



## Gender Perspective of Constraints over Start-up of Small-scale Enterprises in Sri Lankan Tourism Industry

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### Abstract

This paper aims to investigate the gender difference of the constraints over start-up of small-scale enterprises in Sri Lankan tourism. This research is a case study of Hikkaduwa Urban Council and analyses both qualitative and quantitative data obtained from: key informant interviews, non-participant observation, surveys and in-depth interviews conducted among small-scale tourism enterprises in the Hikkaduwa Urban Council of Galle District, Sri Lanka. Comparisons were made between men and women in small-scale enterprises of three major sectors namely: accommodation, food and beverages and tourist-affiliated retail stores. The study found that women have encountered challenges based on gender identity from both internal and external environments of the business. Women have been placed in a secondary position and the division of labour has constructed the superiority and inferiority relationships on men and women workers in the business. Unequal sharing of family responsibilities, stereotyped attitudes towards women create barriers for women entrepreneurs in terms of their self-confidence, independence, mobility as well as access to business information, marketing, credit and technology. However, despite patriarchal values in the social structure, and regardless of underpaid or less paid makeup, women have been motivated to involve with the tourism industry due to their personal interests towards being economically independent. However, the findings shed light on problems in men and women in other areas and sectors. This study sheds light on the men's and women's positions in post-war Sri Lanka which had brought numerous structural adjustments in the economy. Therefore, it examines whether the constraints are continuing equally or changing in the two different periods of Sri Lankan history.

**Keywords:** *Gender, Start-up Business, Small-scale enterprises, Tourism industry, Sri Lanka.*

## **Introduction**

In the Sri Lankan context, patriarchy influences all social phenomena in the society and there is no exception when it comes to gender participation in enterprises. Female participants are at a disadvantage when it comes to surviving in the industry. They must face a lot of barriers in the industry because of the gender inequality that can be generally observed in the society. Tourism as an industry has been growing during the recent past in Sri Lanka. The main reason for this is the end of civil war and improvement of transportation infrastructural facilities around the country. This has opened up a lot of opportunities in the tourism sector of Sri Lanka. Yet, due to the gender inequality that prevails in the Sri Lankan society, whether this condition has created equal benefits for both of the genders is questionable. When it comes to enterprises, small scale enterprises secure a significant place in every industry. It is mainly because a lot of start-up enterprises are established in small scale. Because of that many individuals that possess the willingness to enter to the business field may start their business from small scale enterprise. This is mainly because such start-up comparatively demands a relatively smaller amount of resources.

Given the nature of the Sri Lankan society, gender constraints on women can be observed in every social context. However, this study was limited to studying gender constraints that individuals face within the small-scale enterprises in Sri Lankan tourism industry. This study was carried out in Hikkaduwa Urban Council area of Galle District, Sri Lanka.

Previous research on women's enterprises have focused on the enterprises mainly in relation to the war-stricken period of Sri Lankan tourism. This study sheds light on the men and women's position in post war Sri Lanka which had brought numerous structural adjustments in the economy. Therefore, it examines whether the constraints are static or dynamically changing in these two different periods of the Sri Lankan history. Under this context, the objective of this study is to examine the constraints based on gender perspectives that affects individuals in start-up of small-scale enterprises in Sri Lankan tourism industry in the Hikkaduwa Urban Council area of Galle District, Sri Lanka.

## **Literature Review**

Gender difference has been the subject scope of many studies over the years, and it is a factor that is prominent in tourism as well. Especially, women face a number of challenges related to small scale entrepreneurial activities owing to gender inequality which has a direct link to the access to credit in small business. Women owned firms are often denied loans and they become discouraged in applying for loans. The fast development in traditionally underrepresented group: women's ownership of small business is considered a positive development. Yet the women owned firms still fall behind their male counterparts. The businesses owned by women are inclined to be smaller in size (Mijid and Bernasek, 2013).

Jordan (1997) is of the view that working conditions that are available for women are varied and that studies on employment across the world suggest that there is sex segregation. As a result, 'female' occupations such as secretarial, administrative, and catering work and the 'caring' professions such as teaching and nursing are dominated by women while they are under-represented in the management structure of these sectors.

