Tourism and Gender Relations in Galle Fort Sri Lanka

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In this study Galle Fort is selected as the case study, a place with a mix of three sub cultures. Especially, the development of tourism affects in ethnic groups in Sri Lankan society is concerned. According to the 2001 census, Muslims comprised the majority of Galle Fort inhabitants though they are a minority within Sri Lanka. Furthermore, in Sri Lankan culture, Muslim women work less compared to Sinhalese and Tamil women. With the development of the tourist industry changes in gender roles are observed. This research aims to explore gender relations in the Galle Fort tourist industry from sociological gender perspective. Furthermore, it investigates men’s and women’s relationship to the development of Galle Fort tourism in Sri Lanka. This research focuses on demographic characteristics, decision making, monthly income, children’s education system, the positive and negative impacts of international tourism, gender employment patterns of locals, and women’s empowerment.

Keywords: Galle Fort, Tourism, Gender, Women’s empowerment, Employment

1.0 Introduction

Tourist industry is the fastest growing industry both globally and in Sri Lanka. 2011 was a peak year for the Sri Lankan tourism industry, contributing 4.4% of foreign exchange earnings and surpassing all previous peak records in Sri Lankan history. The employment generated in both direct and indirect sectors increased by 5% in 2011. According to the 2001 census, Muslims comprised the majority, among the residents of the Galle Fort. This study focused on how local residents have become involved in tourism related businesses and how it has influenced gender relations, locals’ lifestyles and women’s empowerment.

1.1 Background of the study

Sri Lanka is an island located in the Indian Ocean. Sri Lanka has a population of 21.3 million people and a land area of 65,607 km² (Country Report, 2011). Sri Lanka has a long and well-documented history dating back 2,500 years, and a unique culture with its long history. Sri Lanka’s tourist sector can be classified into two main categories; natural tourism, and cultural tourism. However, most Sri Lankan tourist attractions are related to the Buddhist ruins and ancient kingdoms. Sri Lanka was partially and fully colonized by three European countries for hundreds of years, but became independent in 1948. Although the state was granted independence from the British government, the initial period passed without identifying the economic potential of the tourist industry. Only domestic tourists used to visit those places though most of them were on religion oriented tourism. Places like Galle Fort were used as recreation and resting place for domestic travelers who were on religious pilgrims in that area. According to Abeyawardana (2001) Galle was an important trading center for east and west traders in the 4th century. Due to the location of its natural harbor, it was famous among foreign countries. Tourism in Sri Lanka started in 1966 according to the Ceylon Tourist board Act No. 10, and was a turning
point for Sri Lanka. With increased publicity, international tourist arrivals increased rapidly. Moreover, the Sri Lankan government started collecting data for tourist arrivals, with a 5.1% increase between 1966 and 1979 (Sri Lanka Tourism Development Authority, 2007). In 2010, tourism was ranked as the 5th biggest source of foreign income to the country. Also the tourism sector has improved its position from 6th to 5th against the previous year in terms of foreign revenue generation with a new record of 654,476 arrivals in 2010 (Sri Lanka Tourism Development Authority, 2010).

However, in 2011 tourist arrivals grew by 4.4% to 856 thousand. The tourist industry dropped from 5th to 6th in national foreign exchange earnings, although the contribution has increased to 4.4% from 3.8% compared to 2010 (Sri Lanka tourism Development Authority, 2011). Year 2011 surpassed all the previous peak records in Sri Lanka history (Figure 1).

The South coast area has been emerged (rooms 5037) as the most visited area in 2011 (Sri Lanka Tourism Development Authority, 2011).

Galle Fort is located in South coast and it has many unique features which are uncommon in other parts of Sri Lanka. The Fort was built by Portuguese while they ruled the country in 1589. During the Dutch period they destroyed the structure built by the Portuguese and fortified the town (Coombe, J and D. Perry, 2008).

