

**Participation and Decision in Rural Tourism:
an analysis from a gender perspective**

*Participação e Decisão no Turismo Rural:
uma análise a partir da perspectiva de gênero*

*La Participación y Toma de Decisiones en el Turismo Rural:
un análisis desde una perspectiva de género*

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Abstract

The Brazilian countryside is undergoing reinterpretation in recent decades, which has led to the emergence of a heterogeneous and multifunctional socio-spatial dynamics. In response to this changing environment, new ways to use the countryside emerge related to the consumption of new products and services, which has allowed the rural to become a service provider through leisure options, thus diversifying their ways to be productive. This diversification has changed the pace of local and family life, the structure of family labor organization as well as social and cultural values of the agents involved. Therefore, the proposed objective was to understand the power relationships of families that work in rural tourism enterprises. Data collection was conducted through semi-structured interviews with seven pluriactive families in the city of São José dos Ausentes, in the state of Rio Grande do Sul.

Keywords: Tourism; Gender; Work; Countryside.

Resumo

O meio rural brasileiro está passando por ressignificações nas últimas décadas, o que tem provocado uma emergência de dinâmicas sócio-espaciais heterogêneas e multifuncionais. Em resposta a este ambiente de mudanças surgem novas formas de uso do espaço rural

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relacionadas ao consumo de novos produtos e serviços, o que tem permitido que o rural, passe a ser um prestador de serviços através de opções de lazer; diversificando suas formas produtivas. Esta diversificação tem alterado o ritmo de vida local e familiar; a estrutura da organização do trabalho familiar; bem como os valores sociais e culturais dos agentes envolvidos. Diante disso, propôs-se como objetivo compreender as relações de poder de famílias que trabalham em empreendimentos de turismo rural. A coleta de dados foi realizada por meio de entrevista semi-estruturadas em sete famílias pluriativas no município de São José dos Ausentes, no Rio Grande do Sul.

Palavras-chave: Turismo; Gênero; Trabalho; Meio rural.

Resumen

El campo brasileño está pasando por la reinterpretación de las últimas décadas, lo que ha llevado a la aparición de la dinámica socio-espaciales heterogéneos y multifuncionales. En respuesta a este entorno cambiante con formas de utilizar el campo relacionado con el consumo de nuevos productos y servicios, lo que ha permitido que el país, van a un proveedor de servicios a través de opciones de ocio, diversificando surgen sus formas productivas. Esta diversificación ha cambiado el ritmo de la vida local y familiar; la estructura de la organización del trabajo familiar; así como los valores sociales y culturales de los agentes involucrados. Por lo tanto, se propuso como objetivo comprender las relaciones de poder de las familias que trabajan en las empresas de turismo rural. La recolección de datos se realizó a través de semi-estructuradas pluriactivas en siete familias en el municipio de São José dos Desaparecido en Rio Grande do Sul.

Palabras clave: Turismo, Género, Trabajo, Medio ambiente rural.

1. Introduction

The changes in the Brazilian countryside, especially after the 1970s, brings with it the development of new strategies for family reproduction, such as the inclusion of non-agricultural activities. Thus, we have new forms of rural areas usage related to the consumption of new products and services, which has allowed the farmer, normally a supplier of only raw materials, to become a service provider through leisure options, diversifying their productive ways. This last statement has encouraged many farmers to develop tourism, changing the pace of local and family life, the division structure of activities, both in tourism, agriculture and in the domestic environment, as well as the social and cultural values of the agents involved (CARNEIRO, 1998).

Simultaneously, we are witnessing a shift and a renewal of debates surrounding the countryside. Family farming is placed in the leadership role in rural development policies and,

with it, new issues become part of the academic portfolio, justified by the social, economic and cultural diversity. In this environment, researchers from various fields discuss the gender theme, especially from 1980s onwards, with the main research lines including labor relationships, sexual and domestic violence and empowerment. In Latin America, particularly in Brazil, the issues of gender and rural development have presented a myriad of issues, with the focus around new strategies for woman empowerment and more equitable policies. Even though genre encompasses both male and female, these works have intensified more over issues relating to women and their position in society.

In this sense, we turned our gazes at the restructuring of rural areas from the gender perspective, expressed by the rural tourism. Studying gender relationships in a heterogeneous environment, which is undergoing productive and organizational restructuring, with the inclusion of non-agricultural activities, has different interpretations and an effort becomes necessary to understand how is the process of rural development occurs. Thus, the investigation theme that emerges from this reality proposes to answer the following question: work in rural tourism has allowed the occurrence of significant changes in power relationships and empowerment in the countryside?

We sought to analyze these families from the perspective of genre as a historical category (SAFFIOTI, 2009), which expresses not only inequalities and hierarchies between men and women, but is also rooted in the material substrate which is the body, the playing field where society operates: “[...] although numerous mediations have existed, gender, socially constructed, is based on sex, situated in the biological field, in the organic ontological sphere” (SAFFIOTI, 2009, p. 08) between sexed bodies. In that sense, we seek to understand gender as a social process, built historically, subject to change and represented by a patriarchy, for it is the basis of the gender system, to the extent that in it, the relationships are hierarchized between socially unequal beings, while the genre comprises also of egalitarian relationships and this will be demonstrated during the study.

