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Influence of Gender on Residents' Perceptions of Tourism Impacts in Southeastern Nigeria

Abstract

Research on residents' perceptions of tourism has become a global area of discourse because such research is needed in planning and managing tourism. Earlier research focused on advanced economies and destinations where tourism has advanced, with limited literature on case studies within emerging economies. Thus, research on how gender influences residents' perceptions of regional tourism is limited, implying that we know little in that domain. This paper reports on the findings of ethnographic interviews conducted with selected women participants in Southeastern Nigeria. The finding showed no significant impacts of tourism in the area but identified culture, unequal power distribution, and fear of neglect as issues that influence how women perceive tourism in the region. We conclude that the cultural dynamics in destinations within emerging economies can be a dominant variable that influences how residents perceive tourism and should be given more attention, especially in Africa.

Keywords: gender, residents' perceptions, tourism planning, development, Southeastern Nigeria

1. Introduction

Studies that focused on how residents perceive tourism have proliferated. The topic area is one of the most researched in the tourism literature, attributed to increased awareness about the nature of impacts (Eyisi et al., 2021). Similarly, studies on residents' perceptions have proliferated over the years because of the realization of the centrality of community participation in tourism planning and decision-making for achieving sustainability (Ramseook-Munhurrin & Naidoo, 2011; Rasoolimanesh et al., 2015). Beyond involvement in decision-making and planning, residents' cheerful disposition influences their support for tourism and vice versa. Hence, it is essential to discuss and understand how they perceive tourism and why such is the case. Many scholars who researched the topic area reported differences in how residents perceive tourism and its impacts. These differences have been attributed to extrinsic and intrinsic factors and demographic variables. Some of the variables include the level of resident participation in tourism, knowledge about tourism, nature of tourism impacts, level of tourism development, type of tourism and tourists, level of education, income, gender, distance from the tourism generating region to residents, residents' attachment to community, and length of stay (Hammad et al., 2017; Nzama, 2008; Ritchie & Inkari, 2006).

Gender is one of the factors that influence how residents perceive tourism. It deserves further exploration. Exploring how gender influences residents' perceptions of tourism is essential, considering the differences in socio-cultural dynamics in destinations within advanced and emerging economies. Due to cultural influence in some destinations, men and women might not share equal power in decision-making and tourism

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participation. This is more likely to occur within African case studies. For instance, in Southeastern Nigeria, youths and women are not allowed to challenge the views of men because of the local culture (Eyisi et al., 2021). Similarly, gender issues in tourism activities in the KwaZulu-Natal region of South Africa were reported by Nzama (2008). Paternalistic attitudes influencing residents' perceptions were identified in Lombok, Indonesia, while limited power and ignoring women's voices were reported in Iran (Saufi et al., 2014; Sheikhi, 2015). These findings show that gender and its influence on residents' perceptions of tourism deserve further exploration and understanding.

Drawing from this background, understanding the influence of gender on residents' perceptions of tourism is central to sustainable tourism in Southeastern Nigeria, an example of an emerging economy and still growing tourism sector. This research promises to contribute to the limited literature on the topic area in the region. The case studies were selected because they represent destinations where tourism is in the early stage of its growth and development. The study aims to report on the findings of interviews conducted with 60 women who hold key positions and are part of decision-making to understand how they perceive tourism. The following section discusses the literature review to identify where the current research fits into the debate on the topic area.

2. Literature review

Understanding residents' perceptions of tourism is critical to achieving sustainable tourism, irrespective of the destination or changes in economic, environmental and socio-cultural dynamics (Eyisi et al., 2021; Hammad et al., 2017). Whilst that is the case, more research on the interaction effect between gender and residents' perceptions of tourism within African case studies is needed to investigate the role of cultural dynamics on tourism in the continent. There is no gainsaying that most of the dominant topics and frameworks in tourism research were initiated by Western scholars because most of the prolific writers in the field are from that region (Yankholmes, 2014). The same applies to the significant consultants, tourists and non-governmental organizations (Carlisle et al., 2013). It is ideal to explore how the frameworks apply in countries within emerging economies, including those in Africa. This highlights the contribution of this paper as it focuses on how gender influences resident's perceptions of tourism in Nigeria.