Galle Fort and its fortifications were registered as a United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) World Heritage Cultural site in 1988, a Dutch preserved colonial town (Takamatsu et al., 2002). Due to the specialty in this area, these types of features cannot be seen in the other parts of Sri Lanka. Galle Fort has a complicated history with Sinhalese, Muslims and Tamils living inside the Fort for generations. Around half of population is Muslim at present (Klages, 2007). Galle region was highly affected by the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami (Kumagai and Ozawa, 2006). However, according to Yasuda and Harada (2005) Galle Fort was not affected at all. Only a minor tsunami inundation took place in a small part of the Fort.

1.2 Research Objectives

There is no research conducted on Galle Fort investigating the tourist industry from a sociological gender perspective. One of the main objectives of this research is to fill this gap. This research focuses on the lifestyle, children’s education system, positive and negative impacts of international tourism, gender employment patterns of locals, and women’s empowerment.

It is hypothesized that the tourist sector has created jobs for both men and women in the Galle Fort area, having an effect on the lifestyle of local residents. The second hypothesis is that money earned from the tourist industry provides fringe benefits for local residents, which can change gender values and roles. Specially, when women start working, will men adjust to the new lifestyle? And how will this affect their way of thinking?

1.3 Study Area

The old town of Galle is known as Galle Fort. Galle Fort is considered as one of the best examples of living fortified city built by Europeans in South and South East Asia (Edmunds, 2009). Galle Fort has a population of 2,318 of which 50% are Muslims, 45% are Sinhalese and 5% are others (Department of Census and Statistics, 2001). It covers an area of 0.28 km2 (Klages, 2007: 2). The entire old city is completely enclosed by ramparts and it has a 400 meter buffer zone from ramparts of
the Fort embracing the new cricket stadium (Siriwardene, 2000). It is surrounded by the new town and Indian Ocean (Edmunds, 2009).

1.4 Methodology
This case study is mainly based on interviews of people living inside Galle Fort, located in the Old Town of Galle district and people of the New Town who have either social or economic relationships or who work within the old town, as well as representatives from government offices. To get a demographic overview of the area, a questionnaire was distributed to 250 people. To understand the situation in the Galle Fort area, participant observation and literature review methods were also used. As the first step of the research, data collection was initiated to understand the historical background of the Galle Fort from the social science point of view.

1.5 Gender Dimensions in Sri Lanka
In the mass tourism industry, traditional notions of gender roles and segregated employment have been discussed (Chant, 1997; Sinclair, 1997). However, gender issues became visible in Sri Lanka only after the International Women’s year was declared in 1975. From a rights perspective, in 1978 the constitution of Sri Lanka guaranteed equal rights without discrimination on the basis of sex (Jayaweera et al., 2007).

In Sri Lankan tradition, women are responsible for childcare and other domestic duties including serving male counterparts. This idea can be seen in all facets of Sri Lankan life (Gamburd, 2000). In this study, gender is used as a socially constructed system to examine how tourism has influenced local residents’ life style including their employment patterns.

2.0 Tourism Employment and Gender
In developing countries tourism is an economic endeavor since it creates jobs. Furthermore, tourism is used as a tool to stimulate marginal economies and to promote development through jobs and incomes (Liu & Wall, 2006). Tourism has a high need for human capital and it offers a diversity of jobs (Szivas et al., 2003). According to the UNWTO, in the hotel industry, half of workers are women (UNWTO, 2009). However, the women’s work was identified as tasks similar to domestic work, perpetuating a traditional gender role (Sinclair, 1997).

2.1 Tourism development, gender and women
Tourism has multiple dimensions in academic research. However, little research has been done on the effects of tourism on gender relations. According to Kinnaird et al.(1994) tourism is a process that is constructed out of gendered societies and all aspects of tourism-related development and activity affect gender relations. Second, gender relations both inform, and are informed, socially in diverse and complex ways. Thirdly, since tourism-related activity has become an important process of development, the social, economic and political relations whose result are the part of overall issues of power and control. These power relations can be articulated through race, class or gender. Therefore, tourism cannot be analyzed as a separate sphere in any society (Kinnaird et al., 1994; 5).

