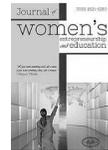


ORIGINAL SCIENTIFIC PAPER

Profiling the Contemporary Brazilian Tourism Entrepreneur: A Gender Analysis



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ABSTRACT

Drawing on the contemporary shift in tourism research to a sociological focus on the producers within tourism, this study profiles Brazilian tourism entrepreneurs through a gender lens. Empirical evidence collected via online questionnaires administered to tourism managers on a nation-wide scale, provides the data on entrepreneurial characteristics such as age, income and educational level. Quantitative analysis utilizing SPSS to correlate variables and test statistical significance is combined with a thorough interweaving of literature on tourism entrepreneurship and gender. This results in a uniquely insightful account of how tourism entrepreneurs' profiles are influenced by gendered socio-economic structures. Findings, ranging from the high number of male entrepreneurs that earn more than 13 minimum wages, the low number of female entrepreneurs aged 35-39, to the occupational segregation as manifested in a male-dominated transport industry, illustrate how gender silently operates to define entrepreneurial positions. New conceptualizations of entrepreneurship evolve to incorporate the conflicting pressures between the need to conform to entrenched gender roles and simultaneously provide economically in the increasingly unstable and demanding economic landscape. These alterations prompt for the development of tourism policies that recognize and address these gendered influences within tourism development.

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KEY WORDS: *entrepreneurship, gender, Brazil, gender, producers, tourism development, economics, profile*

Introduction

Gender orders social dynamics and pervades all aspects of economic and personal life by being the product of sex-related and socially accepted behaviours, which have become internalised as a natural way of being (Beauvoir et al., 2000; Fenstermaker & West, 2013). As tourism is “built of human relations” (Aitchison, 2001: 134), the impact of gender relations on tourism is an interesting and under-researched topic. The role gender plays within tourism is of special interest as women are often encouraged to enter tourism employment due to its flexibility and its ‘suitability’ for women to engage in this activity without challenging gender norms regarding women’s roles as home-based carers (Bakas, 2014). An example of the type of tourism entrepreneurship that conforms to gendered norms surrounding feminine subjectivities of care, is the engagement in the production of handicrafts to sell in the tourist-souvenir market, as in the case of Mexican weavers (Cohen, 2001) and Mayan craftswomen (Cone, 1995). Whilst there is conflict regarding the definition of entrepreneurship, in this study the loose definition of an entrepreneur is “someone who perceives an opportunity and creates an organisation to pursue it” (Bygrave, 1997: 2) is adopted.

Tourism has high concentrations of entrepreneurs as small and medium sized enterprises are numerically dominant and a key distinguishing feature of the tourism industry (Morrison et al., 2010). This makes the study of tourism entrepreneurs’ profile useful in creating a more realistic picture of contemporary tourism. Looking at the ways in which gender permeates entrepreneurs’ motivations to enter entrepreneurship and the constraints they face during entrepreneurship, are essential in order to properly inform tourism development policies that encourage tourism entrepreneurship. Female entrepreneurs are one of the fastest growing entrepreneurial populations worldwide (Brush et al., 2009), and tourism in particular is an industry which attracts large numbers of female employees, with female representation within the tourism and travel industry being expected to rise to 36.5% by 2023 (World Travel & Tourism Council, 2013). However, currently, the majority of tourism entrepreneurs in most countries are still men (Kelley et al., 2013).

This paper begins by providing the reader with background to how Brazilian tourism entrepreneurs are represented within current literature, critically reviewing how gender and entrepreneurship interact. Following the literature review, the methods used within this study are presented. Then, the results from questionnaires answered by Brazilian tourism entrepreneurs are presented and discussed. The discussion builds a profile of the contemporary Brazilian tourism entrepreneur with regards to age, gender, income, region, sector, educational and marital status. Finally, conclusions are drawn regarding tourism entrepreneurs in Brazil, and suggestions are made for tourism development policies that take into consideration the issues raised within this paper.

Background

Many development programs, such as the ones implemented by the World Bank, specifically target women, encouraging them to engage with entrepreneurship, in fulfilling their objectives to increase economic growth (Griffin, 2010; Ferguson, 2011). However, as women are often encouraged to partake in economic growth initiatives but continue to be held responsible for all household labour (Momsen, 2004), conflict arises. ‘Gender’ encapsulates all the cultural markers a society uses to account for biological difference; however gender’s meaning goes beyond this. Gender is not exactly something that someone *is* or something that a person *has*, it is the mechanism by which notions of what constitutes masculine and feminine are produced and normalised. Enacting or “doing” gender is the act of performing complex “socially guided... micropolitical activities” (Bruni et al., 2005: 37) that are taken as expressions of what is seen as gender-related natural behaviours.

Searching for the reasons why women are underrepresented as tourism entrepreneurs, it is necessary to look further than a simple justification of it being a matter of ‘choice’. As the concept of ‘free’ choice in a capitalist society governed by the overpowering need to accumulate is a utopic term, it is necessary to look deeper into the politico-economic and socio-cultural structures influencing people’s choices. Examining traditional definitions and theories of entrepreneurship reveals a male-dominated bias (Green & Cohen, 1995), which is reflected in the prevailing historical discourse that “to think entrepreneur, was to think male” (Marlow et al., 2009: 139). While diverse theories have been presented to explain women’s lower levels of

entrepreneurship, the traditional definition of 'entrepreneurship' has been comparatively less challenged (Kerfoot & Miller, 2010). Social studies of female entrepreneurs "implicitly reproduce male experience as a preferred normative value" (Bruni et al., 2004: 256), while female notions about what constitutes entrepreneurship are neglected or seen as different from the norm (Ateljevic, 2009). Hence, one reason for the lower representation of female entrepreneurs is that entrepreneurship theories favour masculine interpretations of this economic structure.