This work used, as a field of study, the tourist region of the Rio Grande do Sul State, named the Campos de Cima da Serra microregion, with specific focus in the city of São José dos Ausentes. This region was chosen for its importance in the tourism sector of the gaucho countryside and is considered one of the main rural tourism destinations. The unit of analysis



of this research was the rural households, which are agricultural and pluriactive. Agricultural families are those that produce, exclusively, towards agriculture, in other words, direct contact with the land cultivation processes and the management of animals, this being one of the selection criteria in this research. The other criteria were: have within the family structure both men and women (spouses), being located close to the properties used for rural tourism and being indicated by the pluriactive families. The pluriactive families are those that combine farming activities with other types of activities. The main criteria used for the selection of these families was having, in the property, activities linked to hosting services. Furthermore, it was necessary to have the involvement of both the men and the women (spouses) in the family. It should be noted that we are not proposing a comparison between pluriactive and farming families, but counterpoint moments, which we believe will enrich our analysis.

As a research tool, we opted for questioning those involved using guided conversation, guided by pre-formulated questions, but with a certain degree of freedom for the interviewer and the interviewees. In total, thirty-nine interviews we performed, with twenty-one of these performed in seven properties with pluriactive families, and eighteen interviews performed in six properties with farming families. Three types of instruments were used: one directed at the answering man, another at the answering woman and another to characterize the property, which could be answered by any member of the family.

The interviews were recorded in their entirety. The recording of these families was made possible due to the researcher's previous insertion within these families, allowing for bonds of trust between interviewer and interviewee. The data organization phase occurred, in the first instance, with the transcription of the interviews and later, the data classification was performed using categorization.

The main result observed in our research was that changes occurred, related to the access to economic and social resources. However, these changes were not enough for a transformation in gender relationships in the surveyed families. Decisions remain in the same instances and with the same meaning, that is, linked to labor relationships.

2. Analysis and Results Discussion

This item will seek to analyze the variables we defined to discuss the empowerment of women and men through rural tourism. As such, we will discuss the following item the bibliographic references we used as basis for the discussion of empowerment, its concept and definitions. The item “Participation and Decision in rural tourism: everything arranged” will analyze the variables of decision and participation in the economic relationships, the labor relationships and the institutional and political relationships. These variables have given us empirical information for analysis of power relationships and empowerment in the properties here studied.

2.1. Power, empowerment and rural development

The use of the term empowerment is recent in literature, achieving visibility from the 1990s onwards, especially when it is brought to attention by the feminist movement. There are different uses of the term by different social actors, however, in this study we will use the genre and the fight against the subordination of women approach.

The term empowerment is understood as the process that demands changes in power relationships, which involves control over economic, material, political resources, especially over women, in public and private environments. This process will culminate in what Sen (2000) defined as “capabilities”. “Feminists understand that gender relationships are relationships of power and that women’s empowerment is a prerequisite for gender equality” (CORDEIRO, 2010, p. 150).

Providing other elements for this analysis, Romano (2002), cited by Oliveira in his thesis, points out that empowerment can be understood as an approach or a process.

As an approach, empowerment puts people and the power as centerpieces of in the development processes, resulting in the development of capabilities of people and their organizations. This means overcoming the main sources of freedom deprivation, building new options, being able and knowing how to choose, being able to implement and to benefit from their choices. As a process, it may be the set of relationships people, organizations, communities use to take control of their own affairs, their own lives and become aware of their

own ability and competence to produce, create and manage. These are conflicting processes in the sense that they concern themselves with situations of expressed or implied domination (ROMANO apud OLIVEIRA, 2006, p. 22)

Both as a process and as an approach, empowerment can be, according to Ojeda, Muñoz and Michel (2002), modified in three dimensions:

The personal dimension, comprising changes in the being, in the individual, the abilities of the being, in other words, autoperception changes; the 'close' relationships, comprising of everyday relationships negotiations that develop skills to negotiate and influence the relationships and decisions within the domestic group, impacting their lives; and the collective dimension, where we work together with others to cause a larger and more significant impact. In this sense, the empowerment should be more than just an opening in the decision-making process, it should also include processes that allow women and the group to have the ability to perceive themselves as able to occupy decision-making spaces and use these spaces effectively, i.e. causing a change at the macro and micro level (OJEDA, MUÑOZ, MICHEL, 2002, p. 78).