As a result, the theory of gender and development (GAD) was first discussed in the late 1980s as an alternative to earlier theories of women in development. In addition, studies of gender and development recognized the importance of social class, with women subordinate to men within all classes. Further it discusses the social relations of gender, questioning why women are systematically assigned secondary roles (Rathgeber, 1990: 494). In 1994 Vivian Kinnaird and Derek Hall defined the subject of tourism from a gender development perspective, in terms of the feminist literature. They focus on tourism development as a process of social change in the society (Kinnaird & Hall, 1994). Tourism is considered as the vehicle of tourism industry’s development (Swain, 1995). In most research feminism and labor are discussed for a variety of reasons such as labor positions, and it is
women who are more likely to get semi-skilled or low paid jobs. Jobs in the tourism industry are often seen as gendered, with entry level positions such as housekeeping, front-of-house work in hotels, restaurants and attractions identified as women’s work (Kinnaird & Hall, 1994; Smith, 1989).

The previous research on family businesses shows that they can be categorized into four groups: small and family businesses; family business and entrepreneurship; roles and responsibilities of family; and family business and development. This research shows that the importance of family business differs from family to family. Furthermore, tourism presents many opportunities, some rather unique for business premises, allowing investors to work at their preferred location and lifestyle (Gets & CarlSEN, 2005). Seasonal employment is another dimension in the tourism industry where women can work part time or over the tourist peak period. Research done in Barbados found that women work for lower pay, reflecting their status as service workers. These women’s jobs depend on visitor arrivals and are most responsive to seasonal fluctuation (Levy & Lerch, 1991).

2.2 Employment Status

According to Chant, men earn more than women, tending to be employed in the highest paid positions while women are generally in unskilled and low paid positions (Chant, 1997). In Levy and Lerch’s research on Barbados, men earned more than women in all job categories except for low paid categories in the hotel service. They found that men feel more job security than women with their higher salary (Levy & Lerch, 1991). Further, employment status is discussed in sex segregated employment, entrepreneurship, employment, self-employment and employment satisfaction. (Chant, 1997; Levy & Lerch, 1991; Cukier-Snow & G. Wall, 1993; Getz & CarlSEN, 2005; Baum, 2007; McGehee, 2007).

2.3 Positive impacts of international tourism

Worldwide tourism receipts in 2010 totaled US$ 928 billion and in 2011 this rose to US$ 1,030 billion. The World Tourism Organization “Tourism Towards 2030” report predicts international arrivals of 1.8 billion by 2030 (UNWTO, 2012). This demonstrates how vast the international tourist industry is and how locals depend on international tourism worldwide.

In most Asian countries tourism has been identified as a major economic driver generating a large amount of foreign revenue annually. The economic costs and benefits can be measured at different levels: national, regional or local. The key benefits of tourism are income and increased employment opportunities. The largest share of this was spent on accommodation, tourist expenditure and taxes (Vanhove, 2008; Britton, 1982). National governments of developing countries benefit from tourism by earning foreign exchange (DeKadt, 1984). However, the tourism industry has been identified as a major catalyst for economic development in developing countries, due to the increase in foreign earnings (Kala, 2008:65).

2.4 Negative impacts of international tourism

Negative impacts, include leakage of foreign revenue, impacts on culture, religion, beliefs and values are described. Further discussions on employment show its variables. With the tourist arrivals locals get more chances to move with foreigners. Without their knowledge locals absorb the cultures of foreigners gradually. Also it disrupts their family structures as well. There are many examples which could see the changes in culture resulting from tourism, such as increase rates of alcoholism, drug trafficking and prostitution (De Kadt, 1984; Cater, 1987; Smith, 1989).

