

[学術論文]

Tourism Development in Hikkaduwa as a Setting for Sexual and Intimate Relationships

Nirmala RANASINGHE

Studies in Humanities and Cultures

No. 26

名古屋市立大学大学院人間文化研究科『人間文化研究』抜刷 26号

2016年6月

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

NAGOYA CITY UNIVERSITY
NAGOYA JAPAN

JUNE 2016

[学術論文]

Tourism Development in Hikkaduwa as a Setting for Sexual and Intimate Relationships

Nirmala RANASINGHE

Relationships between tourists and local people at tourist destinations have become vastly diversified over time. With the introduction of the phenomenon of ‘romance tourism’, it could be identified that relationships between female/male tourists and local men/women involve intimate and emotional bonds rather than a mere exchange of sex for money. This article explores how the sexual and intimate relationships with tourists established and changed parallel to tourism development in Hikkaduwa, Sri Lanka. Methods utilized were in-depth interviews and participant observations with both tourism-related and non-tourism-related people in Hikkaduwa. In analyzing the tourism development process, locally based small-scale tourism establishments, and long staying tourists and their behaviors were identified as the reasons for establishing such relationships. Moreover, it became apparent that these relationships have changed over time and that the most prominent relationships at present, those involving beach boys and female tourists, are closer to the concept of romance tourism than sex tourism.

Keywords: Tourism development, Informal tourism sector, Sri Lanka, Hikkaduwa, Romance tourism

1. Introduction

1.1 Research Objectives & Methodology

Relationships in sexual encounters of tourists and locals are complex in terms of the motivation of the participants, the effect on the local community and the range of relationships that develop in these situations (Pearce, 2005). Discussing the nexus between tourism, romance and sex, McKercher and Bauer (2003) offered a conceptual framework stating that this nexus is more multifaceted than the literature generally illustrates. They pointed out three dimensions to understanding the role that sex and romance play in the context of tourism: sex as a travel motivator, the nature of the encounter, and tourism as a facilitator of romantic and sexual encounters.

Proposing a new form of tourism called ‘romance tourism’, Pruitt and LaFont specifically claimed that female tourists expected a romantic relationship more than just satisfying their sexual needs (Pruitt and LaFont, 1995). Most studies examining such relationships emphasized emotional attachments between both parties beyond mere sex (Dahles and Bras, 1999; Herold, et al, 2001; Nyanzi, et al, 2005; Pruitt and LaFont, 1995). As other scholars argued, intimate and long-term relationships can also be found even in the context of sex tourism (Brennan, 2001, 2004; Cabezas, 2004; Cohen, 1982, 2003; Seabrook, 1996).

Until the 1990s, most of the studies in Sri Lanka predominately addressed the negative impact of tourism (Guruge, 1988; Mendis, 1981; Ratnapala, 1984). Hikkaduwa has also been frequently highlighted both in academic work and in newspaper articles. Alcohol and drug addiction, and sexual behaviors were particularly emphasized. This fact of perceiving tourism and Hikkaduwa as a

notorious place could be identified in my Masters research as well (ラナシンハ、2012). Although such negative impact was frequently pointed out in existing studies, it is outweighed by the positive impact of tourism at present (e.g. economic development and advancement of social status, empowerment of women, influences of intimate relations formed with tourists, acquisition of foreign languages).

Within that impact, intimate relationships with tourists could be identified as the most significant factor. Many people in the Hikkaduwa tourism sector have cultivated intimate relationships with individual tourist/tourists (female/male) and tourist families from different countries. Long-term relationships extending to international marriages also existed. Such relationships can be mainly found in beach resorts, yet this is not common to all the beach resorts in Sri Lanka. Thus, there is a necessity to understand how and why these types of sexual and intimate relationships began to develop in Hikkaduwa. The objective of this article is to examine the tourism development process in Hikkaduwa in order to understand in which conditions the sexual and intimate relationships between tourists and local people are initiated and established.

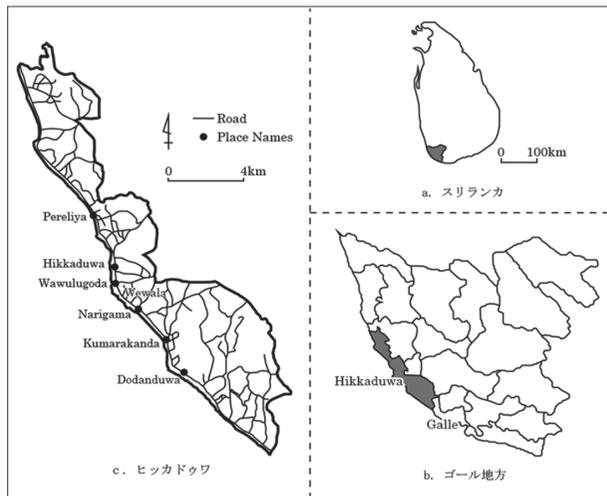
Both a theoretical survey and an empirical survey were utilized in order to clarify the above objective. First, previous studies related to Hikkaduwa were analysed to understand the situation before touristic development. Then empirical surveys took place over several visits to Hikkaduwa, Sri Lanka from 2012 to 2014, each lasting approximately 1½ month. To grasp the development process, interviews were conducted with both tourism-related people in Hikkaduwa (e.g. restaurants and guest houses, souvenir shops, glass-bottom boat owners, beach vendors, petty shop owners) and non-tourism-related people (e.g. those related to the fishing industry and agriculture, office workers). Participant observation and informal in depth interviews conducted with the participants in any group were also utilized to reconfirm the data gathered by previous studies. Analysis of the data collected led to a clearer understanding of the tourism development process.

1.2 Study Area

Hikkaduwa is located in the South region, 24km from Galle district and about 100km from Colombo. Hikkaduwa has a land area of 63km² and a population of 114,814 people comprising 114,542 Sinhalese, 217 Tamil, 32 Muslim and 23 foreigners/others (Hikkaduwa Divisional Secretary Report, 2012). Tourism had been brought in by the 1960s and developed rapidly from the 1970s. Hikkaduwa was first boasted for its untouched coral reefs, and was the first Marine Sanctuary in Sri Lanka (Hikkaduwa Special Area Management Plan, 1996). The main tourist area is from Hikkaduwa town to Narigama, but at present it has expanded to Kumarakanda and 1 to 2 km inland areas as well. Hikkaduwa is especially reputed for marine activities such as surfing, diving, snorkelling, and people can also enjoy watching the coral reefs, the local nightlife and other recreational events.