These dimensions can be modified, taking into account some elements, especially when it involves the empowerment of women: one must consider that it is an induced element, since genre is instilled in men and women from birth; it demands external actors to engage and intervene in this process; implies education which allows women to find their time and space, critically and collectively; to become a political force in an organized movement, to plan and develop actions to transform the structures and the status of women (NASSER, 2001). In other words, greater empowerment implies greater equality between men and women. This equality is achieved taking into account the increase in the individual well-being, whose main components are the access and the control of resources, awareness and participation. We should consider also cognitive, psychological, political and economic components. This results in changes at the micro level (redefining values, greater freedom, renegotiation of domestic relationships) and at the macro level (policy agenda, transformed citizenship) (NASSER, 2001). In this sense, Cordeiro (2010) identified in his thesis, six aspects that relate to the empowerment process, "have confidence, respect and self-esteem; have a voice, that is, the ability to express your own ideas; have the freedom of coming and going beyond

home and sites; take collective action and make political action; fight for your rights; and have the access to program and resources” (p.156).

To reach the aspects raised by the aforementioned authors, empowerment strategies should not be isolated actions of collective action and of historical context, focusing not only on the individual, but on collective processes. In this sense, “the empowerment parameters are the construction of positive self-image and self-confidence, the development of skills to think critically, the construction of group cohesion and the promotion of decision-making and action” (CORDEIRO, 2010, p . 151). It requires changes in social relationships, more democratic and with shared power (in the family, community, institutions, government) and in the various manifestations of everyday life (sexuality, work, income, information, etc.). Empowerment is both an individual change as well as a collective action, which must be understood as self-confidence and self-esteem, should integrate itself as a process with the community, with cooperation and with solidarity. Therefore, it is understood as a non-linear process with a beginning and an end equally defined for women or a group of different women. Empowerment is different for each individual or group, as is life, historical context and, in particular, namely the subordination of the personal, of the family, of the community, of the national, of the regional and of the global (LEÒN, 1997). Lastly, empowerment is understood as a process of overcoming the patriarchal system and, therefore, gender inequalities.

Thus, especially the empowerment of women challenges the patriarchal family relationships, because it may lead to the disempowerment of man and the loss of the privileged position that he enjoys under patriarchy. This is because the empowerment occurs when there is a change in the traditional domination of women by men, whether in relation to the control of their life choices, their possessions, their opinions or their sexuality. Empowerment processes are, for women, a challenge to the patriarchal system, which aims to transform the structures that reinforce gender and social identity discrimination, overcoming gender inequalities (LEÒN, 1997).

However, from another point of view, the empowerment of women releases and empowers the man, for example, when a woman begins to share responsibilities previously exclusive of to the man in supporting the family. And, when the man is released from gender stereotypes, new emotional experiences are made possible. “Therefore, the empowerment of women



implies changes not only in their own experiences, but also in those of their partners and family members” (DEERE AND LEÓN, 2002, p. 11-12). The basis of this empowerment are born from the economic condition of women. To Morell and Bock (2008), women’s empowerment is closely linked to their ability to participate as equal partners in the property and to acquire the family rights to use its resources, with these resources considered by the authors as economic. The resources available for the production and expansion of the property are not available to women, since the men are, who in the vast majority dominate the labor market in rural areas, be it inside or outside the property, constituting as a major obstacle to women’s citizenship in countryside. To Morell and Bock (2008), the main focus of the discussion on empowerment of women comes from the lack of control of women in the family farm and in the management of agricultural explorations and permeates the prospects of the agency, visibility and identity. In addition, the structural inequalities that connect the unpaid labor of women for their families and low wages, low skills employment, limit the economic, cultural and social resources that women can mobilize in an attempt to participate in the formation of policies and/or to organize themselves (MORELL AND BOCK, 2008).

So, empowerment implies that the subject becomes an active agent and which that varies according to each specific situation, capable of defining their own lives and having control over their own things (LEÓN, 1997; SEN, 2000). They are synonymous with empowerment: integration, participation, autonomy, identity, development and planning. When it comes to empowerment, under a feminist scope, it relates to the changes in power relationships between men and women and that will reflect in new imaginary socials, implying a radical change in the processes and structures that reproduce the subordinate position of women as a gender. Empowerment implies power relationships, which act in the social, economic and political relationships, both between individuals, classes, groups or genders of a society (NASSER, 2001). Thus, León (1997) considers empowerment as an alternative way to notice development, a development that goes from bottom to the top, like a contribution of bases.

Jô Rowlands (apud DEERE AND LEON, 2002) distinguishes four types of power: power over, power to, power with and power from within. Power over represents the starting point of a game: someone’s increase in power, which means a loss of power to someone else. On the other hand, the other three forms are all positive and additive: someone’s increase in

power, increases the total available power or the power of all. However, to “feminists there is only power over” (p. 53).