Recently, there has been a trend in the cultural turn towards tourism studies, suggesting a focus on both the material and the cultural as being the space where gender roles and relations are re-worked, focusing on the "socio-cultural nexus" (Aitchison, 2009: 632). Tourism entrepreneurship is increasingly conceptualised as a legitimate arena to apply development programs aimed at gender equality, which is indicated by the wealth of funding for tourism projects around the world (Ferguson, 2007). Tourism offers many opportunities for women to become employed as there are low-barriers to entry and there is the option for part-time or informal work which will not disrupt gender roles that dictate women's primary responsibility is towards their family (UNWTO-UN, 2011). However, although women do become involved in paid work because of tourism development, gendered dynamics often prevent tourism development being as beneficial to them as it is to men (Tucker, 2007).

Rietz and Henrekson (2000: 9) claim that "female entrepreneurs [...] tend to run smaller firms, be underrepresented in manufacturing and construction, be less export-oriented and to be disproportionately reliant on households as customers", but "no gender differences is found for profitability". The study of Rosa et al. (1996: 475) also found that female business owners were "less likely to own multiple businesses, less eager to plan expansion and where expansion is planned, their strategies for growth will be rather different from their male counterparts". Past literature paints the profile of a woman choosing to pursue high-growth entrepreneurship as a highly educated parent with high levels of entrepreneurial intensity whereas the profile of a man choosing to pursue high-growth entrepreneurship is a young person with no experience in the business's industry (Davis & Shaver, 2012: 507). These gender differences in entrepreneurial profile are illustrative of how gender operates within entrepreneurship.

However, limited research has been done on the ways in which gender permeates entrepreneurship in the Brazilian context where the combination of patriarchal values, which are reinforced by strong religious elements, and the competitive pressure to accumulate, clash, creating new interpretations of entrepreneurship. This paper investigates the emerging paradox created by tourism as feminine roles of caring and producing in the neoclassical economic sense are moulded, by using quantitative methods as described next.

Methods

The material presented in this paper draws from empirical research conducted in the form of an online survey applied to Brazilian tourism enterprises registered in CADASTUR. CADASTUR is a database of individuals and enterprises that operate within the tourism field administrated by the Brazilian Ministry of Tourism (in cooperation with the official federal tourism bodies). A convenience sampling technique was used. The survey was carried out from April 2014 to December 2014 and a total of 471 questionnaires were collected.

Although the generalization of results to the population is not possible, the sample size allowed for consistent findings and the identification of important and statically significant trends. The software IBM SPSS (v. 21) was used for the quantitative data analysis. Univariate and bivariate statistical techniques were applied, through exploratory and inferential methods, and a 5% level of significance was adopted.

Quantitative analysis was applied in order to explore patterns of entrepreneurial involvement and furthermore to investigate the role of gender in participant-entrepreneurs' profiles, by applying a gendered angle to statistical data generated from the questionnaires regarding the entrepreneurs' age, marital status, income, sector of activity, region, education and parenthood

Whilst we accept that providing a profile of a 'typical' entrepreneur is essentialising (Mirchandani, 1999), since men and women are increasingly perceived as not having shared realities (Kabeer, 1999), the profile presented here is a representation of Brazilian tourism entrepreneurs within the study's specific context. In this study's sample, of the total number of managers (N=311) who answered that their occupation was the "*result of creating [their] own company/business*" (segment of question from the

questionnaire), 59.4% were male and 40.6% were female. This is in line with general trends for entrepreneurship in Brazil, where there are more male entrepreneurs than female (52.2% vs. 47.8%) (Macedo et al., 2014).

Analysis

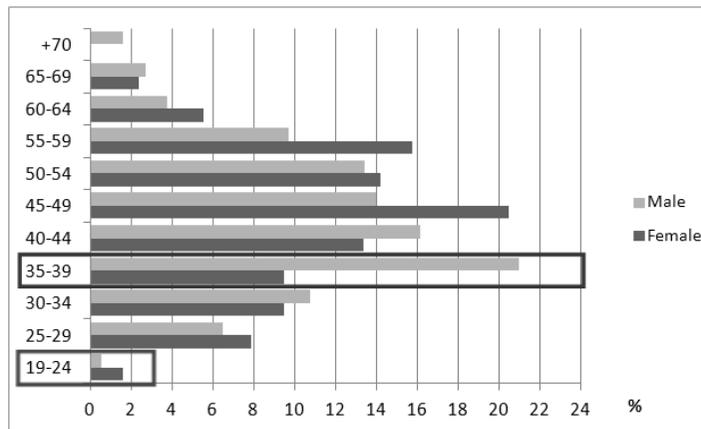
The results presented and discussed in the section relate to the socio-demographic characteristics ('profile') of Brazilian tourism entrepreneurs, viewed through a gender angle. The aim is to explore how gender roles and relations feature within a contemporary representation of the Brazilian tourism entrepreneurship reality. Findings from the most recent Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) Report from Brazil (Macedo et al., 2014) suggest that entrepreneurship is not gender-sensitive, as globally, both the propensity for engaging in an entrepreneurial activity among men and women (17.2% and 17.4% respectively). However, when looking at established business owners, entrepreneurial activity is more clearly dominated by men, which suggests that cultural, societal and economic factors influence entrepreneurs' profile (Macedo et al., 2014).

