, arguably the most technical of the big peaks in the Himalayas, "produced a chronicle of the climb that was designed as a very strong political statement about female mountaineers in history and the sexism that women in mountain expeditions have faced" (Rak, 2007). She details her struggle to be permitted to climb various mountains including Mount McKinley, where she was told that, "women are invited to join the party at base... to assist in the cooking chores... They will not be admitted on the climbs, however" (Blum, 2015). Blum also describes how when, "Irene Miller, a member of [the] 1978 Annapurna expedition,

joined [Edmund] Hillary's 1961 Makalu expedition... one expedition member suggested... 'if you want to climb with the expedition, you ought to be willing to sleep with all the men on the team'" (Blum, 2015). As Blum and Rak demonstrate, "sexism is still very much a part of the mountaineering discourse... Today, female climbers are now very much part of the international climbing scene, but major outdoor sports magazines such as *Outside* continue to portray female climbers as scantily-clad sexual objects" (Rak, 2007). Ortner's study of Everest records the experiences of women climbers since the 1970s who, "have had to negotiate the expectations by male Sherpas and male members of their climbing teams that they are not very serious climbers and that they should want to have sex with men on the expedition" (Rak, 2007).

The radicalized sexism that Ortner, Blum and Rak argue pervades high-altitude mountaineering not only effects foreign women on climbing expeditions, but also feeds into gender regimes in local employment opportunities within the industry. Indeed, Ortner states in her analysis of gender regimes on Everest that:

"Sexism is not confined to the experiences of climbers from outside Nepal, either... Sherpa women still encounter resistance from Sherpa men when they want to join expeditions or lead a climb themselves, activities which are essential for anyone, whether he/she is a Sherpa or not, who want to work in the mountaineering industry or to become a more experienced professional climber" (Rak, 2007).

Reflecting on her expedition up Annapurna, Blum details how her team planned, but ultimately failed, to train Sherpanis to climb. The team assumed this added skill would economically and socially empower the Sherpanis. Rak argues that, "the expedition members had made the liberal feminist assumption that as all gender relations are comparable, so all kinds of oppression are universal. But the climbers know relatively little about Sherpa culture and its view of gender relations" (Rak, 2007). Blum herself stated that, "Our frames of reference were too different. We had probably been naïve to try bringing such changes into their lives" (Rak, 2007). Blum's

failure to train the Sherpanis underscores the importance of understanding the gender dynamics within Chagga culture as well as those within tourism and commercial mountaineering as a subsector of tourism, ensuring that the differentiation between women's unique perspectives, positions and experiences within the realm of mountaineering remain contextualized and differentiated from men's.

IV. The Current Reality of Gender Regimes in Kilimanjaro's Trekking Tourism Industry

In order to properly contextualize Tanzanian women's experiences and thus design successful and sustainable international development interventions tapping into the economic potential of Kilimanjaro's trekking tourism industry, analyzing the current reality of women's participation given the disempowering matrix of Chagga cultural norms and the masculinization of the tourism and trekking industries constitutes a critical first step. Meeker and Meekers argue that in order to address and, "effectively improve the social and economic positions of rural African women, development programs not only need to increase women's household work efficiency and income-earning opportunities, but also need to overcome household and familial relations to ensure that women will benefit from these changes" (Meekers, 1997). Kilimanjaro's growing trekking tourism industry and its expanding demand for labor in the 2000s provides an untapped avenue for development programs seeking to increase women's income-earning opportunities and provide gender awareness trainings to overcome household and family relations that negatively effect women, as prioritized by Meeker and Meekers above.

However, while climbing Kilimanjaro, I observed how distinctive tenets of the trekking tourism industry interact with these national and local gender inequalities to create barriers for projects aimed at increasing women's participation. These barriers derive from the conflict

between the physical, social and economic demands of work in the commercial mountaineering industry and the gendered cultural norms in economics that characterize the roles Chagga women assume in their daily lives. Working as a porter or guide on Kilimanjaro requires physical fitness both in terms of endurance, as the trek generally takes between five and eight days, and strength, as guides and especially porters carry heavy loads up and down the mountain, providing teams and clients access to food, water and supplies needed to reach the summit. These physical demands directly conflict with the aforementioned Chagga sociocultural connotation of women's physical abilities, which Meeker and Meekers note as based on, "men's traditional beliefs [which support the notion] that women are weak, undependable and unstable" (Meekers, 1997).