Hashimoto and Telfer (2010) showed empowerment using the tourist activity in Japan. For them, the “female employment in the tourism sector can influence gender roles. [...] tourism has the ability to capacitate women in new roles outside of their traditional position, though some communities are more open to these changes than others” (HASHIMOTO AND TELFER, 2011, p. 73). For the authors, empowerment by tourism permeates some considerations, some discoveries. With tourism, women have access to new sources of income and consequently a new sense of independence. The author used the example of the bank account. A typical traditional family uses only one bank account and is in the husband’s name and only under his domain. With tourism, women opened their own bank accounts, and the domain and control to withdraw money as they see fit is completely theirs. Access to a bank account encourages female farmers to have: an understanding of balance sheets; higher morale and work; self-recognition as entrepreneurs, all providing a sense of security and greater financial independence for women (HASHIMOTO AND TELFER, 2011, p. 76-77).

Another factor highlighted by the authors was time management, conciliation of work time in tourism, in agriculture and for domestic chores, especially in high season tourism and in crop time in agriculture. This lack of control over time meets another finding of the authors, which are the conflicts of traditional gender roles in rural areas. Women involved with tourism, in addition to working in tourism, need to help in the agriculture and still maintain with their household chores.



Although tourism has given a new sense of independence, additional income and a new space for socialization, she is also working hard in the process, going between tourism and agriculture. Without the consent and understanding of the family, especially her husband, they do not get involved with tourism, and with her husband realizing that tourism will affect the women's domestic responsibilities and her work in agriculture, does not consent to her participation (HASHIMOTO AND TELFER, 2011, p. 80)

Nevertheless, it is worthy of praise that the involvement of women in tourism have given them greater socialization and networking with other women, which according to Hashimoto and Telfer (2011), is one of the empowering elements for women. Though new sources of income have been developed and new ways of socialization have been created among women, they are still expected to perform their usual responsibilities in the helping the farm and their domestic responsibilities (HASHIMOTO AND TELFER, 2011, P. 82), so that they actually remain within the traditional patriarchal gender system. What changes, then, with tourism? Or nothing changes? Changes in economic and social relationships are also observed by Rivera (2002), though this author did not identify changes in the dominating positions held by men and in the decision-making power of women, reached according to the author by accessing certain actives, such as education, public participation, work market, etc.

To achieve empowerment, it is necessary to access and control the resources and empowerment strategies that are the result of cognitive, psychological, political and economic components and that will result in changes at the micro level (intra family and individual) and at the macro level (extra family and collective). In this sense, our research identified changes, especially at the micro level, of the individual coming from the appreciation of family labor and the self-esteem generated by this, especially in women. Changes in the access to economic resources such as the increase of family income and women's access to the public world through visits of tourists and their involvement with their association with hostels meant that women could enter into a reality that until then, farming life failed to provide. Thus, they became more secure in their public and collective life and got engaged in discussions and decisions that farming life failed to provide. With tourism, they gained the professional knowledge that farming did not give them and that brings security to participation and decision-making, within their environments.

Despite these changes, women still have a long way to go. Access to credit and property over the land, which are considered fundamental for their empowerment, have not yet been achieved. They only have access to these resources through their husbands, which are not for all, just a few, and that is not sufficient to leave the land of imagination and go for the land of reality. Still, it should be noted that even so, they have greater access to resources than before the advent of rural tourism (RT). The RT offered them a small change, which has not yet reached all areas. So, it is still early to state that women have achieved real empowerment levels, since part of the resources have not been reached, remaining, as of yet, in an unequal situation with the men.

2.2. Participation and decision in rural tourism: all arranged

We have sought here to present and discuss the manifestations of power using the sexual division of labor in rural tourism. For this, we used variables for analysis, such as the decision and participation in economic, labor, institutional and political relationships. The workforce, in family farms, are the driving force and, thus, the economic capacity of the family unit. Its organization is structured from the family dimension, in other words, the number of active members, sex, age and position they occupy within the family that, most times, determines the type of production and the tasks each family component will play, demonstrating that power relationships are rooted in patriarchy, where men are responsible for the production and women for the consumption, as it is explained by Brumer (2004). We divided this discussion using the aspects relating to the participation and the decision-making in economic, social and family, political and working relationships of men and women within the family. It stands out how this participation comes to be and if that changed with the inclusion of rural tourism. We analyzed the information obtained from families who work with rural tourism and are still dedicated to agriculture, highlighting elements that we consider essential for the understanding of power relationships in the circumstances analyzed in this research.

Income has been one of the main ways of acquiring empowerment for rural men and women, and is directly connected to the work performed by each member. It is also the main driver of investments in new activities and also one of the main changes occurring within these families (GARCIA RAMÓN, CANOVES AND VALDOVINOS, 1995; NOGUEIRA,

2004; LUNARDI, 2007). We assessed the income coming from two sources: the agricultural source and the non-agricultural source.

Agricultural income is the source of “safe” income, the household savings. This is a lesser source of income than the one obtained from tourism, however, it remains central to the household economy and also for the investments in tourism. Agricultural income has two moments for these families: one before and one after tourism. Before tourism, she was the main economic source of the family and its basis was the creation of beef cattle, added by the processing of products, especially milk into cheese. From the late 1980s and early 1990s, livestock production in this region underwent a crisis, which made it unstable. This situation was instrumental for the decision to invest in a non-agricultural activity.