Muravyav et al (2009) have mentioned that the result they found after carrying out an analysis using data from 34 countries in 2005, support the hypothesis of discrimination against female entrepreneurs. In their research they have found that the probability of firms managed by females receiving a loan is comparatively 5 percent lower and that they are likely to pay higher interest rates. However, this is dependent on the level of the country's financing development. Females are more likely to receive a bank loan in more financially developed countries while the size of required collateral also is lower. Studies have shown that women's less skilled nature leads to them having less valuable positions in the economy. It contributes to create imbalances in financial rewards. Reskin and Pavic suggest that sex segregation is perpetuated with organizations, and it is the major challenge to women in the workforce (Jordan, 1997).

Credit market discrimination grows in a context where lenders' decision on loan applications is prejudiced by personal characteristics: gender and race of the entrepreneurs that are literally irrelevant (Muravyev et al, 2009). Women's preference for their pattern of employment is primarily attributable with low paid, part time jobs. They seek such employments with the view of accommodating their domestic/family commitments (Jordan, 1997).

The nature of work force problems faced by women regarding their wages and roles is generally under-explained by outsiders. Rationalization of women's role in tourism is wildly recognized. Unskilled sector and the lower-level service provision sector are dominated by women. Females occupy only a limited number of positions in the managerial or decision-making level in small enterprises in tourism sector. As much of the employment generated by tourism is related to small-scale entrepreneurs, it is vital to discuss the challenges faced by female entrepreneurs (Dahles and Bras, 1999). Notwithstanding to women's majority representation of the many sectors in tourism, their work is gendered in nature. Richter comparing tourism employment to a pyramid locates many women in seasonal and part time jobs at the lower end, placing few women in the reach of management position at the top (Jordan, 1997).

Poor position of women in tourism is a key problem. A traditional gender distinction with social construction is another challenge that must be faced. Control of power and decision making by men has a direct bargaining and exploitation effect on women in the tourism workforce. Most female workers are placed in subordinate posts, receiving lower levels of remuneration. Tourism also segregates women into commercial and domestic skills related to 'feminine' characteristics. In order to explain women's subordinate position in the

workforce, it is vital to understand the beginning and maintenance of occupational segregation by sex (Jordan, 1997).

However according to the findings of Jordan (1997), tourism culture itself contributes to maintaining the existing gender patterns of employment. It suggests that the challenges women face in tourism are still perpetuated and continued. This is the key limitation for women entrepreneurs in the area of tourism, especially those who conduct small-scale enterprises that target tourists.

In addition to that, women owned businesses face many restrictions in the market while the opportunities available for women entrepreneurs are limited. These firms are small-scale and operate either in the form of personal service provision or service provision to household clients. Only a few women owned businesses indicate rapid growth and these businesses have historically been the most under-represented. Convincing the government procurement officials and corporate customers that they are competent as men was the challenge faced by business owned women. They complain that they are not taken seriously, in the instances they seek customers beyond women's traditional household customers (Bates, 2002).

Lack of capacity to attract clients is another challenge while barriers to access resources and unavailability of information are also noteworthy. The number of small entrepreneurs has increased with the new economic conditions contributing to national economic growth but comparatively women owned small-scale entrepreneurs have gained fewer advantages. Although the growth in the number of women-owned enterprises is encouraged, its size of remaining revenues and employees are less when compared to male owned enterprises. An explanation exist for the inequality is that female owned business is focussed basically in service industries wherein businesses are comparatively smaller in terms of employment and income as opposed to high-tech, construction and manufacturing (Anna et al, 1999).

Further, women face difficulties in terms of availability and practice of technology and modern innovative methods for their enterprises. It leads to decrease the quality of service provided and their demand in the market. This is a visible factor and a considerable challenge in the tourism sector. Women entrepreneurs in tourism face information and technological constraints over start-up of small-scale enterprises due to unskilled and less experienced nature of their enterprise, making it less attractive to potential customers. This is strongly visible in small scale enterprises with constantly changing labour. Providers and suppliers are catering to tourists who are spending their leisure time engaging in activities that bring joy and happiness to them. Most of the traditional women entrepreneurs have fewer facilities to cater to them as a result of lower capital and less support from governmental or related authorities. These challenges and problems make their enterprise unattractive to tourists and the entrepreneurs are made vulnerable with lower income generation. This is most visible among the traditional women-owned entrepreneurs. It is vital to develop an understanding of the way in which women business owners in various industries differ, in a context where women increasingly enter the rank of business founders.