Economic barriers compound the conflicts between physical demands and sociocultural constructions of women's physical abilities. These economic barriers are created and sustained by the reality that working as a porter or a guide requires leaving families for up to eight days in order to directly serve clients trekking on the mountain. This time commitment conflicts both with cultural attitudes about women's roles and with the aforementioned national and local economic demands placed on women in Tanzanian public policy and culture, whereby women assume responsibility for and struggle to balance subsistence agricultural operations, family and household obligations, and additional income earning activities. In Tanzanian culture, a woman leaving her family constitutes an irresponsible decision connoted with poor execution of her motherly role. Childcare facilities aimed at providing a substitute in the mother's absence, while overcoming the economic barrier of women as sole familial care providers, would fail to overcome this cultural obstacle to women's participation. Furthermore, a woman sleeping outside of her home breeds societal assumptions of infidelity and thus immorality (Orichardson-

Mazrui, 2005). In terms of economics, one of the two the high seasons for Kilimanjaro, “from December to February” (Kilimanjaro, 2016), occurs during harvesting season for grain crops in Tanzania’s northern region, which takes place from November to June (FAO, 2016). In the gendered political economy of Tanzanian grain farming, women’s labor is considered crucial for grain harvests. Other economic barriers to women’s participation in the trekking tourism industry include skill development for mountaineering, English language ability compulsory for guides, access to supply chains and competition as commercial mountaineering companies hire out local guides and porters, and possession of adequate mountaineering gear.

The final barrier unique to trekking tourism and blocking projects aimed at enhancing women’s participation in Kilimanjaro’s trekking tourism industry derives from the colonial history of Kilimanjaro and mountaineering generally: that historically and currently, porters and guides on Kilimanjaro are male. Africa Joy Tours, a commercial mountaineering company offering Kilimanjaro treks confirms this historically masculinized feature of mountaineering on Kilimanjaro stating that, “Kilimanjaro porters are an incredible breed of men (and the ones who work on Kilimanjaro are nearly always male), and ones who never fail to draw admiration from the trekkers who hire them” (Tours, 2016). Each of the aforementioned barriers stems from deeply ingrained gender roles structured through a hybridization of Chagga culture, but also from the legacies of colonialism and the masculinized economy of commercial mountaineering. While these barriers illustrate where women cannot go, they also illuminate where women exist within the trekking tourism industry: in the home. This role, essentially that of a single mother providing for the family and executing all household domestic duties, allows for men to participate directly in the trekking tourism economy, and thus the success of the entire trekking tourism industry hinges upon women and the fulfillment of their roles in the home. Minde

argues that, “Gender roles in most societies are based on culture-stereotypes which are socially constructed and can therefore be reconstructed” (Minde, 2015). Therefore, each of these culturally constructed barriers to women’s participation in Kilimanjaro’s trekking industry can indeed be reconstructed through the aforementioned robust women’s economic empowerment projects that target the roots of these inequalities. However, such local projects will be insufficient if the gender politics of the trekking companies and of trekking tourists are not simultaneously conformed.

V. A Cross-Cultural Comparison: Women Guides in Nepal’s Trekking Tourism Industry

While Blum failed to train Shepanis in the late 1970s, three Nepali sisters brought her dream to fruition in the new millennium, and their work constitutes a model for international development projects addressing Kilimanjaro’s economic gender regimes. “Lucky, Dicky, and Nicky [Chetri] decided that there was nothing natural about Nepali men dominating the fast-growing local trekking business. They got training and licensing as authorized Himalayan trekking guides and then set up a program to train other Nepali women in the skills of trek guiding” (Enloe, 2014). To generate jobs for the newly trained women guides, the Chetri sisters created women- only trekking tours, marketing to the foreign female clients that would otherwise sign up for trekking tours through male-guided and run companies. The business model includes, “an on-site child care center for guides working on the mountain” (Sussman, 2008). Three Sisters Adventure Trekking’s business grew as did the supply of women trekking guides trained in their program, with the agency training about 50 women and leading hundreds of trekkers per year (Sussman, 2008). “By 2010, 10 percent of all trekking guides in Nepal were Nepali women” (Institute, 2011).

To achieve these gains, the Chetri sisters and their guides surmounted a range of challenges, “from a taboo on women wearing trousers, to a deeply entrenched resistance toward wives earning money, from doubts about women’s strength and mental acuity to a cultural belief that women are bad luck on the mountain” (Sussman, 2008). As Lucky Chetri told a UN Women researcher, “in overcoming these challenges and creating a space for women in the trekking tourism industry, ‘We have demonstrated that women are mentally, physically and emotionally as strong as men’” (Enloe, 2014).