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Age

The entrepreneurs have an average age of 45 years old ($M=44.68$, $SD=10.74$), although it can be observed that men tend to be younger ($M=44.33$) than women ($M=45.19$). Although not specific to the tourism sector, a study conducted by Smith-Hunter and Leone (2010) shows that most business owners globally have an average age of 42 years. The age group 45-49 concentrates the highest number of female entrepreneurs (20.5%), while the age group 35-39 concentrates the highest number of male entrepreneurs (21.0%). Differences among female and male entrepreneurs concerning age are not statistically significant ($t(311)=0.696$, $p=.487$).

Figure 1: Age of Brazilian tourism entrepreneurs



When we observe the age of the respondents related to gender (Figure 1) two main observations can be made. The largest difference in male and female entrepreneur ages is 11.5% for the 35-39 group, (21.0% are men versus only 9.4% women). However, past literature shows that ten years ago, things were different, with a limited number of female entrepreneurs in the age group 20-30, in line with lower average age of mothers at first birth (Machado, St-Cyr, et al., 2003). On the other side of the reproductive age spectrum, Jonathan (2005), describes the female entrepreneurs who participated in her study as ‘mature’ women, with an average age of 46.5 years old. The evolving difference in age distribution of female entrepreneurs can be explained by fact that the ages of 35-39 have become the prime childbearing and childrearing ages. Current research illustrates how it is now global trend for women to have children after 35 years of age (Cooke et al., 2012). This is an interesting finding from the study as it shows that entrepreneurial profiles (eg age) are closely linked to women’s contemporary gendered economic roles.

Another observation is that in the age group 45-49, there are more female (20.5%) than male (14.0%) entrepreneurs. This higher entrepreneurial activity later in life may reflect a reaction to some changes in women’s personal lives and be a means for women to become re-integrated in the labour market after a period of absence due to childbirth and care. Female entrepreneurs interviewed by Jonathan (2011) refer to this, mentioning the desire of becoming ‘useful’ once the children grow up, of

gaining independence after getting divorced or finding entrepreneurship as the only employment opportunity since no company hires 'old people'.

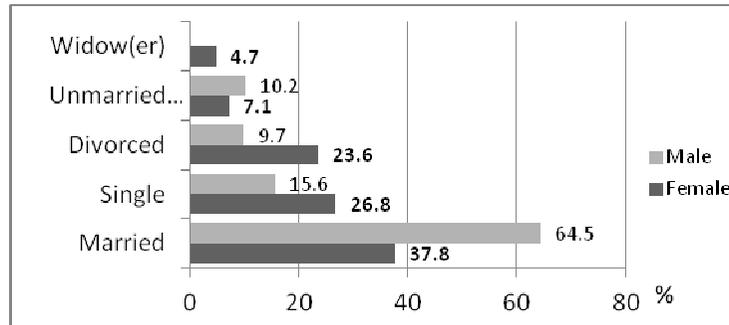
Another observation related to Figure 1 is that more women than men are involved in tourism entrepreneurship in Brazil at a very young age. As can be seen in Figure 1, there is a larger proportion of female (1.6%) entrepreneurs than male (0.5%) entrepreneurs in the age group 19-24, indicating how a change may be occurring in the younger generations. Elaborating on these statistics, it is plausible that more women are involved in tourism entrepreneurship than men in the age group 19-24 because the contemporary economic environment makes it more feasible for women to engage in entrepreneurship, as there is an increased need for two incomes to support familial needs. Social norms governing women's entry into paid labour are becoming more flexible because of the economic pressures demanding women's input into the family income with an intensity like never before (Mannon, 2006). It would be of interest to delve deeper into the reasons behind the statistical difference between male and female entrepreneurial involvement at a young age, which could be a fruitful avenue for future research using in-depth qualitative analysis of how the entrepreneurs in this age group perceive themselves.

Marital status

Most of the respondents are married (51.0%). Of the total number of entrepreneurs, there are more male (38.3%) than female (15.3%) entrepreneurs who are married. About one fifth (20.1%) of the entrepreneurs are single, of whom 10.9% are female and 9.3% are male. The remaining entrepreneurs in the sample are either divorced, have unmarried partners or are widows/ers.

Figure 2 shows the relative percentages of male to female entrepreneurs who are married, single, divorced, widowed or have unmarried partners. As can be observed from the figure, there is some variation in marital status percentages according to gender. In fact, the differences observed concerning the marital status of female and male entrepreneurs are statistically significant ($\chi^2(4)=33.909$; $p<.001$).

Figure 2: Marital status of Brazilian tourism entrepreneurs



The higher percentage of male entrepreneurs who are married (64.5%) when compared to married female entrepreneurs (37.8%), is related to gendered responsibility to maintain a work-family balance. Female entrepreneurs who are held responsible for social reproduction which includes household tasks and caring, often face the dilemma of having to prioritize family over work, which results in lower numbers of married female entrepreneurs (Brush et al., 2009; De Bruin, Brush, & Welter, 2007).

