

博士學位論文審査要旨

2011年2月2日

論文題目： Transnational Labour Migration and Women's Empowerment in Sri Lanka:
A Case Study of Migrant Housemaids in Gangawata Korale, Kandy District

スリランカにおける出稼ぎ移民と女性のエンパワーメント
—キャンディ郡ガンガワタ・コラルの移民経験者の世帯の分析を事例に—

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要 旨：

スリランカ、パキスタン、バングラデシュ、フィリピンなどでは、中東産油国に出稼ぎに行く移民が多く、そうした人々が行う本国への送金は、当該国家の重要な国家収入源となっている。そうした出稼ぎ移民の多くは女性で、産油国でメイドとして低賃金で働いていることはよく知られている。そうした女性の出稼ぎ移民たちは、出身国の国家経済に貢献しているが、ミクロ的にはそれぞれの出身世帯の収入源の重要な部分を占めている。出稼ぎ移民たちは、帰国後各世帯にもどっていくが、出稼ぎをしていた女性たちが得た移民としての経験は、その後の女性たちの経済的なエンパワーメントになっているのだろうか。本論文は、こうした問いに答えるために、スリランカのキャンディ郡の出稼ぎ経験者の女性たちへのフィールド調査を実施し、その記録を主な資料として女性の経済的なエンパワーメントの変化を分析したものである。

本論文は6章から構成され、社会学的アプローチを用いて研究されているが、「ジェンダーと開発」という視点から従来論じられてきた女性のエンパワーメントの問題を、国家政策との関係の中で取り上げ、実態調査に基づいた実証研究である。論文は、国家政策として女性の出稼ぎがスリランカ政府によって推進される一方で、出稼ぎそのものが女性の家庭内での決定権を高めることには貢献しない点を明らかにしている。論文では、出稼ぎは経済的には一定の収入を世帯にもたらすが、それが女性の出稼ぎ経験者の総体としての「社会資本」になるには至っていない現状を浮き彫りにし、持続的な雇用の創出には寄与しないことが実証されている。論文の最後には、スリランカの中央政府に対する政策提言として、女性の起業家の組織化に向けての政府の働きかけや出稼ぎ経験者の女性向けの職業訓練などの必要性が提案されている。

本論文は出稼ぎを経験した女性たちへのインタビューをもとに、出稼ぎ労働がもたらす世帯への収入と女性の世帯での決定権や女性の能力開発との連関を数量分析を含めて考察した実証的な研究として評価できる。論文は、スリランカのジェンダー関係やその背後にある文化的側面にも触れており、文化的要因とジェンダー、国家政策がジェンダー平等に果たす役割など、スリランカの事例にとどまらない課題を照らし出しており、他の地域の分析に有効な視点も描きだされている点が特に優れている。本論文の一部は、2009年9月に大阪大学で開催された人間の

安全保障セミナーにおいても口頭発表で公開され、また複数のレフェリー制ジャーナルにおいても発表されており、高い評価を得ている。よって、本論文は、博士（グローバル社会研究）（同志社大学）の学位を授与するにふさわしいものであると認められる。

総合試験結果の要旨

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要 旨：

申請者の Wasana Sampath HANDAPANGODA (ワサナ・サンパス・ハンダパンゴダ)氏は、2010年10月15日に実施された博士論文資格試験ですでに合格している。資格試験では、論文の概要について40分の発表があり、それに基づいて3名の審査委員が30分間質疑応答し、的確に答えることができた。その際、論文が英語で執筆されることから、発表と質疑応答はすべて英語で行うことで、英語の語学試験としての側面を兼ねたが、十分な英語の語学力が確認でき、語学試験にも合格の判定が出ている。また、専門分野であるグローバル社会の一般的知識についても口頭による諮問を行ったが、十分な知識を持ち備えていることが審査員によって確認され、論文提出に必要な条件を満たしていると判定し、資格審査は合格となった。その後、2010年12月20日に博士論文が提出された。それを受け、審査委員が教授会で選考され、3名の審査員による博士論文公開審査が2011年1月18日午後1時30分より90分間実施された。申請者による論文の概要について40分の発表があり、その後口述試験として論文、論文テーマに関連する専門分野に関する諮問が行われ、博士（グローバル社会研究）の学位に値すると認められた。よって、総合試験の結果は合格であると認める。

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要旨：

Among many developing countries, Sri Lanka represents a state that receives a substantial amount of remittances from labour migrants, many of whom are women migrants working as housemaids predominantly in the Middle East. There is little doubt that their remittances make a significant contribution to household income, thereby alleviating poverty among their non-migrant families. Yet in the field of women's migration studies, a question remains whether labour migration is empowering for women migrants or not. Within this context, this study was primarily aimed at re-examining the relationship between women's increased access to productive resources through transnational labour migration and their experience of household empowerment with reference to Sri Lanka.

The methodological approach of the study was qualitative and based on two field surveys conducted by the author: an ethnographic survey and an institutional level field survey. The focus group of the ethnographic survey was married ex-migrant Sri Lankan women involved in transnational labour migration as low-skilled housemaids. The sample consisted of fifty ex-migrant women selected purposefully from Gangawata Korale, Kandy district. Kandy is among the five of Sri Lanka's twenty-five total districts that contribute to nearly fifty per cent of all female departures. The central question of the ethnographic survey was "what difference did labour migration make to the surveyed ex-migrant women's lives?" The selected ex-migrants were surveyed based on face-to-face in-depth interviews guided by a researcher-administered questionnaire. Data analysis was based on the interpretation of personal narratives, case studies, and quantitative evidence gathered from the field survey.