Three Sisters Adventure Trekking constitutes a significant step forward for women’s labor within Nepal’s masculinized tourism labor force. Prior to the Chetri sisters, “few women in Nepal [held] jobs outside of agriculture, harvesting rice or wheat and earning about three USD a day” (Sussman, 2008). For women actually working within the tourism industry, their “roles... [were] primarily an extension of the home-manager and guest caretaker responsibilities. Women [operated] lodges and tea shops along the major trekking routes... [but also worked as] cooks and primary servers” (Brewer, 1999). Still, Nepali women’s roles in the majority of trekking tourism industries not only tend to mirror their domestic roles, but also generally constitute lower paying positions. Indeed, Upadhaya and Upreti note that, “Apart [from]... some number of women engaged in managing local hotels/lodges... along the trekking trails, [the] majority of their numbers are associated with lower level jobs compared to men who are engaged in executive and higher executive level jobs in the organized sector” (Upreti, 2008). Women typically assume jobs, “as porters on seasonal basis in trekking companies, house keepers in hotels, air ticket reservation and ticket issuance staff in airlines, and cooks in restaurants/ hotels and other menial jobs... [and] there are comparatively larger numbers of

women [working] in the informal sector like tea shops, lodges, [and] guest houses” (Upreti, 2008).

The gender regime relegating women to specific jobs within the Nepali tourism industry stems from both deeply rooted cultural beliefs about women’s economic roles and, until more recently, lack of backing from the Nepali government. Vishnu Gyanwali, former President of the Tourist Guide Association of Nepal said, “traditional Nepali society has had trouble digesting the idea of women out in the field with men for months, as the profession sometimes requires... This is against the traditional norms of the Nepali society” (Institute, 2011). Brewer argues that not just traditional gender roles, but also a, “lack of gender sensitivity in government tourism development strategies has constrained women from more fully benefitting from opportunities availed by mountain tourism in Nepal” (Brewer, 1999). She further explains that despite “much lip service paid to gender issues in development activities... male-domination among government staff and the socio-economic inhibitions of women perpetuated by society stifle real progress” (Brewer, 1999). Upadhaya and Upreti map out constraints to enhancing increased women’s participation in Nepal’s mountain tourism citing, “lack of self-esteem, financial dependency, dual roles and responsibilities as mother/homemaker/internal service provider, insufficient delivery of required trainings for skill building, and less assistance with regular follow-ups to enable women to enter the competitive tourism industry” (Upreti, 2008) as practices hindering not only women’s prior but also current participation in Nepal’s trekking tourism industry.

Despite the overt gender regime within Nepal’s trekking tourism sector, an increase in government and private sector support for women’s integration into the mountain guiding profession since 2010 and reported economic and empowerment gains from women working as

trekking guides demonstrates the trekking tourism sector as a promising labor market for women from low income and low educational backgrounds. Building on the momentum of the private sector's push to integrate women into the guiding realm, with Three Sisters Adventure Trekking at the forefront, the Nepali government's Academy of Tourism and Hotel Management (NATHM), the only government-recognized college that provides mountain guide training, awarded women priority in trainings, "with women constituting 15 percent of those trained in 2010 alone" (Institute, 2011). For women living far from NATHM's campus in Kathmandu, "there are programs conducted in various localities" (Institute, 2011). However, Three Sisters Adventure Trekking, which constitutes the primary private sector guiding company engaging women, focuses on providing training to women in the rural mountainous communities of western Nepal, to whom traveling to Kathmandu for training presents a severe access issues (Institute, 2011). Indeed, "while some of the sisters' trained guides are single college students, others are poor farmer's wives... the training business has also spawned the local Women's Empowerment Network aimed at low-income rural women" (Sussman, 2008).

Through both public and private sector training programs, women trained as mountain guides report substantial economic empowerment. Sabita K.C. of the Nepal Tourism Board reported in 2011 that, "amidst increasing unemployment in the country, this profession [of mountain guiding] has boosted the women to make it as their income source" (Institute, 2011). Sarita Khadka constitutes a prime example of a successful female trekking guide. From Solukhumbu District in Eastern Nepal, home to Mount Everest, Khadka struggled to support herself and her child after her husband left her to marry another woman. "With only a ninth-grade education and no professional skills, she decided to become a porter, carrying tourists' bags during trekking trips... While working as a porter for two years, Khadka learned

English on the job, which helped her to switch into the trekking guide profession” (Institute, 2011).