3.0 The tourism industry in Sri Lanka and the process of Galle Fort Tourism

This section describes the tourism industry in Sri Lanka; its origin, development and
present situation. Also it explains the tourism development strategy of Sri Lanka for the near future and development of Galle Fort tourism.

3.1 Tourist Industry in Sri Lanka

According to Sri Lankan history, many travelers visited Sri Lanka in the 14th century, like Iban Baturta and Arab traders. Due to the location of Sri Lanka, the natural harbor of Galle was an important trading center between Eastern and Western countries (Abeyawardana, 2001). During the British colonial era (1815-1948) in 1937, the British government established the Sri Lanka Tourist Bureau to encourage the development of tourism in the country. This shows that the British government understood the potential of Sri Lanka as a tourist hotspot and importance of providing facilities for tourists who visited Sri Lanka by ship. However, during the Second World War, the intended tourism development facilities did not function well. After becoming an independent state in 1948 the government re-established the Government Tourist Bureau (GTB), previously initiated by the British government (Panditharathne, 1993). Due to a lack of clear vision in the tourist board, the tourist industry did not develop strongly during the early stages of independence. Furthermore, the private sector also did not have an interest in the tourism industry (Samaranayake, 1998).

During the period of 1965-1970 there was an institutional change in the tourist promotion organizations. In Sri Lanka, in 1966, the Ceylon Tourist Board (CTB) was established as a policy making body (Goonathilake, 1978). The Ceylon Tourist Board Act No. 10 is still considered a land mark of the Sri Lankan tourism industry. Tourism started to develop from 1966 as a mainstream industry (Rathnapala, 1984). In 1966, the government established the Ceylon Hotel Corporation (CHC), according to Act No. 14, in order to further develop the Sri Lankan tourist industry. It was tasked to develop and promote the tourist industry in Sri Lanka (Goonathilake, 1978).

Another implementation in the tourist industry was the Tourist Development Act No. 14 of 1968 which had the power to grant tax tourism, and remove the fear of bankruptcy from investments (Panditharathne, 1993).

The open economy policies were introduced to Sri Lanka in 1977. During the new government period (1978-1984) number of tourist arrivals increased. Though there was an increase in tourism, the civil war which started in 1983 negatively affected the tourist industry, and tourist arrivals decreased rapidly (Sri Lanka tourism Development Authority, 2010). However the civil war came to an end in 2009. As a result, the number of tourist arrivals to Sri Lanka increased to a new record high of 654,476 in 2010.

3.2 Process of Galle Fort Tourism

It is important to understand the historical background when considering the Galle Fort tourism process. Galle was colonized for nearly four hundred years by three countries, which is still reflected in its atmosphere. Sri Lanka was a Buddhist country before the colonization. With the influence of different people’s visits to Sri Lanka, Galle has undergone a constant flux of the religious and ethnical background of Sri Lanka.

3.3 Characteristics of Galle Fort as a tourist destination and preservation activities

Compared to the other regions in Sri Lanka, Galle Fort has a colonial atmosphere with the building style. Moreover, it is not only the architecture but also its atmosphere as a colonial city. Galle Fort faces the Indian Ocean. When people enter Galle Fort from the New town the black wall is visible, projecting a strong image of size. This wall was first built by the Portuguese with three bastions. However, it was strengthened to 5m width during the Dutch period. This wall stands even today. While walking on Ramparts of Galle Fort, nice scenery can be seen. It has made the Fort as a popular tourist attraction. The main attractive places in the Fort are Light house, temple, churches,
mosques, Amangalle Hotel, Old Library, Museum, Warehouse, Clock tower and Bell tower.

With its historical background, Galle Fort has a unique atmosphere even within Sri Lanka. Since it has been identified as a world heritage site, the preservation process has been started with the establishment of Galle Heritage Foundation as a government body. Other than GHF there are many government officials, organizations to protect, the heritage which promoting development and launched by the Netherlands government housing preservation project, maritime museum project and Sri Lanka government funded road development project. As a result of physical development in Galle Fort, price inflation, competition for land and an increased efflux of locals could be seen in the past 10 years. Foreigners who are in real estate business for buying and selling properties were seen as in Galle Fort.