Within advanced and emerging economies, scholars have explored gender issues in tourism from various perspectives. Some scholars have examined the perceptions of women towards tourism impacts (Kibicho, 2005; Ritchie & Inkari, 2006). Others assessed the roles and contributions of women in tourism planning (Nzama, 2008; Vidya, n.d). Another group of scholars discussed the contributions of women in tourism academics and how it can empower them socio-economically, psychologically and politically (Khoo-Lattimore et al., 2019; Xu et al., 2017). The findings show that gender issues in tourism have raised serious debates among scholars, and there is advocacy for more research to help understand disparities in views between men and women. Empirical evidence shows that how men perceive tourism sometimes differs from women. In Lewes District, United Kingdom, women viewed tourism impacts more negatively than men (Ritchie & Inkari, 2006). The same observation was reported in a Kenyan case study (Kibicho, 2005). These differ from the observation reported in Nigeria (Eyisi et al., 2021), where women took a neutral position about tourism because they believed their views do not matter in decision-making as culture privileges the positions of men.

The influence of culture on women's roles and perceptions of tourism is an issue that requires critical attention and discussion. Vidya (n.d) reported that whilst tourism is the largest service industry in India, the participation of women remains abysmal, which has affected the industry's growth because women have the creativity and inventiveness to contribute to tourism. The same was reported by Sheikhi (2015) in Baluchis, Iran, whose findings show that women do not have a voice in their community because of the dictates of their culture. However, the women saw their participation in tourism as an opportunity for empowerment

and income generation. However, the challenge remains the views of men about women participating in tourism, especially in Africa. Nzama (2008) reported that in the Kwazulu-Natal region of South Africa, many men view women's participation in tourism as a distraction that leads to abandonment of house chores and a means of achieving financial freedom. In many traditional African communities, when women are financially empowered, some men feel threatened, leading to antagonism (Nzama, 2008). Such antagonism is also reflected in research and knowledge production (Khoo-Lattimore et al., 2019).

In tourism academia, many scholars are men because before now, academia was viewed as a male-dominated profession. Whilst the number of female scholars has increased in the last two decades, researchers have argued for more inclusion (Xu et al., 2017). The authors noted a wide disparity between men and women tourism scholars, leading to the proliferation of research on the topic area, particularly from Western scholars. Such disparity also exists among Chinese tourism scholars, attributed to their culture that does not allocate equal power to men and women (Xu et al., 2017). Similarly, Khoo-Lattimore et al. (2019) explored the representation of women in tourism knowledge production. They reported an unbalanced gender involvement, with more male scholars serving as keynote and guest speakers at conferences than females. This needs to be addressed to achieve the fifth Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) of gender equality (Manumpil et al., 2023; Trang Nguyen & Huong Hoang, 2023). Je et al. (2021) also discussed gender issues in tourism organizations, noting that women remain underpaid whilst they comprise a more significant percentage of the workforce. They said there is a gap between the academic advocacy for balanced gender representation and what is obtained in practice in many tourism organizations. They summarised a need to establish sound regulations to monitor, measure and report gender equality practices in tourism organizations.

Establishing sound regulations and standards to help support gender equality is an excellent step to ensuring tourism sustainability. This is important when stakeholders understand that tourism can positively and negatively impact gender, which could contribute to equality or inequality. This could explain why Jackman (2022) described the relationship between tourism and the topic of gender as a mixed blessing that should be approached with caution if there is any hope of achieving sustainability. This is consistent with the views of Araújo-Vila et al. (2021) that without gender equality, it is impossible to talk about sustainable development as more than half of the human population will remain disenfranchised. Tourism will not be left out because of the number of women involved in the industry. This case is more problematic in Africa because of the influence of local culture, weak policy for women empowerment and inclusion, unprecedented corruption, godfatherism and the nature and structure of governance. Gender discourse cannot be distanced from the tourism industry because its sustainability depends on the relationship between residents and tourists (including developers and government), leading to power distribution and allocation of roles, which women play a part in discharging (Figueroa-Domecq & Segovia-Perez, 2020)

Drawing from the review, one can see that the influence of gender on tourism is multifaceted. Therefore, this paper explores whether and how gender can influence female residents' perceptions of tourism in Southeastern Nigeria. The paper tries to answer these questions:

1. How does gender influence female residents' perceptions of tourism in Southeastern Nigeria?
2. What are the factors responsible for such influence?