Hikkaduwa has two tourist seasons: on-season/tourist season is from October to April where December to February marks the peak, and off-season is from May to October. Although tourism-related people had experienced many economic difficulties during the off-season, at present, a considerable number of tourist arrivals can be seen in the off-season following cessation of Civil War in Sri Lanka in 2009. Hikkaduwa gets many tourist arrivals from Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and Japan, with arrivals from China and Russia increasing from 2010. According to Tantrigama (1999),

the average length of stay in Hikkaduwa is about 20 days. With regard to Sri Lankan tourists, most of them make one-day trips because they cannot afford high accommodation rates and food prices (Tantrigama, 1999). However, with the spread of beach party culture and the construction of the Southern Expressway in 2011, the middle and high-class young generation visit Hikkaduwa particularly during weekends with friends and family in order to relax at the beach and enjoy the nightlife.



Map1: Location of Hikkaduwa

Source : ニルマラ ラナシンハ, (2015)

2. Hikkaduwa before the Advent of Tourism

Hikkaduwa was a small coastal village, where most people were engaged in traditional livelihoods such as fishing, coir rope making, lime industry and other agricultural activities. The population was between 2400 and 3500 during the period of 1930–1948. There were only a few houses in the coastal area: some were cadjan houses¹ on the beach, and some were scattered within the interior. In the 1900s, a rest house consisting of 7 rooms was also built under colonial rule, in order to accommodate colonial officers and managers of tea and cinnamon plantations. Only the wealthy owned land, and more than 25 acres of coconut land situated in today’s touristic area was entitled to two wealthy families. At the same time, those people could work in the government sector, as teachers, clerks and

¹ Small houses made from woven coconut palm leaves.

staff level employees due to the fluency in English. Some of them were also traders, who owned limekilns and mud pits for making coir ropes, and who purchased ropes from coir rope makers (Samarasuriya, 1982).

With regard to fishing, it was common to see coastal fishing, use of traditional small-scale boats called ‘*oru*’, and dragnet fishing called ‘*madel*’. On the south coast, fishing seasons were known as ‘*haraya*’ (on-season) and ‘*warakan*’ (off-season). *Haraya* is from November to April; *warakan* is from May to October, a time when the sea is rough. During the off-season, the majority of fishermen migrated to the east coast in order to continue fishing, since it was on-season there (Alexander, 1977; Samarasuriya, 1982; 高桑, 1988). Before the 1900s, there were no economic differences or social stratifications in the fishing community. However, with the emergence of ‘*malu mudalali*’² in the 1930s, fishing and trade began to change. A *Malu mudalali* acted as a middleman between fishermen and consumers, and he was playing a major role in the distribution process of fish stock up to Colombo. A range of roles existed from buying fish from fishermen to transporting them to the fish markets in Colombo. As a result different hierarchies of *malu mudalali* emerged. Simultaneously the former social structure of the fishing community also changed (高桑, 1988). Moreover, with the introduction of motorboats in the mid 1950s (e.g. power boats, including large-scale boats), migration in the off-season became unnecessary since fishermen found alternatives in the form of continuing coastal fishing or using large-scale motorboats to fish offshore.

In Hikkaduwa, fishermen were centered in a few areas such as Peraliya, a part of Wawulugoda, Narigama North and Dodanduwa. With regard to today’s touristic area, there was only one group of fishermen clustered within 1km of the inland area in Wawulugoda, neighboring to Hikkaduwa town. Fishermen that could purchase motorboats became powerful and rich, contributing to the growth of social stratification in the community. However, the fishermen residing in today’s touristic area did not possess large amounts of money to purchase motorboats; therefore they remained in the lower strata, continuing to fish in small *oru* or being employed under rich *malu mudalali*. They were living in mud or cadjan huts built in government lands and their life was filled with incessant debts and hardship.

Regarding other livelihoods, the lime industry began to appear in Sri Lanka during the Dutch colonial period (1638–1796), but in Hikkaduwa it was established from the 1800s. By 1895 a railway and a small station were also constructed in Hikkaduwa in order to facilitate lime transportation (Samarasuriya, 1982). Coral mining also took place both around the near shore and inland areas. By the mid 1970s there were 5 limekilns providing a good source of income specifically for many low-income earners. It was common for fishermen to be engaged in coral mining and the lime industry as a side income.

Similarly, coir rope making emerged by the 1900s and grew fast with the demand of rope for fishing and agricultural purposes. As it was considered to be the only income generating activity open for women, both low and middle class women engaged in it. By the 1970s, about 90% of women in the fishing community were making coir ropes. In the early 1900s, the price of a rope (about 10 meters long) was approximately 5 cents, the income of which sometimes had to be divided amongst

² ‘*malu*’=fish, ‘*mudalali*’=trader, seller

mediators as well. Yet that money was especially valuable to women as it allowed them to be free from a total dependence upon men, it supported household budgets and covered extra expenditures, such as new clothes, books for children or a pilgrimage, though it very rarely materialized. Furthermore, agricultural activities such as coconut plantations in coastal area, and rice fields, rubber and cinnamon plantations could also be seen inland.

In summary, the majority of people in Hikkaduwa were poor, except a few middle and upper class families, and a few wealthier fishermen who arose from fishing communities. Before the advent of tourism, people mostly engaged in traditional livelihoods, which became open to them in the coastal area, but people of lower class were particularly trapped in a regular struggle to overcome poverty.

3. Introduction of Tourism and Change of Livelihoods

Social changes stated in the previous section dramatically accelerated with the introduction of tourism in the late 1960s. Although, people gained meagre income by engaging in fishing, coir rope making and lime industry, they were compelled to continue those traditional livelihoods, since no other forms of employment were open to them. But with the introduction of tourism, new employment opportunities arose as the growth of tourist arrivals increased. In the initial stage of tourism development only rich people from middle and upper classes could enter the tourism sector, but gradually other people also began to pursue it, finding it a more lucrative income generator than existing livelihoods. Although fisheries and coir rope making can still be found in Hikkaduwa and its environs, neither of them exists in today's touristic area.