4.0 Gender relations within the Galle Fort community

To understand the gender relations within the Galle Fort, data was collected from field surveys between 2008 and 2012 and the questionnaire survey of 250 participants in July and August 2012. 85 participants were interviewed from all categories. Table 1 shows participants’ employment status by gender.

4.1 Demographic characteristics of Galle Fort

It is discussed how gender relations were changed as a result of increased tourist activities in the Galle Fort community. First section identified the demographic characteristics of the survey group members. It discusses interviewee’s employment, ethnic, religious, age distribution, educational level, children’s education and study medium, language ability, birth place and residency years. Among the interviewees, 49% were engaged in the tourism sector. Mobile vendors sell items for tourists, comprising 13% of interviewees. Among these mobile vendors half were Galle Fort residents and half resided outside of Galle Fort. The other 51% of interviewees were in the non-tourism group and the buildings which they owned were used as private homes, for religious activities or as government offices.

Approximately 36% of buildings in Galle Fort were used in tourism related industries. Each interviewee was asked their ethnic group. In the tourism sector, 50% of interviewees were Sinhala. In non-tourism sector this was 57%, and among mobile vendors Sinhala accounted 84% of interviewees. When comparing the four groups Sinhalese were the majority and next largest group was Muslim. Interviewees were selected randomly, and no members of the Tamil ethnic group were found in this sample, while foreigners accounted 4.5% of the tourism sector and 1% in the non-tourism sector. Further, it was found that the tourist industry has given many employment opportunities for the Islamic women. The resident’s age distribution by employment sector was understood as below.

Among the population 54% were women and 46% were men. The 36-55 year group contained the largest percentage of people in both tourism-related and non-tourism related sectors. The next largest category in the tourism sector was the 19-35 year age group, and in

Table 1: Interviewee’s employment distribution by gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tourism Industry</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hotels</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guest house</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boutique hotels/ villas</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home stay units</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Café &amp; restaurant</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Souvenir shop</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outdoor souvenir vendors</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government museums</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private museums</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galle tourist information center</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>36</strong></td>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
<td><strong>62</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non Tourism Industry</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Land sales</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government sector</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired (Age above 60 years)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temple/ Mosque/ Church</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galle Heritage Foundation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galle Department</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><strong>23</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the non-tourism category it was the 0-18 year group. The major factor driving this difference appears to be that the ‘non-tourism’ group was located in this area due to the prevalence of high quality schools. Generally, residence is a requirement for entry into leading schools, and some people rent houses in Galle Fort area for this reason, despite the expense. In the tourism sector, people are primarily interested in conducting tourism-related business in the Galle Fort area. That is the reason tourism sector children are fewer compared to the non-tourism sector. When considering the age distribution in Galle Fort, 56% were residents were between 19-55 years (working age).

While considering the children’s study medium 66% of students study in Sinhala, 30% study in English and only 4% study in Tamil. In the tourism related sector, 33% study in English, compared with 29% in the non-tourism sector. According to a 2009 survey by Galle Heritage Foundation, only 17 students attended International schools. This implies that within a 3 year time period, parents’ way of thinking about their children’s language of education has been changed.

4.2 Gender Relations

When considering the gender relations in terms of marital status, families with children, age at child’s birth, number of children in the family, land ownership and decision making at home and monthly income by sex percentage were discussed.

In this interview group there were no divorced people, and in all three groups the highest percentages of people were married. In the non-tourism sector, 91% of people were married. The next highest group was the mobile vendors where 78% were married. Among the unmarried 19%, the majority of these fell in the 20-30 years age group. This unmarried group has started new ways of earning money by providing recreational facilities for tourists. In the same group, one person was a widower. She had a business selling homemade clothes to tourist. Though the Muslim ladies do not typically work in society, this widower was forced into business as her main job after her husband died.