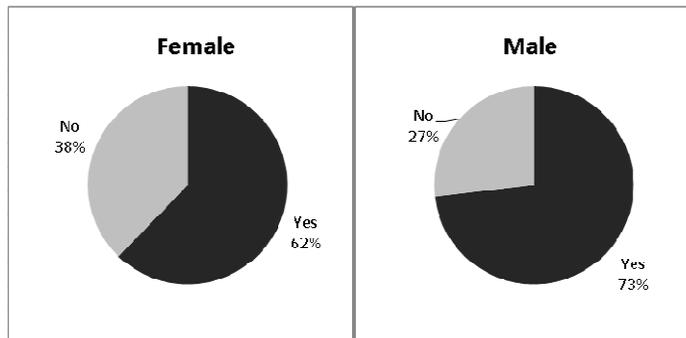
Past studies show that most Brazilian women entrepreneurs are married (Machado, St-Cyr, et al., 2003; Jonathan 2005; Machado, Barros, et al., 2003). However, our study comes into conflict with these reports, as it shows that only 37.8% of total female entrepreneurs are married, with large percentages of female entrepreneurs being either single (26.8%) or divorced (23.6%). The high percentage of divorced female entrepreneurs in the present study follows general trends of increased global divorce rates, which are fuelled by divorce becoming more socially acceptable (Frimmel, Halla, & Winter-Ebmer, 2013). However, for female tourism entrepreneurs in South American countries, increased divorce rates are also attributed to the fact that women who are financially independent do not feel the need to look after a non-contributing husband who is unemployed and not helping with household tasks and often choose single motherhood instead (Mannon, 2006).

Marital status is related to the number of children respondents have, which is analysed next in terms of how gender roles affect Brazilian tourism entrepreneurs' fertility.

Children

Most of the respondents have children (68.7%). Of the total number of respondents with children, 63.3% are male entrepreneurs and 36.7% are female entrepreneurs. Of the 215 respondents that say they have children, the majority (93.0%) have up to three children.

Figure 3: Percentage of female and male entrepreneurs who have children



Looking specifically within each gender group, it can be observed that 62.2% of all female entrepreneurs have children versus 73.1% of all male entrepreneurs (Figure 3). The association between gender and parenthood among entrepreneurs proved to be statistically significant ($\chi^2(1)=4.180$; $p=.028$). This variation between male and female entrepreneurs, can be explained by the reasoning that although male entrepreneurs have children, they are rarely limited by childcare responsibilities, as female entrepreneurs are. However, studies report that in Latin America married women are more likely to become self-employed than men, especially women with young children, perhaps out of increased monetary needs. At the same time, women with young children are also more likely to quit their businesses voluntarily (Minniti & Naude, 2010), a factor which can be related with the high dependence of children at young ages. Verheul, Stel and Thurik (2006) found that high family values negatively influence entrepreneurial activity. This is because, although self-employment represents an opportunity for both men and women to adjust their schedules to their family needs, “entrepreneurship involves high risk and time investments” and may not be a “viable option” for people to whom family is very important (Verheul et al., 2006: 170).

Considering his study's finding that there are fewer female entrepreneurs than male entrepreneurs with children, together with past literature that on one hand suggest entrepreneurship to be a good way of combining work and family but also involves high time investments, illustrates the complexity of gendered socio-economic structures that affect female entrepreneurship rates. Our data suggests that women who have children are less likely to become entrepreneurs than men who have children. This decreased participation of mothers within entrepreneurship can be explained by the operation of gender roles connecting femininity to primary responsibility to motherhood, which prevents women with children taking up roles with the productive economy. Social penalties in the form of gossip are often used to maintain stereotypic gender roles such as those surrounding female entrepreneurs prioritizing working over childcare. An example of this is how female tourism workers in Central America were criticized for letting their children play on the streets when they were at work, whereas their husband's role in childcare was not questioned (Lucy Ferguson, 2011).

The presence of children often influences the employment rates of women and men in opposite directions: parenthood negatively influences female employment, while positively influencing male employment. Mothers are less likely to be employed full-time than are women without children. Hence, family situation (e.g., marriage and children) may have a differential effect on entrepreneurial activity of women and men. Whilst entrepreneurship is often presented as a solution to combine work with family, this is not always possible in practice. Female entrepreneurs interviewed by Jonathan (2005) also referred to the difficulty of having free time, not only to dedicate to their families but also to themselves as individuals (for hobbies, well-being or grooming activities), as one of the down-sides of being self-employed.

This prioritisation can have varying effects on family structures and is highly related to gender roles changing as contemporary ideals of 'working mother' replace those of 'mother'. For example, within the European context this type of prioritisation of career over childbearing has led to a decrease in fertility rates. Tanturri and Mencarini (2005), for example, highlight how the drop in fertility rates in Italy are attributed to persisting gender roles dictating women's primary responsibility for social reproduction coupled with pressures to work and contribute financially to the family income.