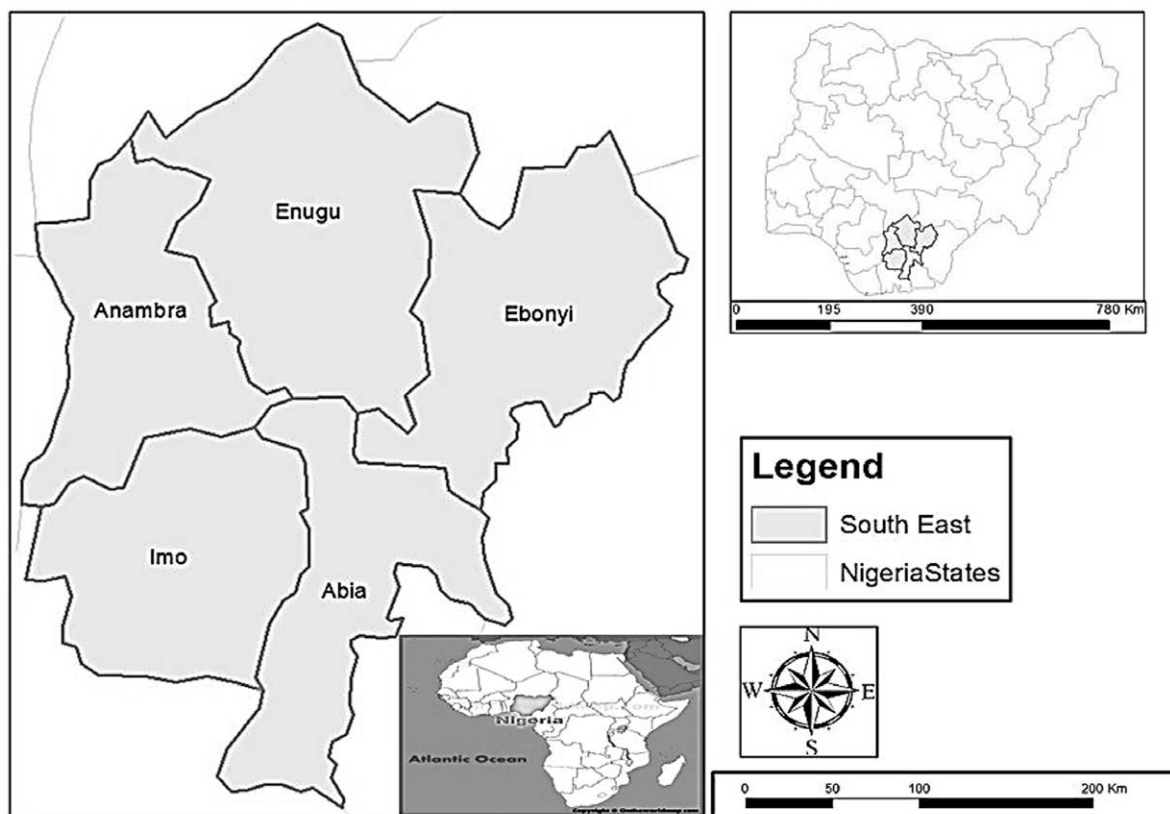
3. Case study area

Southeastern Nigeria comprises Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu and Imo States, the homeland of the Igbo people. Igbo people are also found in some South-South States of Delta, Rivers, Cross River and Akwa-Ibom (see Figure 1). Igbo people are one of the three dominant ethnic groups in Nigeria. The traditional Igbo society is male-dominated, where men wield more power than women and make crucial decisions. Before the

arrival of Europeans in the fifteenth century, the people had no central ruler (Tonwe & Osemwota, 2013). However, for more accessible communication, the British government empowered warrant chiefs (individuals who acted as tax collectors, judges, and administrators) to represent the people. A traditional Igbo society is a quasi-democratic patriarchal entity with decentralised and fragmented power (Tonwe & Osemwota, 2013). Today, communities are ruled by a council of elders and a traditional ruler who discharges responsibilities assigned by the people. No individual can make decisions without securing approval from other members.