Another aspect of gender relations is children. In tourism sector 87% of families have children while non-tourism sector 97%. Among the Galle Fort residents’ most of their tourism businesses are small and family managed. Though Galle Fort has year-round tourism, residents were able to balance their both families and businesses. Further it demonstrates by the higher percentage of children in all three groups. This proves that Galle Fort tourist industry have not influenced for bearing children. Further it discusses the number of children in the family and it was found in all three sectors, the largest proportions of each group were families with two children while the smallest proportion of families had 5 children or more.

Monthly income by sex was identified to understand the women’s participation in employment. The Galle Fort tourist industry was clearly established. While interviewing it was found that the women who did not work before had started working and their small incomes had a huge impact on their lives.

In the survey tourism related group, out of 90 interviewees 69 were married and in 41 families both adults were working. However, 21 were dependent on only the women’s income. When both were working in family businesses, they could not separate the income received by men and women, since although these women work, they do not get a salary. However, in the tourism industry 34% of men but only 11% women received an income more than Rs. 31,000. In the mobile vendors group, 39% of men received a salary between Rs.11,000-Rs.20,000 per month. Compared to the other two groups outside vendors receive less salary. Furthermore, people who receive a higher income from their family businesses show high level of independence as those are their own entrepreneurship. Past research shows leakage of money while handling large scale tourism business (Britton, 1982; Poirier, 1995;
Lacher & Nepal, 2010). However, Sri Lankans who manage their own family businesses demonstrate that the leakage of money can be minimized.

4.3 Gender relations within the household

It discussed by explaining the struggles, responsibilities and attitudes. Especially, in traditional Sri Lankan Muslim society ladies don’t work. This generalization was further supported by the interviews conducted with Muslim husbands’ attitudes towards women working and parents expectation about their children’s future carrier. There were some families who changed their responsibilities within the family after they started working in the tourism industry. Furthermore, when wives started work, husbands inclined to change their way of thinking and took more responsibilities.

One lady who runs a guest house expressed the negative impacts of being an entrepreneur since she does not have enough free time to be with her family. Another cafe and restaurant owner showed his stress while operating his business during the off seasons. He expressed how stressful it was to pay bills. The above examples show the negative impacts on people who engage in the tourist industry becoming stressed while running home or family businesses.

4.4 Gender relations within the community

It was identified that individuals’ jobs differed by class and education level. Especially people with a high level of education in all ethnic groups did not engage in the tourism industry.

Among the three major ethnic groups, Muslims have more restrictions for women compared to Sinhalese and Tamils. However, for Muslim women, it was found that working at home caused fewer problems compared with working outside. The religious barrier which is a hurdle to the Islamic women has been cleared. By working at home they were able to form a social network, which helps them feel more secure in society.

4.5 Gender and Employment

While self-employed or in direct employment in small business places or direct employment in large business places shows the gender difference while working in the tourism industry. When both the husband and wife started working there were positive and negative impacts. However, women’s feeling of starting their own work or job has been recognized and being a part of money earning for the family helped them develop as valuable members of society. However, there were some restrictions in some job categories for women in the tourist industry.

According to the primary data collected among people engaged in the tourist industry (guest houses, hotels, restaurants and souvenir shops) 58% were run by local residents in their own premises. 22% were owned by foreigners but run by locals. The other 20% are run by Sri Lankans who do not reside in Galle Fort. The Galle Fort tourism business could be divided into three main categories; run by men only (42%) run by women only (23%), and men and women both (35%). This shows that local residents get many business opportunities from having their own premises in Galle fort.