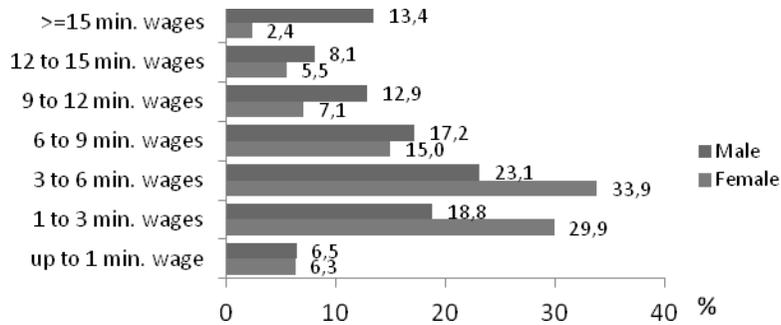
One of the effects of decreased fertility is a decreased labour power, whereas the implications for global business are many-fold, including effects on the welfare system. Whilst some economists suggest that the increasing rates of female labour force participation (which have resulted in low fertility rates) will off-set the negative effects that a drop in fertility rates brings, others are sceptical about the validity of this assumption, especially in light of an increasingly aging society with increased welfare needs (Prettner et al., 2013). Even though ageing now tends to be 'active ageing' due to increased pension age, we live in an ageing society because of a combination of declining fertility and falling death rates, together with decreases in disease and disability. In combination with decreasing fertility levels, due to increased prioritisation of economic engagement, this phenomenon has serious economic implications on the welfare state (Walker & Maltby, 2012). This illustrates the interdependence of economic and social processes, the role of gender within this relationship and by extension the ways in which involvement in tourism can alter these.

Income

Tourism stands out in the 6th position both in the ranking of activities that create more formal jobs, accounting for more than 712,000 in a total of more than 24 million jobs, and in the ranking of average remuneration, with 3.14 minimum salaries (in relation to a national average of 3.68) (Árias & Barbosa, 2007). With regards to gender, men have higher average remunerations than women, as illustrated in the Global Gender Gap Report (World Economic Forum, 2013).

With regards to the income that the entrepreneurs in this sample earn, this was calculated by asking participants to express their income in terms of multiples of minimum wage, which makes it easier to present income variations to an international audience (Figure 4).

Figure 4: Income of male and female entrepreneurs measured in minimum wages



The distribution of both male and female entrepreneurs' personal incomes (Figure 4) is mainly concentrated in the 3-6 minimum wages (23.1% men and 33.9% women) and 1-3 minimum wages range (18.8% men and 29.9% women). In the lower end of the wage spectrum, we notice an equal number of male (6.5%) and female entrepreneurs (6.3%) earn just one minimum wage, indicating that at this level there is less of a gender pay gap². This observation questions the extent to which the gender pay gap is related to class. Recent research shows a link between low levels of education and a decreased amount of gender pay gap, hence suggesting that class and gender pay gap are related (i.e. there is more pay gap within higher paying, than lower-paying employment) however there are limited studies that investigate how class affects entrepreneurs' gender pay gap in tourism (Korpi, Ferrarini, & Englund, 2013).

Although in 2012, Brazilian women also benefited of a higher increase in their salaries (2.4% in comparison with the 2.0% for men), a wage gap still exists, with women earning about 20% less than men (R\$ 1,697.30 vs. R\$ 2,126.67) (IBGE, 2014). Looking at Brazilian patriarchal structures, it is speculated that these play a role in the observed wage differential between genders (Smith-Hunter & Leone, 2010).

In the present study, it can be observed that female entrepreneurs prevail in the lowest income categories, while male entrepreneurs prevail in

² The 'gender pay gap' refers to the difference in remuneration of similarly qualified and experiences individuals based on gender. A significant measure of a country's socio-economic development, the gender pay gap is monitored by the World Economic Forum through the Global Gender Gap Index (Schwab et al., 2013).

the highest income categories; differences concerning entrepreneurs' personal incomes are statistically significant ($U=14,692.500$; $W=32,083.500$; $p<.001$), confirming a worse salary situation for female entrepreneurs. Additionally, it is observed that there are gender differences in the pay gap, depending on the level of income. As the level of income increases, more visible differences in income between men and women are obvious. A striking example of this gender gap in the present study is the high percentage (13.4%) of male entrepreneurs who earn over 15 minimum wages, compared to only 2.4% of female entrepreneurs earning this amount. Past literature has indicated that the reason for male entrepreneurs reaching high salaries is because of improved access to credit and economic opportunity whereas female entrepreneurs who value social factors such as work-life balance/flexible working, parenthood, childcare concerns and esteem issues have lower amounts of profit, often being classified as 'underperforming' (Marlow & McAdam, 2013). Indeed, a very recent study on Spanish workers, finds that women's career interruptions in order to adhere to feminine gender roles of caring, account for a 7.4% daily gender wage gap in Spain (Cebrián & Moreno, 2015).

Questioning macro-economic factors such as welfare provision and unemployment rates, can also provide a powerful explanation for the entrepreneurial pay gap (Saridakis et al., 2014). In the current study, it is suggested that a combination of a highly patriarchal Brazilian society that constitutes male entrepreneurship as a 'legitimate' discourse, hence more acceptable and recognisable in society; coupled with macro-economic factors such as limited state-childcare facilities, which encourage women to prioritise family over business, account for female entrepreneurs' lower earnings within tourism entrepreneurship.

Sector of Activity

In this section, the significance of gender in the tourism sectors Brazilian entrepreneurs occupy, is explored. Sectors are classified as public and private, and within the public and private sectors, various classifications of tourism activities are used to distinguish tourism sector occupations.