We selected some communities in Anambra and Enugu States (see Table 1) because they represent destinations where tourism is still developing. We are indigenous to the region and have worked and lived there for over 20 years. Being Indigenous empowered us to identify participants and observe the local laws. Another reason for selecting these sites is that the state governments have recently harnessed the cultural materials for development, established relevant agencies, and are putting facilities in place to boost tourism. Tourism in the area is still early as visitor influx is limited, facilities are poorly developed, and impacts are minimal.

Figure 1
Map of Southeastern Nigeria (within Nigeria and Africa)



Source: Adapted from Google with modifications.

4. Methodology and data analysis

4.1. Methodology

This paper adopted a qualitative design, considering the interactions between the researchers, the topic, and participants' views as co-creators of knowledge. Qualitative research privileges participants' voices, help researchers make sense of their worldviews and concludes to solve real-life problems (Willig, 2017). This design

is best suited for this research because it helps to understand the forces and dynamics in the participants' feelings, beliefs and values. It works with constructivism, which assumes that there is no single reality. The participants are expected to share how they are affected by gender and tourism. We used an ethnographic approach to collect data. Ethnography requires researchers to establish relationships with participants, observe, record, and develop a coherent story for answering research questions. Before the fieldwork, the first author secured ethical approval to ensure that the research did not cause harm to the participants. While in the field, we were neither insiders nor outsiders; we worked as a team to avoid individual bias because we are indigenous to the area and have taught tourism for many years. Remaining in the middle helps to avoid personal bias in qualitative research (Breen, 2007). Interviews were conducted with 60 women who were available and willing to participate in the research. These served as the sample for this study (See Table 1). We interacted with them to understand their perceptions about the issues under investigation. For anonymity, the participants were given pseudonyms.

Table 1
List of towns with participants interviewed during the fieldwork

Towns in Anambra State	Number	Towns in Enugu State	Number
Adasi-Ani	3	Ogugu	3
Adasi-Enu	3	Owelli	8
Adasi-Nnukwu	3	Ihe	6
Agulu	3	Agbogugu	10
Aguluzoigbo	3	Akegbe-Ugwu	6
Akwaese	3		
Ichida	3		
Neni	3		
Obeledu	3		
Total	27		33

We conducted focus group discussions (FGD) and semi-structured interviews. FGD is a data collection method in ethnographic research that is suited for exploratory research such as this one. It is famous for complementing in-depth interviews, which we also used in this research. All the interviews were conducted in the native Igbo language, lasted for one hour, and were recorded and transcribed into English since the research report is to be done in English. The first author did the preliminary transcription and submitted it for more input. All the authors made the final corrections before the analysis. Our positions as indigenous researchers and tourism teachers gave us linguistic advantages and were instrumental in identifying the right participants.

4.2. Data analysis

Qualitative data analysis (QDA) was used to make a more profound sense of the data. QDA deals with textual materials and aims to arrive at coherent ideas. Data collected through qualitative methods are unorganized, and researchers must provide coherence, influencing the analysis methods employed (Ritchie & Spencer, 2011). We analysed the data using content analysis (CA) to identify latent and manifest meanings. The unit of analysis was each participant's comments about the influence of gender on their perceptions of tourism and the factors responsible for their perceptions. We developed nodes for coding ideas from the data. The data were thematically analysed to identify patterns and themes. NVivo 11 software saved us time, reduced human errors, and made the process transparent. We continued with the coding until all the critical comments were coded. From the coded data, we identified categories (words and phrases) through similarities and differences in their contents. We further refined the categories and identified themes for addressing our research questions. The coding was refined until we agreed on the final themes presented in this paper. After the analysis, we employed a neutral coder to review our analysis and made corrections based on the feedback.