Agricultural income is generated, mainly, by the male work, which has in the female, the “help”. With it being a predominantly male activity, the funds generated and spent in this activity are the man’s domain. It is he, who manages the revenues and expenses generated by the agriculture. They are also those, who participate in Unions and Associations related to the agricultural activity and manage any resource derived from the agricultural activities.

[...] Even if women participate along with their husbands in some decision-making, it is the men who lead the decision-making process when it comes to investments relating to the production or the replacement of production facilities for the following harvest, with significant participation of women, or possibly all members of the family, only regarding the expenditure intended for domestic consumption or the costs relating to the care of individual consumer needs. If there are excess funds – the ‘leftovers’ – after paying all production costs and meeting all basic needs of consumption, it is the men that administer it (BRUMER, 2004, p. 213).

The agricultural income of pluriactive families is reinvested in the purchase of agricultural equipment and inputs, in rural tourism and in the acquisition of movable and immovable property, that is, in things which the family considers as large, of high investments. So, if it is large, they are the man’s responsibility, and it is from his work that this resource is raised and by him invested in items that are considered, also, a male domination. The data shows that the only investment resulting from the application of agricultural income over which



women have greater participation in the decision-making is rural tourism. Although this proportion is still low, a change in behavior can be perceived, both from men and from women, and that this may be related to the proportion of work expended by them in the execution of activities related to tourism. This results in a greater appreciation of the work done by both, but, above all, the recognition of women's work by men, and this recognition is transferred to the activity.

Inequality between agricultural and domestic activities is identified the moment when the separation of activities parallels the sexual division of labor. Women are connected to the maintenance activities of the family group and men to the maintenance of the production. So, the funds from and for each structure are related to this division. Thus, women are responsible for the expenses related to the family consumption of energy, of food, of leisure, of health and of education, paid by the extra income and not by the agricultural income. Before the advent of tourism, this income was obtained by selling cheese. Such occurs because this consumption is tied to the maintenance of the family, which is a women's responsibility, therefore, is of the female labor income that these expenses should be removed.

However, even if women's participation as help is meaningful, she will not be the one responsible for the activity, so she will not have under her control the administration of resources and this remains with the establishment of rural tourism. Even with tourism, women continue as the main helpers in the caring of livestock, however, this involvement does not offer them the opportunity to participate in the decisions, the same way that it does not give men the right to participate in the household activities. This finding makes us ponder on whether gender relationships are natural or not. For these women and men, the answer is yes.

In summary, there was very little change in the behavior of men and women regarding the participation and decision of agricultural income, with these being not sufficient and conclusive in understanding the changes in gender relationships. The agricultural income of farming families is totally decided by the men, even if the expenses is are intended for the maintenance of the family. The opposite occurs in families involved with tourism, with women having a greater participation. However, the fact they participate in the decisions regarding agricultural activities does not represent a greater power of decision. Thus, it is evident that there is a higher income share of women in pluriactive families, though this participation



does not result in behavioral changes when it comes to the power of decision regarding these resources.

The decision of whether to invest in tourism or not came, in most cases, from the couple, it was arranged. However, this arrangement is treated, by both men and women, as a male responsibility, since it is he who has the power over the revenue and expenditure of the farm income, and this investment in tourism is mostly composed of this resource. As women are the helpers, and their activities are considered to be complementary, they do not have the same decision-making power as the men. Even if the arrangement is present in most speeches, in practice, it shows limitations. These limitations are related to the “natural” order of things. Both for men and for women, what is considered natural is not objectionable, nor open for discussion. If the man is responsible for the property, it is natural and logical for this family structure that he be the holder of greater power within the family. This structure is not at stake and, therefore, is not questionable, not by men or by women, and it ends up reflecting in the division between incomes.

Separating what is his and what is hers is difficult for these families, and this finds reflection in our analysis, since we have no control over the real value that is obtained and spent in each of the productive activities. What we managed to identify is that the what is spent on daily family expenses, such as energy, phone, food, leisure, personal consumption (clothing, cosmetics, medicines, etc.) are taken, most of the time, from the rural tourism income, and higher expenses, such as investments in the livestock production, in tourism and in movable and immovable property, are taken from the combination of farming and rural tourism. Through this division, it became clear why the income from tourism is weekly and the family’s daily expenses are as well. The bigger expenses, on the other hand, are liable for discussion and planning, as they, for the most part, are performed with livestock production resources. However, it is worth noting that the importance of quantifying the income is seen by us, not by them. For them, both men and women, separating is not a necessity, the important thing is that the cake exists, because it means the family income and not the individual’s.