With regard to fishing, it is still established as one of the main industries providing employment to 318 families in Peraliya, 310 families in Hikkaduwa and 329 families in Dodanduwa. Yet among them, most fishermen are still poor when compared to prevailing economic standards. Generally large-scale multiday boats (167) and one-day motorboats (60) belong to rich fishermen (*malu mudalali*), and some own even 2–5 boats. Middle and lower class fishermen own the rest of the vessels such as small motorboats (248) and *oru* (298). At the same time, still there are poorer fishermen that have no economic strength to purchase vessels. On the other hand, considering the expenses of maintenance, some fishermen find it beneficial to be employed under a rich *malu mudalali* to pursue multiday offshore fishing, rather than purchasing a boat for their own. A variety of jobs are available for fishermen other than fishing itself, such as working in the delivering process, manufacturing and mending fishing nets, and becoming a small-scale *malu mudalali*.

As previously mentioned, the tourism sector developed only around an area of 4km along the coastline meaning that people in other beachfront areas such as Peraliya, Dodanduwa and a part of inland areas in Hikkaduwa town are still engaged in fisheries. Two reasons can be given in terms of their continuation of fishing activities. One reason is that tourism did not develop in those areas from the start due to a lack of tourist attractions. Tourism began to grow from Wawulugoda, where there was the old guesthouse and coral reefs, and then gradually spread to Southern areas such as Narigama. Especially the fishermen in the northern part of Hikkaduwa (Peraliya) stated that, '*we are willing to work in the tourism sector, it is profitable than fishing, but tourists are not coming this way*'. Therefore these fishermen continue fisheries not because it is more profitable than tourism or that

they have no interest in tourism, but because tourism does not expand to their native areas. Secondly, due to the presence of rich *malu mudalali*, there is no necessity to enter into tourism, as they have already become economically stable through fisheries.

With regard to fishermen in touristic areas, they gradually entered into the tourism sector as ample opportunities were opened to them. Most of the elderly fishermen, who could not pursue multiday offshore fishing due to increasing age, have found alternatives in the tourism sector; the majority of them becoming glass-bottom boat drivers or owners. At present 40 households can be seen in the touristic area, which used to engage in fishing. They were living in cadjan houses until the donation of cement houses by the government in the 1970s. Those houses were then destroyed by the Indian Ocean tsunami in 2004, and were replaced by even larger houses than they originally had. Most of the expenses were covered by donations from tsunami aid, rehabilitation projects and support from their tourist friends.

Moreover, coral mining in the near shore was prohibited from the outset of coastal management plans in the 1980s. However, except the coral sanctuary, it was illegally conducted in other shores, and inlands of Hikkaduwa. However some people said that even the illegal miners voluntarily stopped mining after the tsunami disaster, having realized it aggravated tsunami damage in certain areas of Hikkaduwa. Thus, at present any limekilns cannot be seen in the coastal area, and those who were pursuing it have entered into fisheries, other manual jobs or the tourism sector. Similarly, in the touristic areas, none of the women are currently engaged in coir rope making. The majority of them have entered into tourism-related self-employment such as making and selling batiks, sewing garments and provision of their own houses as lodging facilities. Some women, who could not afford to purchase a machine to sew few garments in the 1970s, have become successful shop owners employing a few other women as well.

However, the Hikkaduwa Divisional Secretary Report (2012) states that 2,335 women are still engaged in coir rope making in the inland areas and some of the beachfront areas. Peraliya is one such area, where the majority of men still pursue fishing activities and women engage in coir rope making. Nevertheless, women who make coir ropes are still experiencing much hardship compared with the women who have entered into the tourism sector. Some of them are willing to see if tourists visit their area, claiming that 'then only they will also be able to earn a lump sum of money as women in the touristic area'. Especially the income they gain from coir rope making cannot be compared with the income of women in the tourism sector. For instance, a single-day's income from coir rope making is about 400 Rupees (In 2015 1 USD = Rs.142), and half of that amount goes to the *Kohu Mudalali* who is selling fibre to make ropes. Then the rest of the amount (Rs.200) needs to be divided among three women (sometimes men also join) who take part in the making process, and eventually a single-day's income per person will be no more than 70 Rupees. It becomes relatively beneficial if the work is done with the help of family members, but still the monthly wage per person would only be 1400 Rupees, which is considerably low compared with women in touristic areas, who earn

approximately 1000 Rupees per day especially in the tourist season³(ラナシンハ、2015). Therefore, it is apparent that traditional livelihoods in Hikkaduwa have changed with the development of tourism, providing new ventures for its people.

4. Emergence of an Informal Tourism Sector

The informal tourism sector in Hikkaduwa has facilitated the establishment of intimate relationships between local people and tourists. Locally based small-scale tourist facilities and long staying tourists can be considered as the main reasons, which stimulated such relationships. Those reasons are discussed in detail in the following sub sections.

4.1 Locally based Small-scale Tourism Establishments

In the first half of the 1900s, there were only 6 households in today's touristic areas, and most parts of the land were covered with screw pine and coconut trees. The rest house built by the 1900s was registered as a hotel in 1967 with the initiation of the international tourism promotion project in 1966 (Samarasuriya, 1982). Since then, that hotel was referred to as 'Coral Garden', but from 2011 it took the name of 'Chaya Tranz' having been reconstructed under a new company. In 1968 some resort areas were selected and established under the plans of the tourism development act, but Hikkaduwa was not included in this plan. Although tourist arrivals were low at the beginning, since the early 1970s it started to grow rapidly. At the initial stage of tourism development, employment opportunities were only opened for wealthy outsiders, wealthy upper class and a few middle class people in Hikkaduwa. Poor lower classes could not enter into the tourism sector due to a lack of capital to set up a new business and a lack of English knowledge. But with the increase of tourist arrivals in the 1970s, mainly due to hippie type low budget tourists, most of the middle class and poor lower class could also pursue tourism, converting their own houses into lodging facilities, opening various souvenir shops, making and selling handicrafts and other garments (Nakatani, et al., 1994; Samarasuriya, 1982).

Although, most of the locally based small-scale enterprises were not registered under the tourist board, such opportunities facilitated the entrance of local people into tourism. Therefore, tourist facilities in Hikkaduwa are divided into two sectors such as the formal tourism sector (medium and large-scale registered establishments), and the informal tourism sector (small and medium-scale unregistered establishments) parallel to its development without a proper plan and guidance of the state. While large-scale star hotels, medium-scale restaurants and guest houses fell into the category

³ Although the women engaged in tourism have to pay rents, salaries for employees and other bills, it is still more profitable than a livelihood such as coir rope making. Moreover, it is not only the economic benefits they gain by engaging in tourism.

of formal sector, the informal sector accounted for about 90% of the total establishments, including medium and small-scale guest houses, restaurants, souvenir shops, marine equipment rental shops and small stores.