5. Findings

The findings showed that gender influences residents' perceptions in the area, even though participants did not acknowledge any significant impact of tourism. We think this is because of the stage of tourism development. The themes identified for understanding how and why gender influences residents' perceptions of tourism were categorized into three groups. The first group represents women whose perception was influenced by local culture. The second group represents women who lamented about the unequal distribution of power. The third group represents women who were afraid of neglect. The groups will be discussed in detail.

5.1. Theme one: Influence of local culture

Many comments showed that the Igbo culture is gender biased, with more power allocated to men during decision-making and participation in community affairs. All participants acknowledged that such cultural orientation and paternalism are more prevalent in rural areas, representing the region where most tourism activities occur. Because of their culture, the women do not have the right to make final decisions about tourism or comment on whether to support or discontinue its development. Some participants highlighted their empowerment through education to help modify some cultural practices and encourage their roles in the community. One of the participants in Enugu State noted that the Igbo culture permits men to marry more than one wife but prohibits women from having more than one husband at a time. In more severe cases, when a man indulges in extra-marital affairs, the custom does not render punishment as it does when a woman commits the same crime. A woman does not get a share of ancestral lands or become the chief priest in many Igbo communities. These examples highlighted that the Igbo culture favours men in decision-making processes, which could influence decisions about tourism in the area. Participant 12 in Enugu State noted:

I do not have the right to challenge some of my husband's decisions because I fear community members will support him. I have to respect him and abide by our norms. Even when it comes to tourism, which we are talking about, he has more power to make decisions about it than I do. We will wait until tourism starts here to see if the men will continue dominating.

This quote implies that Igbo cultural orientation will likely influence how future tourism is planned and projects executed in the community, as some women uphold their culture over expressing their rights as community members. To further illustrate this point, a participant in Anambra State recounted how the women's association in her community-led development projects (establishing a cassava processing centre, opening a water project and revitalizing the local market to create employment and boost the local economy). However, she was dismayed that some men who felt challenged by their achievements demanded that they submit their progress reports for appraisal as if they were incapable of executing projects. She explained this as one of the signs of male dominance in the Igbo society. The same participant was worried that the men might not allow them to participate and get financial empowerment during tourism development. The participant noted her point this way:

We are proud of our contributions to community development because we have attracted the attention of our governor, who commended our efforts. It is annoying that we are not allowed [by some of the menfolk] to exercise our rights as they do in this community. As tourism is gradually developing here, let us wait and see what happens in the future (participant 23 – women representative in Anambra State).

The quote shows that women can contribute to community development and are willing and ready to replicate the same in tourism development if given the opportunity. This explains why it is essential for all the stakeholders to participate in decision-making at this stage of tourism development.

5.2. Theme two: Influence of unequal distribution of power

The view of the women in this group relates to the first. The main difference is that they responded about the unequal power distribution during actual tourism decision-making, not what could happen in the future. The participants in this group are mainly those from towns in Anambra State, where small-scale tourism has started. They referred to the incidents in the past where the men and traditional rulers negotiated with the government and tourism developers without giving due consideration to the women. Some recalled that before, during and after the construction of a tourist resort in their community, the government, the traditional ruler and his cabinet (made up of only men) were consulted. This left many women aggrieved and disenfranchised. Although the women noted they possessed skills and experiences that would have contributed to the project's success, they were not given an opportunity. The government and the traditional ruler agreed to lease the resort to a Western hotel chain and change the name to worsen the situation. This triggered agitation among the local people (including the women) as they did not wish to commoditize the accommodation facility. Participants 38 and 20 in Anambra State have this to say:

They [our husbands] have betrayed us by sidelining us during critical decision-making that concerns project development in our community. Yes, we have our association, and they allow us to present our worries, concerns, and expectations. However, they [the men] usually do what they want because they are closer to the traditional ruler and other decision-makers [Participant 38, Anambra State]

When it comes to decision-making, we are not comfortable and happy with the way things have been happening between us and the men over the years. Everything points to one thing: they see themselves as having more privileges and rights than we do. We are worried because we have not been allowed to interact with the project developers and managers to say what we want, even with some of the people [tourists] visiting our community to enjoy our resources [Participant 20, Anambra State].