Nonetheless, we are interested in analyzing the participation of men and women in deciding these investments. The data shows a change in behavior regarding women’s participation in deciding on investments in rural tourism. Compared to the cattle industry, in which women

had little power of decision, with tourism such participation has increased. Though we must be careful not to deceive ourselves by this reasoning. With tourism, women increased their participation in deciding about the expenses directly related to the maintenance of the house, with tourism and family, which traditionally are and have always been women's domain. However, we see that they still have little influence over expenses related to the agricultural activity, both in investment and in maintaining production. This makes us reflect on the real changes that are occurring or not in this process, with the advent of tourism. Apparently, these data are masked by a speech that is not ours, but of the interviewees.

It changed the form of production, though the results of it are still in the economic, social and traditional work structures. The increased flow of income, the greater involvement of women in this new activity, which is mainly female, and the visibility of their work are not enough to change their economic vulnerability. The proportion of financial independence of women when they obtained their income from cheese is proportional to now, if not larger. This was evidenced through interviews with women from agricultural families, where non-agricultural income, derived from the production of cheese, is the woman's, since this activity is considered woman's stuff. However, it should be noted that this is something they take as negative, but simply as natural.

This last statement shows the importance that women attach to their own money, to be able to spend wherever they want without owing anyone any satisfaction. The cake does not allow it, because the cake is under the husband's responsibility, with him controlling what goes in and what comes out of the property and where this resource is invested.

The statements show that, in most cases, even arranging beforehand, it is the man who decides, also, the financial resources of rural tourism. The woman remains as a participating and deciding actor over the same aspects. What changes with the inclusion of tourism is that the arrangement is now more frequent, and this phenomenon may be related to the effective female participation in the implementation of activities. Being more involved with the tourism tasks gives them the right to participate in decision-making at the highest level, which is not to say that they are the ones who decide.

So, even when the non-agricultural activity is the woman's, the resource is managed by the couple, especially when this activity relates to tourism. The woman is limited to the internal



management of non-agricultural resource, when it is still within the house. When this resource comes outside, it becomes the man's responsibility.

With the exposed above, we put in evidence one of the hypotheses of this work, which is that rural tourism would change this behavior and that women's involvement in decisions would increase. In fact, this behavior has undergone changes, however small, though these changes are not enough to cause a significant transformation in gender relationships. Today, women have more involvement with the non-agricultural activity, though their participation in agriculture remains the same and in many cases smaller still, for now she devotes less time to cattle production because of her involvement with rural tourism, and having or not having power of decision on the income depends primarily on how much time was spent on this activity. What happens, is that with tourism all family members become more evident within the property, and have their work appreciated, referring to the non-agricultural work. The woman increases her workload and has more contact with the tourists, because it is she who prepares the food and tidies up the house. The man now dedicates his time to two productive activities, cattle and tourism. The family as a whole becomes visible and, consequently, its members also, since this is an activity considered more public than cattle. Therefore, it reflects in the participation and decision of each family member. Now, there is more subjects, more discussions and more financial resources generated, which requires greater degree of arrangement. However, this does not result in increased participation of the women. It is evident, in fact, that the family has another life dynamic and working organization. It is important to note that even if the changes to the pluriactive families are small, farming families do not go through these changes. The non-agricultural income of these families, which is obtained by selling cheese, does not allow any changes in the behavior of men and women, since it is a traditional activity, passed on from generation to generation, in other words, naturalized within the genre system patriarchal. However, for them, there is a small change, which is imaginary, in the access to these resources, but which do not result in higher levels of empowerment.

Thus, it is understood that with the inclusion of rural tourism, there was increase in women's access to financial resources. However, such access was not enough to increase the

participation and the decision on the use of this resource. Pluriactive women and men kept deciding on the same expenses prior to tourism, and the fate of these resources remains the same as the agricultural income. As for men and women from agricultural families, economic freedom remains the same, women accessing resources through the production of cheese, and men through livestock production.

Another issue that we addressed in our analysis was the participation and decision in labor relationships in the agricultural, non-agricultural and domestic spheres. Participation in agricultural activities decisions is related to land ownership and, hence, the responsibility for it. Land ownership, even if inherited by a woman, is the man's responsibility, for it is he who has the knowledge for its maintenance. The other situation is related to work. The farm work is traditionally the responsibility of the man, it is he who holds the knowledge of production, so assignments are directed by him. But the housework is the women's purview. This division is clear in the families studied, where what is the men's responsibility and what is women's responsibility is connected to the physical conditions and the knowledge that each individual holds, so the type of work that each performs within the property. This reflects in the decisions and the power relationships within the family, with what is related to agricultural activity as the man's purview, and what is domestic as the woman's. An interesting fact in pluriactive families is that all the answers, whether men's or women's, are linked to the word arrangement, we arranged, it was all arranged. But what does this word mean? According to Ferreira (2004), arranging is synonymous to agreeing, understanding and that is really what occurs. They arrange. Men and women are in agreement with one situation or another, though, this does not imply that men and women have the same decision-making power. The arranging, for the interviewees, means being in agreement to a given situation, not deciding on it. So, when the woman says she arranged with her husband regarding the cattle activities, it means that, for the most part, they talk about it, but the man has final decision. Events are related to her, sometimes with her consulted, but ultimately, the man decides. In rural tourism, the situation is similar, but with slightly higher participation of the women, even if it is arranged, since she is the one "responsible" for most of the tasks. It is noteworthy that for both men and women, the fact of reporting or consulting the spouse on

a given subject is considered as participation. However, knowing about what happens does not justify greater participation in the decisions.