Understanding their experience can pave the way for us to understand the women entrepreneurs' potential (Anna et al, 1999).

Career pattern and level of individual standard also have become challenges for women in entrepreneurship. Intention to develop a career is not common among women entrepreneurs and this causes lower self-motivation and self-efficiency. Vocational counselling or vocational training with a recognized academic background is essential for women entrepreneurs but they do not possess these qualifications. It affects their career orientation and poses challenges to the enterprise they conduct. Many small-scale women entrepreneurs in tourism industry are traditionally experienced but lack formal training and skills while their male counterparts have more experience and are equipped with technical education, posing a challenge to women entrepreneurs. It is speculated that international migration has the potential to introduce new or unique skills into the workforce, because they are better educated diverse skills from foreign hospitality schools (Williams and Shaw, 2011).

Environmental conditions, global economy, internal political crises, foreign policy, country resources, traditions and decision-making of local bodies are other limitations and challenging factors faced by tourism (Martin-Tapia, 2010; Rittichainuwat, 2013; Haley et al, 2005; Cohen, 1984). Domain outlying is inclined to be economically, socially, politically, psychologically, and developmentally secluded and marginalized from the centre (McKercher and Fu, 2006).

Geographical disadvantages for tourism industry are also a key point. Peripheral countries tend to have poor infrastructure, inaccessibility, communication difficulties and an economy that centres on primary productions and limited knowledge compared to the core countries. These factors also have a negative influence on tourism.

## **Methodology**

Several data collection techniques have been adopted for this study. These include key informant interviews, non-participant observation, survey using questionnaires, in depth interviews and public and private documentary sources. These data collection techniques have been used to collect quantitative and qualitative primary and secondary data for this study. The first data collection tool of this study is key informant interviews. There were 25 key informant interviews in this study. Most important basic and background information and information related to cross analysis were obtained using key informant interviews at two stages: before launching other data gathering techniques and after gathering information of this study. Based on the 2014 statistics, entire population of female entrepreneurs (195) have been considered for the study. Same time, equal number of male entrepreneurs (195) from among the existing 542 businesses were selected using the stratified sampling method. Hence, the total sample consisted of 390 entrepreneurs.

Table 1: Selected Small-Scale Men and Women Owned Enterprises for the Study

Business Group	Existing Business ventures related to tourism	2014		Sample	
		M	W	M	W
Accommodation	Guest houses	131	30	30	30
	Combined entities of both restaurants and guest houses	46	8	8	8
Food and Beverage Services	Restaurants	106	16	16	16
	Bakery and short eats centers	17	6	6	6
Tourist Affiliated Retail Stores	Retail shops	81	38	38	38
	Groceries	56	15	15	15
	Ready-made Garment shops	59	61	59	59
	Tailoring	17	9	9	9
	Handicraft shops	11	6	6	6
	Communication and Photography printing services.	18	8	8	8
Total		542	197	195	195

Source: Hikkaduwa Urban Council, (2015)

The questionnaire survey technique was the second data collection tool that has been utilized in this study. The survey was carried out for small scale male – owned and female – owned tourist related entrepreneurs. This was done after establishing a good rapport with them in Grama Niladari Divisions of Hikkaduwa Urban Council area. Defining the term “small” is controversial due to the absence of a universal definition for that, in Sri Lanka, thus a small-scale enterprise is defined as a business that employs less than 25 people. The part one of the questionnaire consisted of demographical information of the entrepreneur, details of family members, details of training or examination in business, details of family members involved in business. The part two of the questionnaire was aimed at collecting data related to ownership of the business location, history of the business, intention of the business, business competition, level of assistance received, distance between rivals, business expansion, aspects of improving the business, aspect impacts on expanding the business. The part three of questionnaire was dedicated to acquiring data related to

responsible persons in performing business activities, control of business in different aspects of business, involvement with business circles, profit distribution decision, owner of assets in relation to business.