The majority of tourism entrepreneurs in this study characterise their businesses as belonging to the travel agency and tour operator sector (44.1%), followed by the accommodation sector (15.3%). This finding is in-line with general trends within Brazilian tourism for consumer-oriented services industry to be the activity sector that more Brazilian entrepreneurs

choose to engage with, with ‘accommodation and food & beverage’ -related activities leading the list of preferences, for entrepreneurs in general (Árias & Barbosa, 2007). In contrast to what is observed in other countries in which the tourism workforce is highly feminized, most (around 70%) of the Brazilian tourism workers are men (Árias & Barbosa, 2007). This may be due to occupational segregation, as the most relevant employing sub-sectors (i.e. transport) in Brazil are male-dominated (around 80% of transport employees are men). In Brazil, the accommodation, food and beverage, and travel agencies sub-sectors are the most gender-balanced because work in these sectors mimics tasks considered as feminine (e.g. laundry, cleaning, cooking, clerical). In fact, in Brazil, the service industry is dominated by female entrepreneurs (Smith-Hunter & Leone, 2010).

Looking at

Figure 5, the distribution of tourism entrepreneurs per sector can be seen. Tourism entrepreneurs largely operate in the private sector (89.0% of female entrepreneurs vs. 91.0% of male entrepreneurs).

Figure 5: Sector of activity of Brazilian tourism entrepreneurs

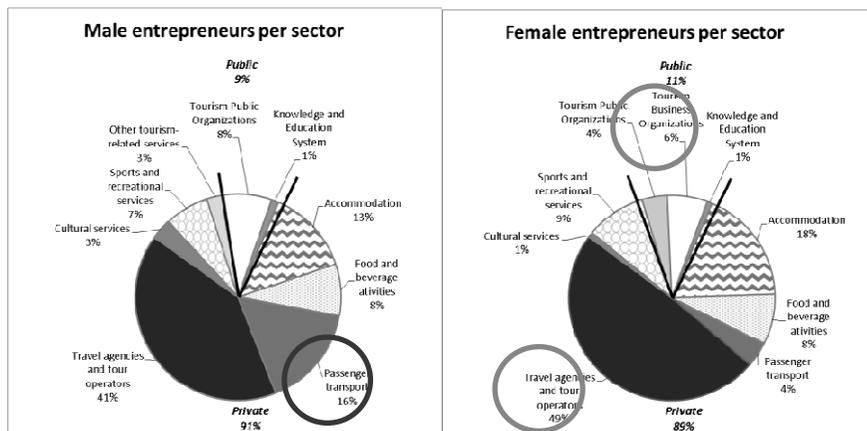


Figure 5 shows that one sector in which male entrepreneurs predominate is that of transport. 16.0% of male entrepreneurs engage in transport-related entrepreneurship, whereas only 4.0% of female entrepreneurs are in the transport business. This reflects general trends of gendering within tourism work which is manifested in women converting socially ascribed gender roles of caring into tourism work related to

accommodation, cleaning and cooking. Men ascribe to similarly gendered roles within tourism labour by taking on entrepreneurial work to do with transport, management and other masculine-gender related occupations (Baum, 2013; UNWTO, 2011).

The higher percentage of female entrepreneurs in the accommodation (18.0% women compared to 13.0% men) and travel agency (49.0% women compared to 41.0% men) sectors in our study is characteristic of occupational segregation within tourism labour. Gendered occupational segregation is a major source of labour market rigidity and economic inefficiency due to a waste of human resources (French, Lloyd-Walker & Crawford, 2014). Internationally, occupational or horizontal segregation, together with tourism labour's characteristics of being seasonal, low-paid work often completed at antisocial hours, contribute to a 'talent gap' which can cost millions to the tourism industry. A recent report calculated this cost to enumerate to US\$270 billion by 2024 (WTTC, 2014). Hence, the present study suggests that tourism development policies aiming at decreasing occupational segregation by targeting the gendered nature of transport entrepreneurship which is heavily dominated by men, could constitute an efficient profit-maximising initiative.

Occupational segregation begins at an early age. In Brazil, the areas of study chosen by women are increasingly those related to managerial skills (e.g., management, law, accounting, trade, economics, informatics, marketing and tourism) (Machado, St-Cyr, et al., 2003; Machado, Barros, et al., 2003). Previous research on Brazilian tourism graduates shows that these areas are traditionally perceived as masculine areas of study, with high concentrations of male graduates (Costa et al. 2013). Women in Brazil are trying to attain qualifications in areas traditionally perceived as masculine as it is these areas that also provide the highest financial rewards and social recognition. This skewed perception of the value of labour, relates to long-standing undervaluing of feminized work (i.e. anything that mimics social reproduction activities such as caring and household work) (Federici, 2012).

An interesting observation from the distribution of Brazilian tourism entrepreneurs per sector (

Figure 5) is that whilst 6% of female entrepreneurs engage in entrepreneurship that falls under the category of 'tourism business association', there are no male entrepreneurs in this category. The 'tourism business associations' category comprises largely of people who create and maintain associations representing the sector. Since we do not have

accompanying qualitative empirical data regarding the exact nature of these associations, it is difficult to draw conclusions, but this female-led forming of business associations illustrates the need women have for formal networking. Linehan & Scullion (2008, p. 36) found that there are two main obstacles for female managers regarding networking: “(i) access to male network, and (ii) having less time available for networking due to domestic commitments”. Women are excluded from formal networking due to gendered reasons, such as the often unsocial hours networking often takes place at, our results hint at women creating their own tourism networks, in order to network on their own terms. In Latin America, one type of network that is quite common are women’s cooperatives (Stephen, 2005). Women’s cooperatives are a collective type of entrepreneurship that allows entrepreneurs to join forces and market their products jointly, forming a significant part of the tourism industry, operating largely in the area of souvenirs, food and accommodation. These are possibly what the female-dominated ‘tourism business associations’ are in this study. Further research, in the form of in-depth interviews, into the nature of the female entrepreneurial public tourism businesses could yield interesting results from a gendered network angle on collective entrepreneurship.