4.6 Women’s empowerment in Tourism

Finally, women’s empowerment in economic, social, psychological and political terms is discussed. Though there was an increased empowerment in women’s lives, 35% of women had an income below Rs.10,000/- per month. In the non-tourism employment sector, 91% of women have an income greater than Rs.10,000/-. Furthermore, women in this group were more professional and were generally engaged in office work. When considering gender there were some limitations in some job categories such as working hours, salary and bonuses for women. However, the women who work in their own place have very high satisfaction levels and the average income of these women was Rs.15,000/- per month. In the high seasons, women get seasonal jobs in chain hotels with good pay. However, they were satisfied with
the salary and their temporary earnings.

Galle Fort women's empowerment can be described as a combination of above mentioned four sections, with economic empowerment the strongest among these categories. The money that they earn from the tourism industry was mainly used for children's education. When their children were studying well, parents were happy in their society socially and psychologically. Furthermore, these differences could be seen in participants’ political backgrounds too.

5. Conclusion

The main results can be summarized as (1) the development of the Galle Fort tourist industry has created an opportunity for local residents to earn money from their assets, such as their home (2) Muslim women’s participation in society has increased by commercialization of domestic work (from unemployed to employed) (3) women's empowerment in the tourist industry has four aspects and economic empowerment is strongest while the money that they have empowered has used for the children's education (4) with the women’s empowerment their spouses have positively changed their way of thinking with regard to family matters and children’s education. The primary purpose of this dissertation was to explore the relationship between gender and tourism. The secondary purpose was to fill a gap in the literature. For developing countries, tourism is an important factor for economic development demonstrated by Sri Lankan tourism earning as the 6th largest share of foreign income earning in 2011. Therefore analyzing the tourism sector in Sri Lanka as well as the Galle Fort tourism sector is important for the betterment of the country.

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スリランカ・ゴール旧市街における観光とジェンダー関係に関する研究

ラナワカ・チャトゥシカ

ゴール旧市街は14世紀にアラブ人が貿易拠点として入里、16世紀から20世紀の半ばまでヨーロッパ諸国の植民地であった。これらの時代に建てられたヨーロッパ様式の建物物の歴史的意義が評価され、この地域はUNESCOにより1988年に「ゴール旧市街とその要塞」として世界文化遺産として登録された。

本博士論文は、このゴール旧市街を事例とした観光とジェンダーの関係に関する研究である。本研究はゴール旧市街の観光は地域住民のジェンダー関係にどのように影響を与え、女性のエンパワーメントまたは社会進出にどのように影響与えているのかを社会学的な観点から明らかにすることを目的とするものである。

本研究の主要な調査方法は聞き取り調査と参与観察に基づく社会学的なフィールドワークであり、補助的にアンケート調査を実施した。本研究の主要な結論は以下の四つにまとめることができる。①観光化が地域住民に自宅など資産の活用、家庭内労働の商品化を通じて新たな所得稼得の機会を提供すること。②家庭内労働の商品化を通じてムスリム女性を含む、女性の社会進出が進んだこと。③観光化にともなう女性のエンパワーメントは経済的な面が一番強く、そのエンパワーメントは子供の教育に使われていること。④女性のエンパワーメントにともない配偶者男性の家庭における意識も変化することである。

本博士論文の構成は以下の通りである。第1章では研究対象地域であるゴール旧市街の背景、目的、研究対象地、スリランカの民族構成、スリランカにおけるジェンダーの観点について明らかにした。ゴール旧市街が1988年に世界文化遺産として登録以降にゴールに訪れる外国人観光客数が大幅に増加している。2011年にはゴールへの入込客数が1,505,995人になり最高に達した。2011年がまでの歴史では観光客が一番上がっている年であると言える。スリランカにおける観光地化に伴う影響に関しては従来も社会学的な観点から研究されてきた。しかしゴール旧市街に関する先行研究は歴史的な町並みや建築、建造物などの面に限られていた。以上の先行研究の動向に基づき、本博士論文では筆者の研究の位置づけを明らかにした。次に観光産業を地域経済の基盤とするゴール旧市街の民族構成と、スリランカ全体の民族構成の関係性を明らかにした。そして本章の最後では本研究で扱われるジェンダーの観点がスリランカではどのように位置づけられているのかも明らかにした。