In agricultural activities, women have low participation in the decision-making, due to the “help” character, supplementary to this type of activity. This, for them, is connected to knowledge related to the practice of these activities. This can be seen in the fact that three of the women interviewed had received land and cattle inheritances from their families, but who takes care of it is the husband, for it is he who has the knowledge to do so. This suggests that, even when it is the woman who inherits, especially the land, the main livelihood of these families, even still the man is considered responsible for the operation and maintenance of this property.

With rural tourism, women’s participation in the agricultural work, which was already small, became even smaller due to their involvement as help being almost negligible. If before, her work was regarded as help, now it is almost nothing. In general, most women engage very little with the livestock, learn about the negotiations, what is being done on the properties, though they do not consider that one part of their activities, responsibility and domain, which reflects on their commitment to tasks necessary for its completion. They consider their participation as support, consultation, so no decision-making power, unlike, for example, domestic activities and the production of cheese. Women start to dedicate time to the production of livestock when their domestic and cheese production tasks are completed. Therefore, their participation is linked to other activities within the property, resulting in its supplementary character, of helping.

As for participation and decision in domestic activities, the expansion of tasks performed by the men was one of the main changes found after the development of rural tourism. Before the advent of tourism, only two men were helping in household activities, and this aid was limited to the food, such as lighting a fire and picking and peeling vegetables. After tourism, five help and two continue to not help. Women’s participation continues to be viewed as help, but it was expanded to other activities, such as house cleaning (polishing and sweeping). The justification for this involvement is the increase of women’s work with the insertion of rural tourism. Before tourism, women had more time, they did not need this outside help. Today, especially in the days when the hostel is fully occupied by

tourists, the man's aid has been requested more frequently. However, a man's domestic work is understood by them and by women as secondary, but necessary. As occurs with women's participation and decision of agricultural activities, the greater involvement of men in household activities did not result in their increased participation in deciding over these tasks. Who has the power of decision of domestic activities are the women. In this sphere (the house), according to Brumer (2004, p. 212)

It is the women who have autonomy and power, making decisions related to food preparation, care of the home and clothing, guidance and education of children, as well as the use of resources for domestic consumption. However, one should not overestimate the importance of their autonomy and power in this domain, in order, on one hand, for sales to be made by them are generally occasional and of little value and, on the other hand, that the domestic activities are considered as secondary by the members of the family, regarding productive activities.

Participating or not in household decisions is not the main objective of men with their work. What they seek is to assist women in a non-agricultural activity, which is, to most families, the main source of monthly income. A positive outcome as seen by the men regarding his involvement in this type of work, is that from their involvement in household chores, they started valuing the domestic work of women, which until then was regarded as a mere aid to the maintenance of the family. The moment this activity starts to earn income, it is seen differently by the family members, seen as essential to the financial keeping. For women, there were no major changes, only an increase in hours worked, a fact justified by the relationship between domestic activity and rural tourism. Her decision-making remains the same, because that is her domain, and the field is the man's, naturalized by the traditional structures of labor and gender.

Finally, we analyzed the participation and decision on rural tourism. Rural tourism in this region is still a recent phenomenon, with nearly a decade, a short time to provide significant changes in gender relationships. However, the data allow us to reflect on some aspects, mainly the labor relationships. First, we need to analyze rural tourism as a non-agricultural activity in which women's work is critical to its achievement. The involvement of then women is



related to the proximity of this kind of work to the domestic and family work. The difference between them is that the former is paid and public, while the second is not. This distinction is central to the analysis of women's work, because it is from it that small changes in gender relationships are derived.

Women's work takes place, primarily, in the domestic reproduction and in the aid offered to the agriculture, that is, non-remunerated functions, consequently with no productive value. However, with the inclusion of non-agricultural activities such as rural tourism, this scenario undergoes changes. The tasks performed for tourism are the same as those required for the reproduction of the family, but with a difference, in tourism women are financially remunerated for performing these activities, transforming this domestic work into a production. However, Nogueira (2004) points out that this approach with domestic makes tourism a non-professionalized activity, reflecting thus in the little recognition of women's work. For the author, even if the woman is the primary responsible for the work in tourism, this does not guarantee greater appreciation within the family, since what she does in tourism are the same activities that she performs in the maintenance of the family.