Region

Regions in Brazil, whilst unified by the Portuguese language and the Brazilian identity, are characterised by great social inequality and cultural diversity. Whilst southern regions are more industrial, northern regions predominately rely on agriculture, are more influenced by the African slave culture and host many indigenous nations (Bichara, da Rocha Lordelo, Santos, & Pontes, 2012). These socio-economic differences also affect gender roles controlling the entry of women into female entrepreneurship. Strong beliefs that women should be confined to the private sphere and prioritise the family, are some of the ways in which gender influences entrepreneurial engagement. For example, female tourism entrepreneurs in Turkey, either avoid engaging in tourism entrepreneurship or engage in types of work that can take place within their homes (Tucker, 2007). Hence, the number of female entrepreneurs in the regions within the present study, is an indicator of how gender roles influence tourism’s economic structures, such as entrepreneurship, on a regional scale. However, there are other factors influencing female entrepreneurship rates, as illustrated by the fact that there are higher female entrepreneur’s rates in developing countries

because of the increased barriers women face for formal employment and who utilise entrepreneurship as a way out of poverty, rather than actively negotiating gender roles (Minniti & Naude, 2010).

This study finds that the majority of tourism entrepreneurs in Brazil are located in the Southeast region (40.9% of total entrepreneurs – Table 1). This finding is in line with the trend of the Southeast region concentrating more than half of the tourism workforce, followed by the Northeast, the South, the Central-West and the North (Árias & Barbosa, 2007).

Table 1: Distribution of tourism entrepreneurs in Brazil

Region in Brazil	Female		Male		Total	
	freq	%	freq	%	freq	%
North	5	1,6	16	5,1	21	6,7
Northeast	26	8,3	52	16,6	78	24,9
Midwest	12	3,8	22	7,0	34	10,9
Southeast	62	19,8	66	21,1	128	40,9
South	22	7,0	30	9,6	52	16,6
Total	127	40,6	186	59,4	313	100,0

Regarding the regional gender distribution of tourism entrepreneurs, more female (48.8% of total female entrepreneurs) than male entrepreneurs (35.5% of total male entrepreneurs) are found in the Southeast region (**Error! Reference source not found.**). This is a region in Brazil where more female than male entrepreneurs are found, contrary to the country's norm of more male than female entrepreneurs overall within tourism (Árias & Barbosa, 2007). The South and Southeast of Brazil are highly developed and industrial with the large metropolitan areas of Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo. There is a strong European influence in these southern areas of Brazil because of immigration in the nineteenth century and they are characterised by higher income and education levels. Since greater gender equality is linked to higher education and income levels, these regional characteristics may account for the higher number of female entrepreneurs in this region.

The Northeast region, characterised by villages and coastal areas, shows the second highest number of entrepreneurs (24.9%). The high number of entrepreneurs in the Northeast is the result of increased investment by national tourism development plans in the past two decades, which resulted in a steep increase in tourism infrastructure (Puppim de Oliveira, 2003). Indeed, since the 1980s, tourism development in the

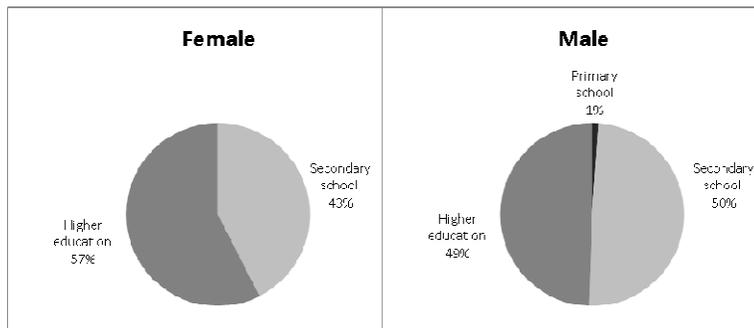
Northeast focused on environmentally-friendly types of tourism development such as ecotourism which has social as well as environmental goals, encouraging locals, both men and women, to engage in tourism entrepreneurship.

Educational Level

Several studies suggest that formal education has a strong positive influence in becoming self-employed and successfully pursuing an entrepreneurial activity (Robinson & Sexton, 1994). With regards to the educational background of entrepreneurs in our sample, most (52.7%) of respondents have completed higher education, out of which women comprise 23.3% and men 29.4%.

Of the total number of entrepreneurs, only 19.4% of entrepreneurs have an educational background in tourism, illustrating how tourism often has low requirements for entry, which is also why it is promoted as a rural development tool. Past studies have shown that female entrepreneurs are a highly educated group, with the majority of business owners having university educational experience, which is true for both male and female Brazilian entrepreneurs (Vale et al., 2011; Machado, Barros, et al., 2003; Jonathan, 2005, 2011; Smith-Hunter & Leone, 2010). More specifically, in the study conducted by Machado, St-Cyr et al. (2003), in Brazil, the majority of interviewed entrepreneurs had graduated from university or held a post-graduate degree, with only limited cases not progressing beyond the primary education level.