Table 1: Tourism Establishments in Hikkaduwa

Tourism Establishment	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Registered Establishments	27	28	29	29	27	28	32
Guest Houses	109	116	116	103	101	118	120
Restaurants	97	101	88	88	82	79	81
Sewing Garments	37	34	28	26	27	33	25
Selling Garments	118	106	110	112	101	112	100
Selling Batiks	07	08	07	07	05	05	06
Making & Selling Handicrafts	14	23	23	20	14	16	16
Batik Factories	02	02	02	01	01	01	01
Money Exchange Shop	01	01	01	0	01	01	01
Selling & Renting Out Swimming/ Diving Equipment	07	07	07	08	04	07	08
Diving Training Centers	0	01	0	01	01	01	01
Travel Agencies	08	10	08	06	06	06	09

Tourism Establishment	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Ayurveda Hospital for Locals/ Tourists	02	01	01	01	01	01	01
Renting out Surfing Boards	0	0	01	01	03	03	02
Bookshops for Tourists	01	01	01	03	01	01	0
Renting Out Bicycles & Motorbikes	05	07	07	05	04	04	04
Selling Arts	0	0	0	01	01	09	10
Tattoo Shops	0	0	0	0	0	01	02
Total	435	446	429	412	380	426	419

As cited in Nakatani et al., in 1978 there were 5 large-scale hotels and 5 medium-scale guest houses under the formal tourism sector, and 13 guest houses with fewer than 5 rooms, 9 food stalls and 6 restaurants under the informal sector. By the 1990s a total number of 27 registered establishments could be seen, while the informal sector soared to 309 enterprises including 118 guesthouses, 37 restaurants, 149 small stores and 5 diving spots (Nakatani et al., 1994).

When the current tourism sector is considered, an overwhelming number of informal enterprises can still be found. At present there are 387 informal tourist facilities, which account for 92% of the total tourism establishments. Table 1 shows the tourism establishments in Hikkaduwa, from 2005 to 2011⁴. Referring to the table, it can be understood how the local community in touristic areas has engaged in the informal tourism sector.

On the other hand, a number of income generating activities also informally exist. For instance, coral watching with glass bottom boats is one of the thriving activities in Hikkaduwa. There are 58 registered glass bottom boats, which with the exception of one boat, all belong to local people. As

⁴ Although I intended to collect documents from at least from the 1990s, all the reports were said to be destroyed by the tsunami 2004.

previously mentioned, the majority of glass bottom boat owners and drivers are former fishermen. Among the owners, some have sold their small fishing boats in order to purchase a glass bottom boat whereas some have started as boat drivers and then become the boat owners either by getting a loan or with the help of tourists.

Recently boat tours to watch sea turtles have also become popular, and collecting seaweed (*paasi*) and selling it to feed sea turtles has become work for about 7 local people. Moreover, three-wheeler drivers, beach vendors selling king coconut or pineapple, ice cream vendors, batik and readymade garment vendors, and handicraft vendors are also benefiting from tourism. The majority of these beach vendors are from the inland areas of Hikkaduwa, and women who sell batiks and readymade garments make up a high percentage of the whole.

There are also a number of local people who are indirectly benefiting from tourism. Samarasuriya (1982) indicated that in the 1970s, 200 households, mainly women in the inland areas, were making handicrafts such as *indikola*⁵ bags, hats and baskets. According to the Hikkaduwa Divisional Secretary Report (2012), at present there are 101 places making *indikola* handicrafts. Similarly, small-scale farmers, fishermen and vendors, have got the opportunity to sell their goods to guest houses, restaurants, food stalls as well as directly to the tourists.

As such, it is apparent that local people are predominantly engaged in the Hikkaduwa tourism sector. Having got the opportunity to directly connect with tourists, intimate relationships have therefore been built since the onset of tourism development.

4.2 Tourists and their Behavior

Tourists are also playing a major role in forming a tourist destination. As mentioned in the previous section, more than 90% of the total tourism establishments in Hikkaduwa fall into the informal sector, in which it is the local people who are predominantly engaged. Although there are claims that Hikkaduwa is an unplanned destination, this has rather facilitated the entry of local people into the tourism sector. First and foremost, the factor, which paved the way for local people to pursue tourism, specifically many middle and lower class poor people, is the arrival of low budget tourists. The majority of these low budget tourists were hippies, who started travelling in the 1970s, especially to Third World countries by steam ships. As previously stated, only wealthier upper class and few middle class locals could enter into tourism at the initial stage of tourism development. Hikkaduwa was first visited by English elites leading to the construction of a rest house to accommodate colonial officers from the 1900s. As a result, such types of elites were the main tourists when tourism was introduced in the mid 1960s. Such tourists needed to be catered to formally, and for that, the ability of conversing in English was also required. Hence, remaining locals who did not possess economic capital and fluency in English could not access the tourism sector. Yet in the early 1970s, with the rapid increase of tourist arrivals, and since the majority of them were hippie type tourists; a demand

⁵ *Indikola* is a palm. The tender leaves of this palm are bleached or dyed, dried and then cut into thin strips. These brightly colored strips are then woven into bags, purses, and baskets, using a special needle or bodkin.

for low priced accommodation began to emerge. As a result, private house lodgings appeared in the tourism market and it paved the way for low-income earners to enter into the tourism sector.

Two reasons can be given to illustrate how hippie type tourists facilitate low-income earners' entry into tourism. One is that hippie tourists were looking for cheap accommodation, so as to stay for longer periods on a low budget. Therefore, they did not demand quality service; instead they were willing to stay at local houses where there were no facilities particularly set up for tourists. Accordingly, low-income earners also could provide accommodation to such simple tourists, as no economic capital was needed. A second reason is that hippie type tourists' nature itself diminished the barriers between locals and white people. Hippies were completely different from the English elites, whom locals were used to seeing. Especially Samarasuriya (1982) cited that some local people particularly went to surroundings of the old rest house only to see white people. On one hand, even seeing white people was a form of excitement, and on the other hand, they were the elites and rulers of the country. Therefore, local people—especially low and middle class—could not easily get familiar with the white people who started visiting their place. Local people were both afraid and nervous. Yet hippie tourists were the complete opposite to those elites. Their appearance and their willingness to interact with locals, made locals get closer to white people without fear or nervousness. Moreover, while hippie tourists were encouraging locals' engagement with tourism, they were claimed to cause serious damage to local culture. They were the ones who were mainly blamed for the expansion of prostitution, drug use, homosexuality and nudism (Crick, 1994; Guruge, 1988). By the early 1980s anti hippie campaigns could also be seen (Crick, 1994).