This study attempts to gather primary data through non-participant observation method. It was the third data collection technique that was adopted to assist this analytical study. Through this method, it is expected to gain insights on the structure of tourism in the area, the tourist activities, household patterns, income generating activities, running of small-scale businesses by male and female entrepreneurs and the social and cultural patterns observable in these Grama Niladari Divisions. Valuable and accurate information can be gathered in a more reliable manner by using the non-participant observation technique. The fourth tool for primary data collection includes in-depth interviews. The study utilized twenty (24) in depth interviews. The twenty-four in-depth interviews were anticipated, covering all three (3) types of selected small-scale enterprises in the field selecting four male and four female owners from each type of business venture. The rapport extended by the informants and the reliability maintained in providing information in the questionnaire survey were considered for the selection of interviewees choosing those who willingly share detailed business data. The selection of informants was based on purposive sampling method to obtain the most reliable and informative qualitative data for this study. In the interviewing, hidden and undisclosed facts of information could be obtained by observing the facial expressions, gestures and the postures, the attitudes of the respondents.

In the secondary data collection process, data were gathered from government institutions such as the Ministry of Tourism, Sri Lanka Tourism Development Authority, Hikkaduwa Urban Council, Hikkaduwa Divisional Secretariat, Grama Niladhari (offices) and other relevant government and private institutions. The statistical data in demographic, social and economic aspects of the field setting were collected from these government and private institution to conduct successful research. The initial design of the entire data collection method was based on the existing secondary data and statistics on the number of enterprises run by women and men which have been changing since the end of war in 2009. Such secondary data on the research area assisted in carrying out a more accurate and reliable research. For further analysis, books, articles, and reports related to the scope of the study were also referred to in order to gather relevant information.

This research has triangulated data collection tools and respondents to authenticate and ensure the validity of the results. As certain objectives of the study are achieved through different data collection tools, triangulation of such data for accuracy certainly enhanced the authenticity of data. The data obtained via survey could be triangulated with key informant interviews, non-participant observation and in-depth interviews' response and field notes vice-versa. Additionally, further ensuring the validity, researcher scrutinized and reconfirms the overall research plan and procedures accordingly.

The quantitative data analysis was done using SPSS and Minitab statistical packages. The researcher identified the relationship among variables. Qualitative data were gathered

through non-participant observation, key informant interviews and in-depth interviews. Qualitative data were analysed using methods accepted in social sciences and categorized under similar themes according to the context of qualitative narratives. Subsequently, the researcher seeks out trends, patterns, classifications, connections in order to meet the objectives of the study. In addition, triangulation method which follows multi strategy research approach enabled the researcher to investigate a research area from a variety of different angles and perspectives. Qualitative data are presented as descriptive analyses. In data presentation, all findings with their necessary interpretations, descriptions, quotes, discussions, and arguments have arranged in sections by considering their importance along with objectives of the study.