Figure 6: Education level of female and male tourism entrepreneurs



In a study developed by Smith-Hunter (2010), 33 women entrepreneurs in the city of São Paulo (Southeast region) were interviewed, revealing that their high education level was connected with motivational factors, such as the gender pay gap in Brazil. The Smith-Hunter study observed that the pay-gap in Brazil influences female entrepreneurs in Brazil by observing that, “the majority of the women entrepreneurs indicated frustration in not earning as much as their equally (and sometimes less) qualified male counterparts” (Smith-Hunter, 2010:95). A recent study on tourism graduates in Brazil, placed the gender pay gap at 29.7% (Costa et al. 2013). So, a feeling of injustice that women are being paid less than men, encourages women in Brazil to study more, in order to have better paid work opportunities. The present study confirms these numbers (Figure 6), as more female entrepreneurs (57.0% of female entrepreneurs) have higher education than male entrepreneurs (49.0% of male entrepreneurs), although gender differences concerning educational level are not statistically significant ($U=10,810.000$; $W=28,201.000$; $p=.142$). More specifically, related to tourism, women again are more educated than men, as 11.5% of total number of entrepreneurs with tourism-related degrees being female versus 7.9% male entrepreneurs with a tourism-related degree.

Conclusion

This empirical study on tourism entrepreneurs in Brazil shows that it is not merely the genetic identity which determines an individual's propensity to become an entrepreneur, but the values attached to gendered characterizations of feminine and masculine stereotypes. These stereotypes are perpetuated through economic, political and socio-cultural structures, highlighting gender's cyclical influence on entrepreneurial discourse.

Initially, profiling of ‘the Brazilian tourism entrepreneur’ was completed, using the answers provided via online questionnaires on age, marital status, number of children, income, sector of activity, region and education. These statistics provided the basis for the critical analysis of how gender influences entrepreneurial profiles. For example the observation that there are fewer female entrepreneurs than male entrepreneurs with children, also suggests that women who have children are less likely to become entrepreneurs than men who have children. The high percentage (25.0%) of participants that say the main reason for not having children is because they want to concentrate only on their professional career highlights how

entrepreneurs are subjected to, and influenced by, economic forces that encourage people to prioritize productivity over creating a family. This prioritisation can have varying effects on family structures and is highly related to gender roles changing as contemporary ideals of 'working mother' replace those of 'mother'.

Various limitations of the study were also uncovered whilst completing the analysis. For example: although 10-12 years old children are considered dependent in Western societies, a more precise definition of 'dependent children' within the questionnaire would have perhaps made the present study more comparable to studies using children's age as an indicator of 'independence'.

Looking at the income entrepreneurs earn through engagement in tourism in Brazil, in the lower end of the wage spectrum, there are an equal number of male (6.5%) and female entrepreneurs (6.3%) earn just one minimum wage, indicating that at this level there is less of a gender pay gap. However, as the level of income increases, more visible differences in income between men and women are obvious. A striking example of this gender gap in the present study is the high percentage (13.4%) of male entrepreneurs who earn over 15 minimum wages, compared to only 2.4% of female entrepreneurs earning this amount. A possible explanation for this is the combination of a highly patriarchal Brazilian society that constitutes male entrepreneurship as a 'legitimate' discourse, hence more acceptable and recognisable in society; coupled with macro-economic factors such as limited state-childcare facilities, which encourage women to prioritise family over business, account for female entrepreneurs' lower earnings within tourism entrepreneurship.

A certain amount of occupational segregation is observed in this study. It is hence suggested that tourism development policies aiming at decreasing occupational segregation by targeting the gendered nature of transport entrepreneurship which is heavily dominated by men, could constitute an efficient profit-maximising initiative. In addition, further research, in the form of in-depth interviews, into the nature of the female entrepreneurial public tourism businesses could yield interesting results from a gendered network angle on collective entrepreneurship.

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Profilsanje savremenih brazilskih turističkih preduzetnika: analiza odnosa polova

A P S T R A K T

Ova studija prikazuje profil brazilskih turističkih preduzetnika kroz odnos polova, oslanjajući se na savremement promene u istraživanjima iz oblasti turizma sa socijološkim fokusom na proizvođače. Empirijski podaci prikupljeni putem online upitnika koji su dostavljeni turističkim menadžerima na nacionalnom nivou, prikazuju informacije o preduzetničkim karakteristikama kao što su starost, prihodi i nivo obrazovanja. Kvantitativna analiza koja koristi SPSS za korelaciju varijabila i testiranje statističkog značaja se kombinuje sa temeljnim povezivanjem literature o preduzetništvu i polu u turizmu. Kao rezultat se javlja pronicljiv prikaz načina na koji rodna socio-ekonomska struktura utiče na profil turističkog preduzetnika. Podaci, počevši od velikog broja muških preduzetnika koji zarađuju više od 13 minimalnih plata, malog broja žena preduzetnika starosti od 35-39, do segregacije zanimanja koja se manifestuje kroz dominaciju muškaraca u transportnoj industriji, pokazuju kako pol iz senke utiče definisanje preduzetničkih pozicija.

Nova konceptualizacija preduzetništva ide u smeru ugrađivanja suprotstavljenih pritisaka između potrebe da se prilagodimo ukorenjenim rodnim ulogama i istovremeno ekonomski obezbedimo u sve nestabilnijem i zahtevnijem ekonomskom okruženju. Ove promene utiču na razvoj javnih politika iz oblasti turizma koje prepoznaju i bave se uticajem odnosa polova na razvoj turizma.

KLJUČNE REČI: *preduzetništvo, odnos polova, Brazil, proizvođači, razvoj turizma, ekonomija, profil*

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