Although, hippie tourists declined with time, low budget tourists never stopped visiting Hikkaduwa. At present, there are many backpackers and low budget tourists who used to stay longer. While the length of stay at beach resorts is generally high, paralleled with the influence of hippie tourists, Hikkaduwa has been established as a long stay destination. As cited in Tantrigama (1996), in the late 1990s the average length of stay in Hikkaduwa was 20 days. Although this study did not mainly examine this fact, both local people and tourists in the sample indicated that many tourists stayed in Hikkaduwa at least one to two weeks, while some repeaters used to stay about a month. Among accommodation facilities, today there are many medium class guesthouses, which offer quality rooms and services. Provision of lodging at private houses has been declined, and instead a few separate rooms have been built to accommodate tourists. Especially after the cessation of civil war, many tourism projects were embarked upon throughout the country, and Hikkaduwa also drew the attention of states due its unplanned development. Large-scale hotels and even medium-scale guesthouses were encouraged to reconstruct, with the promise of increasing the number of tourists, especially standard tourists who are supposed to spend more money. Therefore, at present Hikkaduwa is visited by a variety of tourists such as standard tourists who choose to stay at large-scale hotels, middle class tourists who prefer to stay at medium class quality guesthouses, and medium and low budget tourists who choose medium and low priced guesthouses sometimes at about \$10 to \$15. At the same time, recently there is a trend of renting out a separate house in the inland areas for a month or more, which covered tourists' own expenses by accommodating acquaintances that visit from their home country. The majority of them are said to be Russians, and most of the time they go to local markets to buy vegetables, fruits and seafood, and make meals by themselves without consuming food at local

restaurants. Although this type of behavior negatively affects guesthouses and restaurants in the touristic area, it has a ripple effect upon the locals who are not closer to touristic areas and who are not directly involved with tourism.

However, it can be said that tourists and their behavior have shaped the tourism sector in Hikkaduwa. Specifically, while local people are regularly interacting with tourists by engaging in the informal tourism sector, both locals and tourists have more opportunities to get to know each other in parallel during longer stays. This setting can be considered as one of the main factors for creating various types of sexual and intimate relationships in Hikkaduwa.

5. Historical Transition of Hikkaduwa: In terms of Sexual and Intimate Relationships

As discussed in previous sections, Hikkaduwa has changed into a touristic area, where the involvement of local people in tourism is remarkably high. While general host and guest exchanges were taking place on the front stage, a series of sexual and intimate relationships were occurring backstage since the onset of tourism development. This part illustrates the process of which purely sexual relations between tourists and locals turn into intimate relationships such as long-term relations and international marriages.

As tourism research first emerged in order to address the issues involved with mass tourism, similarly in Sri Lanka rapid tourism development and related issues, mainly cultural pollution drew the attention of academics by the late 1970s. In examining women's involvement in tourism, Samarasuriya (1982) asserted that Hikkaduwa has completely changed compared with the coastal fishing village it used to be⁶. Paralleled to economic impact, severe social and cultural impact has also emerged (Guruge, 1988; Nakatani et al., 1994; Ratnapala, 1984), and especially Mendis (1981) claimed that negative effects such as prostitution, homosexuality, nudism and narcotics (drug addiction) outnumbered its economic benefits.

In the case of prostitution and homosexual relationships, although such activities existed even before the inception of tourism (Ratnapala, 1984, 1999; Samarasuriya, 1982), tourism caused its expansion as a lucrative means of income. Ratnapala (1984) indicated that in the early 1980s approximately 50% of the local people in Narigama, Hikkaduwa were aware of the existence of prostitution (46.26%) and homosexuality (43.61%). They have claimed that youth and children have begun to imitate and follow tourists, causing erosion of cultural and rural values, particularly of customs and habits. With regard to female prostitution, there had been a small village close to Hikkaduwa, which was notorious for prostitution. It was assumed that an army camp, which was located in the village during the time of the British, might have encouraged prostitution. From 1980 to 1982, 18 prostitutes were identified; among them some went to hotels and guesthouses in

⁶ The researcher was born and has lived in an adjoining village to Hikkaduwa (Sudugama). It has become an immense help for her to reconfirm the changes, which villagers indicated.

Hikkaduwa and Bentota, while some were travelling to Galle or Colombo to satisfy the demands of tourists. They were operated through a chain of ‘in-betweens’ such as local thugs, the hotel’s employees, the driver, the room boy etc. (Ratnapala, 1984). Samarasuriya (1982) also illustrated that prostitution had become a highly developed branch of the tourism sector by the late 1970s. Women who were destitute found it as a profitable income generating activity, mainly catering to ‘loner’ type tourists, whereas a wealthier tourist may demand a better class prostitute. There were unregistered guesthouses reputed as brothels (Samarasuriya, 1982) and as well as individuals who were willing to give over their women or daughters for prostitution. One respondent in Samarasuriya (1982) stated that *‘husbands are selling their wives, brothers their sisters on the roads’*. Ratnapala (1984) also indicated that during his fieldwork, the case of a woman who allowed her two daughters to accompany tourists to another destination for one week, and another case of a woman who brought her daughter to the beach and agreed to give her to a tourist, were observed. It is said that some guesthouses, hotels, batik centers and sewing centers were also supplying women to the tourists in an underhand way.

International marriages between male tourists and local women have also emerged in Hikkaduwa since the late 1970s. According to Samarasuriya (1982) 15 such marriages were found by that time. Marriages were mostly arranged through a guide (pimp), they offered money to the family, and also promised a monthly monetary contribution after the marriage. Such remittances were used for buying lands, constructing new houses and educating younger siblings (Samarasuriya, 1982).