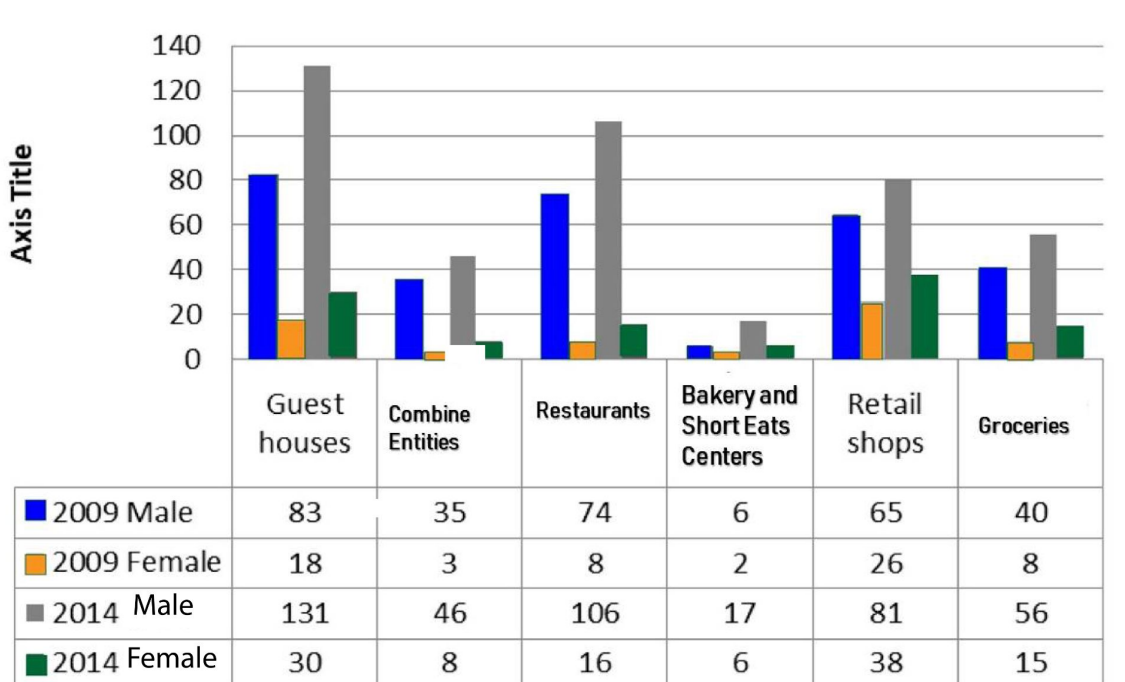
## Results and Discussion

### Gender constraints on start-up of small-scale enterprises in tourism industry.

#### *Lack of opportunities*

According to the data provided by the Urban Council, the quantity of accommodation institutions in tourism industry has increased. The other infrastructure facilities for tourism were expanded within the period of 2009 to 2014. The expansion of tourism related enterprises has created new labour markets for women.

Figure 1: Number of Male and Female owned selected small - scale enterprises in tourism industry in Hikkaduwa Urban Council area in 2009 and 2014.



Source: Hikkaduwa Urban Council: 2015



The Figure 1 shows that gender disparity in representing the tourism industry has been demised through opening the industry for women. In 2009, men owned 83 guesthouses and the women owned 18 guesthouses. In 2014, the female ownership of the guesthouses has increased by 12 and at the time of data collection, the women owned 30 guesthouses while men increased the same to 131. Generally, the numbers of guesthouses have multiplied, and the female ownership of the guesthouses has increased but it is relatively less than what men had.

*Gender inequality on income*

Table 2: Level of income in 2014 by type and gender

Annual revenue in 2014	Type of Small-Scale Enterprises											
	Accommodation				Food and Beverage Services				Tourist Affiliated Retail Stores			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
0.10 mn - 3.00 mn	16	42.11	11	28.95	13	59.09	14	63.64	69	51.11	89	65.93
3.10 mn - 6.00 mn	8	21.05	18	47.37	3	13.64	6	27.27	59	43.70	45	33.33
6.10 mn- 8.00mn	7	18.42	8	21.05	6	27.27	2	9.09	4	.96	2	0.74
08.10 mn-	5	13.16	1	2.63	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	1.48	0	0.00

<b>10.00 mn</b>												
<b>10.10 mn- 20.00 mn</b>	2	5.26	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.74	0	0.00
<b>Total</b>	38	100	38	100	22	100	22	100	135	100	135	100

Source: Questionnaire Survey, 2015.

A chi-square test was performed, and significant relationship was found between ownership of business and their income among men and women,  $X^2(3, N = 195) = 31.532, p = .000$

Income from business was significantly different for women and men. More than half (63.64%- Food and Beverage Services, 65.93% Tourist Affiliated Retail Stores) of the women-owned enterprises except women in accommodation sector (28.95%) had an annual income of 3 million LKR. However, 13.16% of men-owned enterprises earned more than 8.1 million LKR per year, in accommodation sector while only 2.63% of women-owned enterprises earned the same amount. Accommodation sector needs high capital investment, therefore, it is run as a family business and these women own the property and hence lead the business. However, no women earned more than 10 million while 5.26% of men done so in accommodation sector. Same pattern is observed in the Tourist Affiliated Retail Stores sector in which more than half 65.93% women received income of 3-6 million LKR while 43.70% men in that sector receives more than 6 million annual income.