Some participants lamented they could not sell their local wares to the hotels. They explained that their husbands fear they will be exposed to tourism and tourists. According to these women, whilst their husbands know the benefits of engaging in tourism (getting local jobs, increased sales and increased local income), they prefer to protect their wives from outsiders (primarily foreign tourists). Such 'excessive' protection (as one of them puts it) has led to sidelining women in tourism activities in the area. Participant 43 in Anambra State highlighted her point this way:

I do not know why they [our husbands] are over-jealous and overprotective, so much so that they do not want us to get involved in this [tourism] business. Yes, we make brisk sales when visitors attend our cultural festivals, but the men and our traditional ruler see more to the planning of the events. That is why we do not know much about what is happening inside.

This quote shows that most women are only involved in tourism through their sales to tourists during cultural events and are left out during decision-making. Although the men want to protect their wives, the women want to get more visible in tourism activities.

5.3. Theme three: Influence of fear

This group represents those who do not wish to be involved in tourism because they fear men will not allow them to contribute. This theme is also related to the first, as such fear stems from the nature of the Igbo culture that will enable men to dominate women. These women noted that since the Igbo culture does not often permit women and young people to challenge the decisions and opinions of older men, it is futile to

challenge the status quo. They prefer to stick to their local businesses and continue to contribute to community development. It was interesting to observe that even the educated women commented that they could not fight the Igbo culture because that might lead to severe consequences. They added that in urban areas, challenging the system might be possible. One participant in Enugu State said that even though their participation in tourism is vital, it remains to be seen if the men understand the need to work with the women. She believes doing this might help change their perception of tourism participation. Two women participants reacted this way:

It is not that we do not want the best for our people or love our community; it is more about whether we will be allowed to express our passion for improving our welfare. We are always willing to help whenever needed, but as it stands now, we are not eager to be part of tourism.... Except for something extraordinary, the women will likely not be part of tourism planning when it starts here (Participant 3, Enugu State).

I am uncomfortable discussing tourism in our community. I do not think I can answer some of your questions; the men should do that better. If you want me to be honest with you, I do not want to be a part of it [tourism] because what I say or want might not make any difference like what the men say or want. We see this in our community (Participant 52, Anambra State).

These quotes reveal indifference that might affect future tourism in the area. The words ‘extraordinary’ and ‘I do not want to...’ could mean these women do not expect any positive changes in the *status quo* anytime soon.

6. Discussion

The findings of this study confirm that gender issues can influence how residents perceive tourism, even though the impacts have not become evident in the area. These issues are significant and need attention to achieve sustainable tourism. The main issues identified reflect the influence of culture, unequal distribution of power, and fear of neglect during the crucial stages of tourism planning. The findings confirm that these issues are prevalent in destinations with paternalistic cultures (supported by Saufi et al., 2014). They also show that gender issues exist in advanced and emerging economies at varying degrees, which can be deduced from the literature (Eyisi et al., 2021; Sheikhi, 2015). Some points can be gleaned from the findings. First, cultural orientation in many African countries is a significant variable that influences the roles of tourism stakeholders and how they perceive the industry (supported by Nzama, 2008). Second, culture allocates unequal power to stakeholders such that men are at the centre of policymaking and the primary drivers of decision-making, thereby disenfranchising women (Eyisi et al., 2021). Third, the influence of culture has left many women aggrieved. Unless something is done, women might continue to lose interest in tourism, affecting sustainability because their roles are essential. Fourth, age played a significant role in the perceptions of participants. Our findings revealed that single ladies were less interested in commenting about tourism because they were unsure of their position in the community.

Concerning the influence of culture, the Igbo belief system does not support gender equality. Such orientation places women at the periphery of cultural matters as they are not allowed to get involved in some activities. Women are not always allowed to be financially empowered more than their husbands. In some Igbo societies, women do not cultivate yam because the local people consider it the chief of all crops meant for the men. Women cannot own ancestral lands (Eyisi et al., 2021). All these cultural favouritisms have affected tourism in the area, as reflected in the findings. The findings mirror the points made by Nzama (2008) about the influence of native culture on how men see women’s participation in tourism in South Africa and Sheikhi (2015) in Iran. This means gender equality is far from achieved (Vidya, n.d; Xu et al., 2017), mainly in Africa. This inequality is affecting how women participate and perceive the tourism industry. Therefore, the indifferent

attitude of these women needs to be taken seriously. Our finding creates awareness for tourism stakeholders to involve women, empower them and consider their concerns during planning.