In the case of homosexuality, it was in existence from earlier times and mainly practiced by males (Ratnapala, 1999, 2000). Tourism-related homosexuality first widely emerged in Hikkaduwa with the association of child prostitution. From the late 1970s many paedophiles visited Sri Lanka in search of children, and then some who were not paedophiles but homosexuals too got an opportunity to practice their sexual desires with those children. In the late 1970s, there were children aged 8–13, both male and female, stalking tourists. Some were just begging, asking for school pens, money and bon bons (sweets). By doing so they earned around 10 rupees a day in a tourist season, which was a considerably large amount in the 1970s. Some parents approved in view of its economic benefits, as almost half of the amount was given for family expenses. Another group of children were acting as guides. They took the tourists sightseeing but also to hotels and shops in the vicinity, services which the tourists accepted as they could obtain it at cheaper rates. Some children learnt a little English, some French or German. They received money and various gifts from tourists. When they took a tourist to a guesthouse or a shop they were offered a commission of 2%–10%, therefore earning a considerably high amount in the tourist season. Some children, specifically girls, took tourists to their home and entertained them with the intention of receiving rewards by ‘making friends’ with tourists. Most of them were dropouts or constant school absentees. Both children and parents were lured to the larger sum of money and gifts they received. Some of the respondents in my study illustrated this point as below⁷.

⁷ None of the respondents in touristic area indicated that child prostitution could be seen at present. These remarks came from some respondents, who noted that in the past many children were on the beach, trying to earn some money from tourists.

'Children knew the economic difficulties at home. Some of their fathers were alcoholics. Most mothers did not work. Some mothers were trying to earn few bucks servicing to upper class families or cooking or cleaning at restaurants and guesthouses'

'It was those children who experienced starvation; going without meals for days or having only one or two meals per day, and that may also small portion of rice with only a piece of fish and grated coconut. Who could have said 'No' when they could touch some notes?'

However, some of these children, mainly boys were fulfilling male tourists' sexual desires as well, but mostly in a consensual manner rather than an exploitative way.

At the same time 'pimps', predominately young males acting as tourist guides, could also be found from the mid 1970s. They were providing female prostitutes as well as ganja, but at the initial stage they did not sexually engage with tourists. Although homosexuality existed, it was not established in the community as female prostitution. Male prostitution, specifically for homosexuals, began to spread in Sri Lanka from the 1980s (Ratnapala, 1984). In the case of Hikkaduwa, the young men who acted as pimps/guides realized the tourists' requirement for homosexuality with the demand for children, gradually beginning to provide sexual services by the late 1970s. Samarasuriya (1982) states that in 1978 there were 3 or 4 well-known cases of young boys, who received large amount of money as gifts, houses, cars and even trips abroad. Some such relationships were extended to a couple of years (Ratnapala, 1984; Samarasuriya, 1982), but most of them were very temporary (Samarasuriya, 1982). Ratnapala (1984) acknowledged that homosexual relationships could be found in his study, which was conducted between 1980 and 1982, and if one could count the total number of cases in Hikkaduwa beach, it would be a hundred or a little more. Often sexual relationships were cultivated when the young men go to tourists to sell various items, or when they took the tourist sightseeing or for a boat trip. In the early 1980s, such homosexual relationships became 'normal' in Hikkaduwa. If a male tourist came alone and rented a room for him or if a young man took a tourist to show the river or sea, that fact alone meant the existence of homosexual behavior.

Moreover, there were some young men having sexual relationships with female tourists in order to gain an income. According to Ratnapala (1984) it was middle aged or 'past middle aged' women, who preferred to have sexual experiences with young men in Hikkaduwa. These men were hanging around local restaurants at night, with the purpose of cultivating the company of desirable female tourists. It is said that there was a well-known young man who conducted massage sessions to female tourists, which also involved sexual pleasures. Mostly these female tourists took the young men with them when they toured around the island. Those men were even offered lands, houses, and sometimes visits to female tourists' home country in addition to money. However, such sexual relationships with female tourists have not occurred on a well-organized basis.

Although there were some female tourists who looked forward to having sexual experiences with local men, it was not a large number when compared with male tourists' demand for homosexual relationships. Therefore as a whole, it can be said that although international marriages involving male tourists and local women evidence the existence of relationships that were not purely sexual, relationships in the 1970s and 1980s imply the existence of sex tourism.

Table 2: Historical Transition of Intimate and Sexual Relationships in Hikkaduwa

1970s	<p>Mid 1970s: Emergence of female prostitution and pimps.</p> <p>Late 1970s: Emergence of child prostitution, international marriages between ‘local female + male tourists’.</p> <p>Mostly sex tourism.</p>
1980s	<p>Early 1980s: Emergence of male sex workers among pimps and guides (especially homosexual relations with male tourists).</p> <p>Late 1980s: Emergence of sexual relations between ‘male sex workers (pimps/guides) + elderly female tourists; Emergence of International marriages between ‘male sex workers (pimps/guides) + elderly female tourists’.</p> <p>Emergence of female prostitution, pimps, child prostitution, international marriages between ‘local female + male tourists’, male sex workers (homosexual relationships and heterosexual relations with elderly females), international marriages between ‘male sex workers (pimps/guides) + elderly female tourists’.</p> <p>Still the existence of sex tourism.</p>
1990s	<p>Early 1990s: Emergence of the term ‘beach boy’, but which spread from the mid 1990s. Beach boys emerged among pimps, guides and male sex workers</p> <p>By mid 1990s: Beach boys change to heterosexual relations from homosexual relations; International marriages appear between ‘beach boys + young female tourists’</p> <p>Although female prostitution, pimps, child prostitution, international marriages between ‘local female + male tourists’, homosexual relationships with male tourists and heterosexual relations with elderly females, all existed to some extent, an increase of international marriages between ‘beach boys + young female tourists’ could be seen.</p> <p>Thus, ‘emergence of the elements of romance tourism instead of sex tourism’</p>
At present	<p>Some existence of homosexual relationships; female prostitution exists in a discreet manner; child prostitution has almost been curbed; international marriages between ‘local female + male tourists’ show a decline.</p> <p>Beach boys play a major role and international marriages between ‘beach boys + young female tourists’ have increased.</p> <p>Relationship between female tourists and beach boys at present is closer to the concept of romance tourism rather than sex tourism.</p>

The term 'beach boy' emerged in Hikkaduwa by the early 1990s. Obviously most of them were the pimps/guides who already existed from the mid 1970s. As discussed in the previous section, specifically Beddoe (1998) has claimed that beach boys are the culture brokers in child prostitution; they entice poor locals to give their children to tourists for economic gains, and these children will be sexually exploited. But, Miller (2011) rejected this argument indicating that these children are deliberately engaged in sexual relationships with male tourists in order to gain economic and other benefits. In that study he has investigated beach boys and young children in Hikkaduwa as well. Further, compared with what Ratnapala and Samarasuriya have discussed; a part of beach boys can be considered as the children who practiced sexual relationships with male tourists, while selling goods and guiding tourists.