Women ran significantly smaller businesses than men despite similarities in qualifications and experience. More than half (59.09%) of the women-owned enterprises and 63.64% of men-owned enterprises in Food and beverages services sector had an annual income of 3 million LKR. However, 27.27% of men-owned enterprises earned more than 6- 8.1 million LKR per year, while only 9.09% of women-owned enterprises earned the same amount. However, compared with other two sectors women in food and beverages sector receive better income. Reasons are found that women are much confident with task like food preparing related works, while men see in the sector perceives this as an additional burden. So men owned enterprises tend to hire more employee than women while women do not occupy such larger number.

### ***Gender stereotyping on business activities***

The story of a wife of the Male owned Small Scale Enterprise in Hikkaduwa mentions the division of labour in the shared business. The male presence is a significant factor to run the business in tourism in the cases of selling liquor without a license. According to the empirical sample, liquor is the most fundamental element to run tourism well. However, many small-scale entrepreneurs have mentioned the difficulty of obtaining a liquor license. As an alternative, the small-scale business holders have chosen to sell the liquor illegally. The alternative nevertheless does not work in the contexts of female headed businesses due to the masculine politics in law, police and other institutions.

*I am a woman and running a business hiring eight men. What should I do in my business without a liquor license? I have tried to sell the 'arrack' but caught by the police. I was in the police station and went to the court too. After that bitter incident, I was rejected by the neighbourhood. I was labelled as a 'bad woman' labelling me as a sex-worker. My children do not like me anymore. They complained that they cannot go to school because the other children tease them on my story of me being in*

*the police station. The same thing happened to the Ayya<sup>11</sup> in the next stall. No body accused him as a sex worker who has been to jail and court on the charges of selling liquor without a license. But, in my case, I am a woman who should maintain the standards and the dignity and obey the rules and regulations (Key Informant Interview, Field data, Small Scale Female Entrepreneur, Accommodation Sector in Hikkaduwa, 2015).*

The above story points out the double standards set for women. The comparison view of the female headed small scale enterprise in Hikkaduwa cites that she has been discriminated in the society and stereotyped as a bad woman in the case of selling liquor ill-legally. However, the same was done by a man in her neighborhood though, he was not taken as a 'bad person'. And also, the woman says that she has to maintain the standards and dignity and obey the rules and regulations. In her story, she questions the men's responsibility of maintaining the standards and dignity. And also, she points out how women's role in the business has been stereotyped.

The stories further mention that femininity has become an obstacle against the women's skill of managing the business. The female entrepreneurs have found the difficulties in managing the labour sources in the business. The following narrative of the female headed small scale enterprise in Hikkaduwa points out how the feminine leadership has challenged in the task of running the business.

Male dominated society posits the norms that women have the main responsibility for the care of children, the elderly as well as running the household. Due to norms, values and behaviors internalized, women have to face more challenges when play their economic activities. Following empirical data has examined how cultural perception effect on gender role in tourism industry.

Conventional gender roles have created inequality between men and women. As results of that, in the tourism sector, women are limited by the lack of equal opportunities in making income. Reasons are found in many aspects. Traditional perceptions of gender roles prevalent in the Sri Lankan society perceive woman as the main caretaker of the traditional household and man as a breadwinner. Women have greater workloads and shoulder heavier burdens due to their triple-role in the society (Bhasin, 1993). Some women give prominent place for household obligations than the paid works. It causes to create difference in capital investment between men and women. They have to face double burden of works who at the same time have household obligations to fulfil.

*"I maintain this food stole since post-war period. My parents have a guesthouse, and it earns more profit than my shop. After the death of my parents, it has belonged to me. However, it happens not like that. My relatives did not like to transfer it to me because I am a woman. They said maintaining a shop like that was not suitable for*

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<sup>11</sup> One of the elder Brothers

*the good and its more important for a woman to care for children and support them by running home smoothly by doing all tasks than engaging business” (In-depth Interview, Field data, Key Female Informant, Food and beverages sector 2015).*

It is not uncommon to see that Marginalization and subordination that characterize women experiences in patriarchy in most other power structures such as the family, business enterprises and labor unions (Miranda, 2005:7).