Working as a trekking guide brings in 140 USD per month, which substantially, “improved my financial condition and also helped in sending my daughter to school” (Institute, 2011), Khadka said. Nima Giri, a trekking guide with Makalu Adventures based in Kathmandu, also experienced significant increases in income: “It’s because of this guide profession that I’ve become financially sound” (Institute, 2011). Both Khadka and Giri report that, “During peak season- from September to November- and sometimes until March... they earn about 350 USD, plus additional tips, for a 10 to 15 day trekking tour... [which is significant considering] the average annual income in Nepal is less than 200 USD” (Institute, 2011). NATHM expects Khadka and Giri to become the norm reporting that Nepalese, “society’s perceptions of jobs are changing, [and] women have been increasingly attracted to these trekking and mountaineering jobs, which once were considered challenging and dangerous for women... [as well as] only male-centric” (Institute, 2011).

Conclusion: A Preliminary Design Concept for a Tanzanian-Based Public-Private Sector Program

Fostering similar shifts in perception of gender roles in both Tanzanian society and the tourism and commercial mountaineering industries that feed into in Kilimanjaro’s trekking tourism industry requires, not only private sector and non-profit programs akin to Three Sisters Adventure Trekking, which currently do not exist in Moshi, but also robust government support via initiatives similar to NATHM. A public-private sector international development program in Tanzania, based both on Three Sisters Adventure Trekking and NATHM, holds the potential for

success in large part because Nepali and Tanzanian women grapple with similar gendered barriers to employment in their trekking tourism industries. To avoid essentializing women's experiences, mapping of the commonalities and differences between Nepali and Tanzanian gender issues to ensure contextually tailored project delivery constituted a key analytic activity. This mapping illuminated three main shared gender issues: lack of intra household resource control, time constraints due to women's multiple economic and social roles, and societal perceptions that women do not possess the physical or mental strength to work in the trekking tourism industry. One critical difference between Nepali and Tanzanian women in the aforementioned three areas concerns lack of intra household resource control. In Nepal, women traditionally depend on their husbands for income to support the family, while in Tanzania, women work while also caring for the family, competing directly with their husbands to maintain control over their earned income.

Key project components to adopt from Three Sisters Adventure Trekking that address the Tanzanian- specific gender issues include skills training, private sector hiring opportunities reserved for women, and childcare. While paralleling the key components of success from Nepal, Tanzanian projects must also consider glitches the Nepali case study illuminated in current public and private initiatives to integrate women into the trekking tourism industry. Shortcomings included insufficient delivery of trainings in terms of both quality and access, less assistance with regular follow-ups to enable women to enter the competitive industry, and lacking self-esteem in women trekking guides (Upreti, 2008).

To address insufficient delivery of trainings in terms of quality, a standardized and gender-friendly curriculum for mountain guiding and mountain guide instructors based on Three Sisters Adventure Trekking's model must be developed through partnership with private

sector trekking companies that operate on Kilimanjaro, the Tanzanian Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, as well as the local Kilimanjaro Porter and Guide Societies. This curriculum, delivered to both men and women through private sector campuses and public universities, will train not only guides, but also current guides to work as guide instructors, thus creating an ample base of available teachers to ensure training remains a constant and maintains high quality. The geographic reach of private sector company campuses and public universities across the country ensures, as the geographical balance between Three Sisters Adventure Trekking and NATHM has demonstrated, that urban and rural- based aspiring mountain guides can easily access training institutions, thus addressing the access issues noted by the Nepali case study. However, access constraints not only stem from geographic barriers, but also monetary ones. Three Sisters Adventure Trekking ensured that a portion of their training programs specifically engaged impoverished women in harder to reach areas. Building on their model, mobile training schools or private sector campuses with either built in dormitories and childcare or transportation must be included in the training delivery program to ensure Tanzanian women located in rural villages around the base of Kilimanjaro can access these services.

To ensure trained women transition seamlessly from their education into a lucrative guiding job, career development services and job mentoring programs must be delivered in tandem with training. Private sector partnerships prove particularly imperative in this portion of programming as trekking tourism companies hold the power to provide men and women guides in training with internships and/or mentorship opportunities that allow them to apply their knowledge and skills, but also cultivate relationships with other guides as well as potential employers. Partnerships with private sector companies should also seek to integrate women-led trekking expeditions into companies' expedition offerings and thus create job opportunities

specifically for women guides. After landing a job, women mountain guides in Nepal grappled with lacking self-esteem and backlash from both their own and the mountaineering communities. Fostering a network of support groups for women guides both at the training and professional levels, as well as delivering gender awareness trainings to trekking tourism industry professionals, husbands and families of women guides through partnership with the Porter and Guide Societies and local community councils in areas where women guides hail from constitute key activities to address these personal and cultural challenges.