The institutional level field survey was conducted on the Ministry of Child Development and Women's Affairs and Sri Lanka Bureau of Foreign Employment, Sri Lanka's key policy-making bodies on women's empowerment and transnational labour migration, respectively. The aim of this survey was to identify and examine Sri Lanka's national policies on both transnational labour migration and low-skilled women migrant workers' empowerment and welfare. During the survey, the author conducted face-to-face interviews with some policy-making bureaucrats of the ministry and also gathered important records on Sri Lanka's labour migration policy compiled by the bureau as secondary sources of data and information.

Within the context of this study it was found that, in general, by comparison with their pre-migration status as dependent housewives, transnational labour migration certainly brought about a sense of household empowerment for the ex-migrant women. During labour migration, as unconventional breadwinners, they certainly gained a relative increase in their access to and control over economic resources, thus experiencing a sense of economic empowerment within the household. However, in contrast to economic empowerment, labour migration did not necessarily ensure them experiences of socio-political empowerment within the household.

Thus, along the two dimensions of household empowerment: economic and non-economic, transnational

labour migration was simultaneously empowering and disempowering for the ex-migrant women surveyed in this study. This was because empowerment is a multifaceted phenomenon, and a particular intervention may lead to women's empowerment in some dimensions but not necessarily in others.

On the other hand, in general, the ex-migrants' household empowerment was largely dependent on them being employed abroad or not. Retirement from migration resulted in them experiencing a noticeable relative decrease in their access to household economic resources, and thus a sense of disempowerment. This intra-household situation served as a key push factor of their repeated labour migration and/or prolonged stays abroad.

Accordingly, from this study's perspective of labour migration as a source of empowerment, transnational labour migration did not in itself necessarily bring about household empowerment for the surveyed ex-migrant women, nor were their experiences of household empowerment long-term or sustainable.

Within the context of the study, the empowerment potential of labour migration rested upon a complex interplay between economic factors: access to economic resources, and some significant context-specific non-economic factors. With reference to context-specific factors, the cultural ideology of gender order was found to be the most critical. Upon labour migration, the intra-household transformation in gender order, where the ex-migrants became de facto family providers resulting in their spouses – the socially accepted family provider – largely depending on them, spurred gender conflict between them and their spouses. Likewise, family disruptions, such as spouse's alcoholism, infidelity, and children's estrangement occurring during migration, threatened the ex-migrants' identity as good mothers and wives. Hence, increased access to household economic resources in fact turned out to be liabilities to them on migration.

As much as taking up labour migration was done for their family's collective well-being and not for their individual interests, migration did not completely uproot the ex-migrants from their internalized cultural ideologies. They always perceived themselves within the roles of mother and wife, with their spouse as the rightful breadwinner, head of the household, and main decision-maker. Upon their retirement from migration, they stepped back relatively easily into their traditional gender duties as mother and wife. In sum, labour migration did not bring about any sustainable changes in intra-household gender order.

This cultural ideology of gender order evidently worked to the ex-migrants' disadvantage in terms of domestic empowerment. On the contrary, their residence in extended natal family households, the other context-specific factor, mostly worked to the advantage of their household empowerment. Natal family functioned as a key facilitator of migration by providing the ex-migrants both practical and emotional support, reducing their burden of care-giving duties at home during their stay abroad.

Context-specific factors, therefore, served as mediators of their control over household economic resources accessed upon labour migration. Resultantly, the ex-migrants' socio-cultural context in their home societies acted as a more powerful determinant of their household empowerment in relation to their economic autonomy and individual characteristics.

Consequently, in terms of what actually matters for the surveyed ex-migrant women's household empowerment, the findings of this study led to one key conclusion: household-wide cooperation and teamwork made the difference. Most importantly, it was the role of the spouse and his cooperation that spelled a great difference in the ex-migrants' domestic empowerment on labour migration.

Therefore, if the ex-migrant women were to be empowered on a relatively sustainable basis, gaining economic power alone would not be sufficient. For sustainable empowerment it is absolutely necessary that the ex-migrants' gendered transformations correspond to similar changes in their counterpart: the spouse and his patriarchal attitudes. Otherwise, sustainable changes in intra-household gender relations are unlikely to occur.

Such sustainable changes in gender relations can be achieved only by changing the gender structure that

continues to preserve the status quo. In terms of strategies to challenging gender structure, the study recognizes the ex-migrants' collective action as a credible means due to the fact that deep-rooted, normative gender structures cannot be successfully challenged by individuals alone unless mobilized in the interests of collective empowerment.

Within the context of this study, the ex-migrants' labour migration gave them access to external social networks, most importantly, horizontal social networks that consisted of social contacts and relationships with Sri Lankan migrant and ex-migrant women of similar status and interests. These external networks were both an outcome and a source of labour migration. Therefore, labour migration and external social networks were mutually reinforcing.

However, given the fact that, overall, transnational labour migration was not sustainably empowering, the ex-migrants' external social networks did not qualify to be called social capital within the context of this study. Yet these networks, particularly horizontal networks, were essentially characterised by some key factors of social capital, namely, networks, trust, reciprocity and exchange, thus carrying positive implications for social capital generation and collective empowerment.

Therefore, as a policy application constructed upon the preceding finding, this study proposed a programme to Sri Lanka's Ministry of Child Development and Women's Affairs on collective mobilization of the horizontal social networks of ex-migrant women in the district of Kandy, instead of promoting their repeated migration as low-skilled labour. The proposed programme will collectively mobilize the target group of ex-migrant women around local income-generating production operations, providing them access to paid employment on collective a basis, a credible means to their collective empowerment, real social transformation, and sustainable empowerment.