The cultural influence has subsequently resulted in unequal power distribution in the area. The implication is that during tourism planning, men and women cannot have the same level of freedom in decision-making. This could be gleaned from the comments made by some participants, who noted that they are reluctant to comment about tourism because the final decision rests with the men. It suffices to say that traditional rulers and their cabinet members will determine any tourism coming into the area. Although women have associations, they must report complicated matters to the men. Eyisi et al. (2021) and Vidya (n.d) reported such unbalanced access to power and poor representation of women through case studies in Nigeria and India, respectively. Their findings resonate with the point made by Je et al. (2021) about the gap between men's and women's empowerment in the tourism industry. Another point that can be noted is that some women attributed their fear to location, believing that those living in urban areas have more opportunities to express their rights. This observation raises a new area of inquiry that requires further exploration to understand how location influences women's perceptions of tourism.

The disconnect between men's and women's participation in tourism is also reflected in the unwillingness of the latter to get involved. As reflected in the findings, many participants were uninterested in discussing tourism because of fear of neglect. They believe tourism is a topic for the men because they are the policymakers and know what should be best for the community. This assertion does not mean these women cannot contribute to tourism; it is more about the narrative that needs to be modified. This narrative implies that women's positions and roles might become unattended because of their unwillingness to participate in tourism. The refusal is also reflected in the production of tourism knowledge, resulting from losing interest in the industry. This observation is consistent with the points made by Khoo-Lattimore et al. (2019) and Je et al. (2021) about the domination of men in tourism. One can argue that women should be empowered to engage in tourism within and outside the academia as this will help to achieve the fifth SDG (gender equality). This will also help to create more awareness and hopefully change the current narrative about women's participation. This resonates with the views of some participants who noted that they need to be sensitized about tourism, with the younger women encouraged to acquire Western education to participate in decision-making. Tourism stakeholders should begin to include more women in planning to help empower them and give them more reasons to support the industry. An excellent way to start is by training women in decision-making, creating opportunities for occupying key roles and sharing tourism benefits.

7. Conclusion

The discussions in this paper show that gender is a significant variable that influences residents' perceptions of tourism, even when the impacts are yet to become evident. It is interesting to note that the study's findings, whilst highlighting how women perceive tourism in the area, also confirm findings from other studies. Cultural paternalism played a significant role in shaping how residents perceived tourism because men exercised more power than women and, therefore, more freedom, influencing how women perceived their participation in tourism. To achieve sustainable tourism in the area, women should be stakeholders in planning because they play roles in the industry. An excellent way to ensure their participation and empowerment is by raising their awareness and supporting them to acquire more education. Consideration should also be given to how culture hinders the opportunity for women to participate in tourism, as this will help to make pragmatic laws that will be mutually beneficial and equally motivating.

Our findings cannot be generalized for other states within the area as we only reported the perceptions of a group of women within Southeastern Nigeria. That said, the discussions in the paper will contribute to the

argument for more women's inclusion in tourism, especially for destinations within emerging economies where tourism is seen as a new economic venture. Our findings could help stakeholders formulate and implement policies that can help to develop a more resident-friendly destination devoid of dissenting voices from women. Since this study focused on selected groups, towns and states in Southeastern Nigeria, future researchers may extend to other groups of women (especially the unmarried), states and regions within Nigeria. If this happens, the findings will help to build a more robust understanding of how gender influences residents' perceptions of tourism in Nigeria and other countries within emerging economies. Future researchers can employ mixed methods to gather in-depth data and add a theoretical understanding. There is also a need to understand more reasons (such as level of education or financial power) why gender influences residents' perceptions of tourism in other destinations. More importantly, indigenous researchers should be encouraged to conduct more studies.

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