However, in the area researched, we found that the involvement of women in rural tourism allowed them some changes, and these have been identified by both the men and the women: the main one was women's involvement with the external public, which resulted in communication facilities, making them more uninhibited and providing a greater appreciation of their own work. The work appreciation was considered mainly from the male point of view, as one of the main changes for women. This appreciation, though, changed little in the empowerment of women. Women do not feel, with the same proportion as men, valued for their work. There, the question: to what extent the appreciation of women's work is transformed into higher levels of empowerment, taking into account that the empowerment of more just and less unequal labor relationships? The work, as seen in studies of by Rivera (2000), provided the women, involved with the tourism industry, access to resources, especially economic and social, in some situations even political resources, though these numbers were few. However, access to these resources is not enough to achieve higher levels of empowerment. Women that have greater control over the income, for example, always had that control, even before tourism. This may be

related to the family structure of each group, thus varying from family to family and from time to time, as gender relationships are ever changing and dynamic. This fact demonstrates that, on the one hand, rural tourism income adds to the traditional women's work, and on the other hand, the traditional power and domination structures persist. Rivera (2000) also found this in her research. The author found that, despite women increased work, and this is essential for the development of tourism, a parallel increase in their participation in the family unit decision-making is not seen, or at least in the sphere in which they work. Instead, it is the man that articulates the decision-making in all spheres, including in the tourism activity. On this last finding, one can observe that what happens in the surveyed property is an arrangement between responsibilities. In agriculture, the man arranges with the woman, but it is he who decides. In domestic work, the woman arranges little with the man, it is she who controls all decisions. In rural tourism, the arrangement is done on two levels: the first is at the internal level, the house. In this environment, they both agree to an arrangement, but it is the woman who decides, after all, it is their tasks that are at stake. The second level is external, outside of the house. In this, they arrange, but who decides is the man.

So the question remains: what changes occurred in these families? These changes are really wanted by the men and the women? To what extent this permanence is not accepted by the women and why not also for the men? The first step is to analyze, from the perspective of rural women and men, what is and what is not important to them. The results show that there have been changes for the women, even if these changes are not perceived by us, researchers. The fact they do not have to ask money to their husbands to buy a lipstick or have the freedom to decide on domestic activities linked to rural tourism, is already a change, since they do not have access to the bank, for example. Few women said they had access to the bank, the checking account or the savings, or access to banking transactions. However, for them, this is not necessary, nor important.

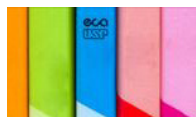
In short, like other researches cited in this study, gender positions in the countryside do not change completely with a new productive system. Gender inequalities persist to what we call

a patriarchal gender system, even after the introduction of non-agricultural activities. The division of labor remains anchored by the sexual division, in other words, by the physical characteristics of men and women, as well as the decision to share power also remains the same. However, elements such as: greater productive diversification, access and use of rural credit, especially by women, changes to the public policy and legislation and a more egalitarian organization of productive and domestic activities, can be driving forces to changes in this scenario, reducing socioeconomic inequality between men and women.

3. Final conclusions

Tourism was developed in these properties as a supplementary alternative to the income coming from agricultural activity. At first, it supplied this need and became a valued asset, now as a means of socialization, especially for rural women. For them, rural tourism is the appreciation of their domestic work, which transfers to social value for these women. Beside the appreciation outside the family, there is also the empowerment of women by family members, especially the man. In addition, rural tourism has allowed for greater participation of women in the world of productive work and, consequently, greater appreciation of the women's work, resulting in improved self-esteem and quality of life, greater financial autonomy, increased socialization environment, etc.

In economic relations, the central point is the separation, as we have stressed. However, this separation, when questioned about the power of understanding, is seen as an arrangement made among family members, while maintaining the traditional division of labor. In other words, that arrangement goes by the characteristics of activities and individuals, taking into consideration sex, with "what is man's is man's and what is woman's" and that remains with tourism. This fact is reflected in the discussion forums and the decision-making levels that each occupies. Women continue to exercise greater control over activities related to the house and men over activities related to the field. The changes operated with the presence of tourism translate into increased participation and discussion of the activities, both related to tourism, or to agriculture. However, this increased participation and discussion find no reflection in higher levels of participation in decisions, since participating is not deciding. In the end, whether in agriculture, or in tourism, men are the decision-makers, proving, once more, that the patriarchal gender systems persist,



though, masked or rearranged. So, women's increased access to a greater volume of resources, even if resulting from their work, does not give them a higher level of financial empowerment, since it is all arranged, though the arrangement most often favors the men. Thus, changes in the family (culture, values, gender relationships, etc.) and in the work forms of the individuals that compose them (non-agricultural activities) did not lead to a rupture of traditional gender structures that expressed themselves in changes of power relationships/hierarchy in the domestic group and of greater social autonomy, not confirming our initial hypothesis.

We believe that rural tourism can be one of the paths, which will result in changes in gender and power conditions of rural areas. By creating new products and markets through tourism, one can think of challenging the discourse of dominant gender in agriculture and contribute to the family's survival and productive renovation in the countryside, thus allowing the opening of new discussions with the intention of transgressing traditional gender boundaries.

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Received in: 11/09/2014 (1ª versão) 17/01/2015 (última versão)

Approved in: 08/02/2015