However, from the early 1990s, beach boys gradually converted to heterosexual relationships with the increase of female tourists' visits, simply because of the fact that they were not homosexuals by nature, but compelled to practice it only to make a living out of the opportunities available to them. But, until the mid 1990s most of the relationships were with past middle aged or elderly women. Although there were a few cases of international marriages with such female tourists, the majority of beach boys were pursuing it for short-term economic benefits, considering it as a survival strategy, but even female tourists were also mainly focusing on sexual pleasures. Further, since the mid 1990s there could be seen an increase of young females' arrivals to Hikkaduwa. As a result, beach boys gradually began to develop relationships with relatively young female tourists, and international marriages between beach boys and young female tourists also started to grow. Thus, it can be said that from the 1990s, elements of romance tourism started to appear in the relations of tourists and locals instead of purely sexual motives. On the other hand, in this decade child prostitution was also continually thriving irrespective of constant international and national efforts made to curb them.

At present, beach boys are the ones who are playing a major role in sexual relationships in Hikkaduwa. When all the relationships are considered, an increase of international marriages can be seen, that of which indicates sexual relationships in Hikkaduwa are converting to more complex relationships than mere exchange of sex for money or material benefits. Comparing with the arguments of romance tourism, it can be said that from the late 1990s, sexual relationships in Hikkaduwa began to develop as a form closer to that of romance tourism. Specifically, female tourists in most international marriages, which took place in the 2000s, are relatively young. Although, the existence of female prostitution is obvious, it has become more discreet than the 1970s, and international marriages involving local women also shows a decline compared with the 1980s. Both national and international efforts could be seen to curb child prostitution. Although child prostitution existed in Hikkaduwa even in the early 2000s, at present it has almost been curbed. There is some evidence of the existence of homosexual relationships involving young men (beach boys) and male tourists, but almost all relationships, which can be found today, are between beach boys and relatively young female tourists. Beach boys assert that their main motivation is international marriage, and at the same time there are female tourists who are willing to get married to those boys. While successful marriages between beach boys and female tourists can be found, the majority of present beach boys also assert that their relationships with female tourists are not purely sexual, and even that the sexual relationships are not purely physical.

As far as these relationships are concerned, it cannot be said that dimensions of sex tourism have completely disappeared in those relationships. Yet it can be posited that beach boys and female tourists' relationships (as the most prevalent type at present) are intertwined with more complex dimensions than ones in the 1970s. I assume this transition has occurred due to both inner factors in the local community and beach boys themselves, and outer factors on the side of female tourists and/or tourism.

6. Conclusion

This paper clarified the factors and the process in developing sexual and intimate relationships involving tourists and local people in Hikkaduwa. Having analyzed the situation before the advent of tourism, the tourism development process and local people's engagement in the industry were explored. Finally, it could be identified that the tourism development process itself has facilitated establishment of sexual and intimate relationships between tourists and local people, and that the motives in forming those relationships have also changed over time.

Before the advent of tourism, most people in Hikkaduwa were engaged in traditional livelihoods such as fishing, coir rope making, lime industry and other agricultural activities. Apart from a few middle and upper class families, and a few wealthier fishermen who possessed large-scale boats, the rest were struggling daily to make their living. Yet with the introduction of tourism in the 1970s, new employment opportunities were created in the community. Therefore, following the upper and middle classes, low-income earners also gradually began to enter into the tourism sector by providing various tourist facilities. Since then tourism expanded causing economic, social and cultural impact on the local community. From the 1980s Hikkaduwa was frequently highlighted for the negative influences on tourism development (Guruge, 1988; Mendis, 1981; Nakatani et al., 1994; Ratnapala, 1984). However my previous research in Hikkaduwa revealed that the positive impact of tourism at present outweighed such negatives (ラナシンハ、2012).

With regard to the establishment of sexual and intimate relationships with tourists, two main reasons could be identified. The first is locally based small-scale tourist facilities (the informal tourism sector); the second is long staying tourists and their behaviors. Arrival of low budget tourists (hippie tourists) paved the way for low-income earners in the community to enter into tourism. As hippie tourists did not expect high standard facilities, local people could start up businesses such as private lodging, small-scale guest houses, restaurants and souvenir shops, and that led to creating a larger informal tourism sector in Hikkaduwa. Along with the hippie/ low budget tourists' nature of searching for local cultural experiences through close interaction with local people, the expanded informal tourism sector and tourists' long stays provided more space for the establishment of multifaceted relations between tourists and local people. Although Hikkaduwa has been frequently pointed out as an unplanned destination (Gunawardana, et al., 2009; Hikkaduwa Special Area Management Plan, 1996; Nakatani, et al., 1994; Samarasuriya, 1982; Tantrigama, 1996), the result was a positive impact on the local people. Specifically, Gunawardana, et al's study (2009) also proves that the development process of the tourist

destination affects its formation as a destination. Bentota, where comparisons with Hikkaduwa are often made, is a neighboring beach resort located in the same coastal strip. From the initial stage in the 1970s, Bentota has been developed under the guidance of the state, constructing star hotels focusing more on standard tourists, but those who benefited from the tourism sector were mainly outsiders or foreigners. As discussed above, although Hikkaduwa is considered an unplanned destination, a large number of local people are engaged in the tourism sector meaning that the connection with tourists is also high.

Furthermore, it was revealed that although purely sexual relationships between tourists and locals existed at the initial stage of tourism development, such relations have over time turned into intimate relationships such as long-term relations and international marriages. Specifically during the 1970s and 1980s relationships were mostly closer to sex tourism in that there was female prostitution, pimps, child prostitution and male sex workers (homosexual relationships and heterosexual relations with elderly females). However, from the 1990s these relations started to change, especially with the increase of female tourists' arrivals.

Although international marriages involving local females and male tourists existed from the 1970s, an increase of international marriages between 'beach boys and young female tourists' can be found since the arrival of female tourists from the 1990s. Moreover, successful marriages between beach boys and female tourists indicate that their relationships involve a deeper meaning rather than a mere fulfilment of sexual desires. Thus, it can be said that the relationship involving beach boys and female tourists at present is closer to the concept of romance tourism rather than sex tourism. Moreover, from the initial stage of tourism development, Hikkaduwa has positively provided a platform for the establishment of sexual or intimate relationships between tourists and local people. Future research is needed to further investigate the historical transition of sexual and intimate relationships, and the prevailing relationships between local men (e.g. 'beach boys') and female tourists.