With more Tanzanian women assuming roles as tour guides and other, previously male-dominated tourism roles, the positive momentum within the country's current cultural climate concerning gender roles in tourism constitutes the perfect backdrop for the introduction of a gender integrated trekking guide public-private sector program. Exemplifying the gender-friendly tourism climate, Kiroyera Tours, a local Tanzanian operator, offers a, "14- day trip, See Tanzanian Through the Eyes of its Women, [which] is offered as an alternative to traditional tours, giving visitors the chance to see what life is like for women in Tanzania" (Tagg, 2015). Additionally, a travelogue series, "'The World of Women: Tanzania' ... aims to redress the [gender] balance [in tourism] and interviews female entrepreneurs, artists, craftswomen and lawyers, as well as businesswomen working in tourism" (Tagg, 2015). Specific to Kilimanjaro, "Zainab Ansell, the first women director of a tour operator in Tanzania, has been running Zara Tours [in Moshi] for 30 years" (Tagg, 2015), which offers guided treks up Mt. Kilimanjaro. 'Mama Zara' as fellow climbers referred to her, "set up a charity supporting the local community with the profits" (Tagg, 2015).

Zara Tours organized my trek up Kilimanjaro, and I had the unique pleasure of meeting Mama Zara at Zara's headquarters in Moshi while waiting for my flight out. I asked about

women's empowerment initiatives in the area, and she excitedly began to tell me about a Maasai women's empowerment project currently in the works with Zara funding. Tourists often come to stay additional days at Zara's headquarters either before or after their Kilimanjaro trek to volunteer in the various community development projects Mama Zara sponsors. She explained that in addition to the Maasai women's project, "Zara's charity plays a vital role [in] enhancing community economic development [in Moshi]... by supporting vulnerable groups in the community such as Maasai children, orphans, guides and porters who climb Mt. Kilimanjaro and Mt. Meru through various community projects." Tapping into the current momentum for women's inclusion in Tanzania's tourism industry, and engaging Mama Zara and other Moshi-based gatekeepers in the trekking tourism industry passionate about and involved in local community development and women's empowerment programs around the base of Mt. Kilimanjaro constitute keys for project success.

Not only is the cultural climate ripe within the Tanzanian tourism industry for supporting gender initiatives, but the international funding climate also demonstrates current trending in international development sustainable tourism projects wherein capacity building efforts for local women include training for tour and trek guiding. Indeed, USAID's Biodiversity and Watersheds Improved for Stronger Economy and Ecosystem Resilience (B+WISER) Project in the Philippines, delivered in partnership with Chemonics International, trains local women as trekking guides. The project in its entirety aims, "to conserve biodiversity in forest areas and reduce forest degradation in priority watersheds" (International, 2016). Building local capacity to manage forest areas to achieve this aim includes promoting sustainable tourism practices by trekking companies that guide trips into these vulnerable areas. Because gender and climate change constitute crosscutting themes prolific donors such as

USAID require in project designs, framing a Kilimanjaro women's trekking guide program in a sustainable ecosystem management light, as with B+WISER, constitutes a key fundraising strategy. However, before operationalizing this preliminary project design and funding scope, robust primary actor consultations, stakeholder mapping, donor mapping, and comprehensive design workshops all in Moshi must occur.

In my limited international development experience, most of which has concentrated on business development at the INGO and for-profit levels, I observed most project designs following templates, especially in terms of gender. Donor-driven funding leaves international development practitioners little room for creativity and few sources of small-scale funding for pilot projects, which allow practitioners and institutions to test designs donors deem 'riskier' investments. This limits the industry's creative minds from operationalizing projects with the potential for revolutionary impact. This rigid funding and parallel project design cycle, compounded by the general three to five year project timescale, one rarely long enough to demonstrate impact via cultural shifts in gender roles, disproportionately effects gender programming. While the project idea delineated above constitutes a 'riskier' investment, evidence presented in the Nepalese case study proves that the potential economic and social returns from such a project hold the power to significantly impact the lives of Tanzanian women. I encourage all international development practitioners and academics interested in gender issues to continue to explore the ways in which the globe's burgeoning tourism industries marginalize but simultaneously hold promise for disadvantaged women. The international development industry must get smarter with its gender programming. It just needs daring, diligent and persistent individuals to intelligently challenge current conventions.

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