第2章では観光雇用とジェンダー関係、雇用状況、国際観光のプラスの影響、国際観光のマイナスの影響について述べた。観光開発とジェンダーに関する先行研究では、女性は観光開発プロセスの中で当該社会を変えて行くという議論をしてきた。また、特定の地域における観光の導入とは観光開発の一つの先駆けであり、媒介者として機能していると述べる傾向がある。このような、観光が地域住民の変化と開発プロセスを媒介することに注目した先行研究には、ジェンダー問題について考慮すると観光ファミリービジネスを起こしているという特徴がある。またこれらの研究は、観光に関するファミリービジネスを通すことにより、観光が女性のエンパワーメントに寄与することを指摘している。さらに観光に関係するファミリービジネスを通することにより、観光は女性をエンパワーメントさせていることを主張する傾向がある。

しかしながら筆者のゴール旧市街における現地調査からは、たとえ女性に収入があっても男女格差は解決せず、男性のほうが家庭や職場において決定権が多かったことが明らかである。実際に、ゴール旧
市街におけるファミリービジネスは現地の女性たちに付加的な収入をもたらしている。このような収入は現地の女性たちが自由に使用できる収入であり、その収入が可処分所得になる場合は、その小さな収入が社会を変えて行くために十分な力になっている。本章では以上のことから、国際観光におけるプラスとマイナス面が旧市街ではどのように現れているのかを論じた。

第3章ではゴール旧市街の観光地化の過程を歴史的面から説明した。まず、スリランカの全国の観光産業における状況を述べた上で、ゴール旧市街の状況を記述分析した。2009年にスリランカ国内の内戦が終結したことにより、観光産業が盛んになった。また観光産業の開発計画として旧市街に首都から一時間で行ける高速道路プロジェクトが始まった。このように本章では、ゴール旧市街を取り巻くスリランカ国内の状況を論じるとともに、ゴール旧市街の保存活動その内容について説明した。

ゴール旧市街は、世界文化遺産認定に伴う観光客の増加を背景として、観光地化が進み、住宅の改築、商売目的の新住民の増加、旧市街住民の流出、雇用先の変化、住民の服装の変化など様々な現象が生じている。このゴール旧市街の観光開発プロセスにより、観光が導入されると同時に観光が地域住民の変化と開発プロセスの媒介者として機能していることを明らかにした。

第4章ではゴール旧市街のジェンダー関係と女性のエンパワーメントを理解するため住民の動態、男女の関係、家庭におけるジェンダー関係、地域におけるジェンダー関係と観光と女性のエンパワーメントについて述べた。そして観光がどのようにジェンダー関係に影響を与えているかを明らかにするために、住民の結婚状況、家族における子供の人数、最初の子供を出産したときの母親の年齢等について報告した。その上で、家庭における権力構がどう動いているかについて論じた。

現地調査からは、ゴール旧市街の住民の家庭における観光産業では外貨の流出がゼロであり、住民は自由に仕事が出来る状況であることが分かった。特にムスリム女性の場合は家で食事をすることにより、イスラム法に近い形を取りながら、自分たちの経済的利益を上げていることを指摘した。さらにこの過程で現地の女性の意識は変化しており、変化した意識は現地社会を変えていていることを分析した。また雇用先が広がることと同時に女性のネットワークが強くなり、それに伴い住民の習慣、日常生活などが変化することにより、社会的エンパワーメントに寄与していることを明らかにした。また、観光ビジネスから得られた収入により、住民の間により高い教育を受ける意識が生じていることが確認でき、社会階層を上昇するための手段として位置付けられていることについても議論した。

第5章では結論をまとめた。本論文はゴール旧市街の観光プロセスと地域社会の変化を、ジェンダーの役割という観点から分析したという意義を持っている。

キーワード：ゴール旧市街、観光、ジェンダー、女性のエンパワーメント、労働