References

- Alexander, P. (1977). Sea Tenure in Southern Sri Lanka. *Ethnology* 16(3): 231–251.
- Beddoe, C. (1998). Beach boys and Tourists: Links in the Chain of Child Prostitution in Sri Lanka, In *Sex Tourism and Prostitution: Aspects of Leisure, Recreation, and Work*, Oppermann, M, ed., 42–50. Cognizant Communication Corporation, New York.
- Brennan, D. (2001). Tourism in transnational places: Dominican sex workers and German sex tourists imagine one another. *Identities Global Studies in Culture and Power* 7(4): 621–663.
- Brennan, D. (2004). Women work, men sponge, and everyone gossips: Macho men and stigmatized/ing women in a sex tourist town. *Anthropological Quarterly* 77(4): 705–733.
- Cabezas, A. L. (2004). Between Love and Money: Sex, Tourism, and Citizenship in Cuba and Dominican Republic. *Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 29(4): 987–1015.

- Cohen, E. (1982). Thai Girls and Farang Men: The Edge of Ambiguity, *Annals of Tourism Research* 9: 403–428.
- Cohen, E. (2003). Transnational Marriage in Thailand: The Dynamics of Extreme Heterogamy. In *Sex and Tourism, Journeys of Romance, Love and Lust*, McKercher, B. and Bauer, ed., pp. 57–81. The Haworth Hospitality Press.
- Crick, M. (1994). Resplendent Sites, Discordant Voices: Sri Lankans and International Tourism. Harwood Academic Publishers.
- Dahles, H. and Bras, K. (1999). Entrepreneurs in Romance: Tourism in Indonesia, *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(2): 267–293.
- Gunawardana, M.R. and K.L.G. Sanjeevani. (2009) Planning Implications and Sustainability of Tourism: A Comparative Study of Hikkaduwa and Bentota, Sri Lanka: *Journal of Tourism, Hospitality & Culinary Arts*, 5: 67–85.
- Guruge, K. G. (1988). Weralashritha Sancharaka Karmanthaye Wardhanaya ha Ehi Samaja Arthika Balapema: Sri Lankawe Dakunu Kalapayen Thoragath Pradesha Thunak Pilibada Thulanathmaka Adhyanayak. MA, University of Kelaniya ACC. No. 97. (Sinhalese)
- Herold, E, Garcia, R. and DeMoya, T. (2001). Female Tourists and Beach Boys: Romance or Sex Tourism? *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(4): 978–997.
- Hikkaduwa Divisional Secretary Office. (2012). Hikkaduwa Divisional Report 2012, Hikkaduwa, Sri Lanka.
- Hikkaduwa Special Area Management and Marine Sanctuary Coordination Committee. (1996). *Special Area Management Plan for Hikkaduwa Marine Sanctuary and Environs, Sri Lanka*. Coastal Conservation Department, National Aquatic Resources Agency and Coastal Resources Management Project, Colombo, Sri Lanka.
- McKercher, B. and Bauer, G. T. (2003). Conceptual Framework of the Nexus between Tourism, Romance, and Sex. In *Sex and Tourism, Journeys of Romance, Love and Lust*, McKercher, B. and Bauer, ed., pp. 3–18. The Haworth Hospitality Press.
- Mendis, E.D.L. (1981). The Economic, Social and Cultural Impact of Tourism on Sri Lanka. Christian Workers' Fellowship, P.O. Box 381, Colombo, Sri Lanka.
- Miller, J. (2011). Beach Boys or Sexually Exploited Children? Competing Narratives of Sex Tourism and Their Impact on Young Men in Sri Lanka's Informal Tourist Economy. *Crime Law Soc Change* 56: 485–508.
- Nakatani, K., Rajasuriya, A., Premaratne, A. and White, A.T. (1994). The Coastal Environmental Profile of Hikkaduwa, Sri Lanka. Coastal Resources Management Project of the University Rhode Island. Colombo, Sri Lanka.
- Nyanzi, S., Rosenberg–Jallow, O. and Bah, O. (2005). Bumsters, Big Black Organs and Old White Gold: Embodied Racial Myths in Sexual Relationships of Gambian Beach Boys. *Culture, Health and Sexuality* 7(6): 557–569.

- Pearce, P.L. (2005). The Role of Relationships in the Tourist Experience, in *Global Tourism* 3, Theobald, W.F. ed., 103–122. Routledge.
- Pruitt, D. and LaFont, S. (1995). For Love and Money: Romance Tourism in Jamaica. *Annals of Tourism Research* 22(2): 422–440.
- Ratnapala, N. (1984). *Tourism in Sri Lanka: The Social Impact*. Sarvodaya Vishva Lekha Publishers, Ratmalana.
- Ratnapala, N. (1999). *Sex workers of Sri Lanka*. Sarvodaya Vishva Lekha Publishers, Ratmalana, Sri Lanka.
- Samarasuriya, S. (1982). Who Needs Tourism?: Employment for Women in The Holiday-Industry of Sudugama, Sri Lanka. Toronto: UT Back-in-Print Service.
- Seabrook, J. (1996). *Travels in the Skin Trade: Tourism and the Sex Industry*. Pluto Press.
- Tantrigama, G. (1999). Coastal Resource Management and Sustainability of Tourism: A Comparative Study of Hikkaduwa, Sri Lanka and Goa, India. University of Sri Jayawardenepura, Sri Lanka, 91–99.

日本語

- ラナシンハ、ニルマラ. (2012). 「観光化に伴う就業形態の変化と地域社会変：スリランカの海浜地域ヒッカドゥワを事例として。」 立教大学大学院観光学研究科修士論文.
- ラナシンハ、ニルマラ. (2015). 「観光地化に伴う生業形態の変化と地域社会の変容：スリランカ南部州ヒッカドゥワを事例として。」 『南方文化』（天理南方文化研究会）、41：15–36.
- 高桑史子(1988) 「スリランカ南部魚村の魚商人：漁民から魚商へ」 『社会人類学年報』（東京都立大学社会人類学会編）、14：141–155.

Acknowledgements

I would like to extend my grateful acknowledgements to the Shibuzawa Foundation for providing the research fund to conduct my field study in Hikkaduwa, Sri Lanka.