According to the above empirical finding, she has to do her business activities while taking care of her children. If she wants to compete with other entrepreneurs, she has to be closer with customers. Demographically, gender is found to have impact on entrepreneurial success. Therefore, entire sector stands to profit from active participate of women. However, within this context, she adopted lower growth expectations from her business. In certain cases, she gives a prominent place for interpersonal relations than the business activities. Masculine society has expected social obligations to be liaised by women. Therefore, address of the dual earner/ dual career model of household should be the centre of the new policy. The roles in the small-scale enterprises have been stereotyped. The women in the sample of small-scale enterprise play the role behind the scenario while taking the responsibilities of the business and getting things done independently. If the business is shared by family members, the women have implemented the plans for business and worked hard and do the needful to improve the business. The women who headed entrepreneurs and households even have challenged the stereotyping of women in market, public and private spheres. According to the stories they shared, they tried to go beyond gender norms and play the independent and active role in small scale enterprises.

The empirical data of the research has pointed out that women in tourism industry have been placed in the secondary category of the business even if they are owned by women. Following narrative mentions the placement of women in tourism industry.

“It was my idea to have a shop to sell Batiks for tourists. When I mentioned my shop idea to my husband, his first question was how to find capital? He then put the idea away saying, either I or he has not capacities to run the business. However, I managed to get a Samurdhi<sup>12</sup> loan. I got some advice on the business management from the Samurdhi officer. I invested the loan on the business. Then my husband appeared in the scenery. He took all the power of decision making and he decided everything in the business. I was pushed away and became a silent role-player. I did as my husband advised me. He has never allowed me to represent the business in the business associations. He has become the owner of the business. See the sign board of the shop. His name is on it” (In-depth Interview, Filed Data, Small Scale Entrepreneur, Tourist Affiliated Retail Stores, 2015).

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<sup>12</sup> The government welfare policy for the people living under poverty line.

*Seen in the observation that, the woman who responded to in the interview has wiped out her tears. She was holding a look on the shop sign board for some time and kept away with a long sigh. Her behaviour indicated the disappointed and dissatisfied life in the business. She was reasoned with her silent role in the business. "As a married woman, I am submissive to my husband's power. I cannot lead the family. My husband is the one able to take the decision in the family matters. My duty is to support his decisions through agreeing with them" (In-depth Interviews, Filed Data, Small Scale Entrepreneur, 2015).*

The section of roles shared by men and women in industry further asserts women's secondary role in the industry and the ways of stereotyping them as a reserve army. Aforesaid narrative states that women in the tourism industry have played the role of helping rather than the role of taking decisions. In that circumstance, women have been stereotyped as a role of helper, where women are subordinate by men who obstruct their business development.

#### ***Gender inequality on women's potentials and performances.***

Cultural norms and values of masculine society expect different gender perceptions for men and women like women seen as emotional, more human, empathetic, and weak. She expected to play different societal roles to men. The roles of motherhood and being a good wife are seen as central for women. Therefore, these stereotypes generate expectations that women should stay at home to do caring chorus. It created limited social interactions by women than men. As result of that, masculine social norms remain a challenge for women to succeed in their business. In this study, most women pointed out that woman in small-scale enterprises were to fulfil the needs for their family members. Therefore, she is not given a prominent place to develop her business and making profit. Her primary role in the domestic sphere has confined her public role as an active female entrepreneur. Travelling alone distance, limited mobility after dark are the cultural taboos on women in masculine society.

*"Most of the time I am unable to participate in some training programs because they are held far from our area. Having to travel too far from home, it's difficult to manage our household activities like cooking, children's education, caring of our elder parents etc." (In-depth Interview, Field data, in-depth interview Female entrepreneur, Accommodation sector, 2015).*

In the context, the patriarchal values in the system threatens woman's power of independent decision-making.

*We do not get a chance to participate for the outside activities in most cases due to housework responsibilities. My husband does not to send me alone to those events. If he does not like to send me out there isno other way to get his consent. That is "only*

*it". Sometimes my mother-in law takes my side. But both of us have to obey to the word of him. At such occasions he says 'what you knows about the world than us (means men)?' Men have better opportunities because they have no barriers like us— ((In-depth Interview, Field data, Key Female Informant, Accommodation Sector 2015).*

*"If I have to participate in programs, I have to tell my father than my mother. When I tell the mother she told me, firstly tell your father and get permission. He is responsible for me. He has to know where I am and what is going with me" (In-depth Interview, Field data, Key Female Informant, Tourist Affiliated Retail Stores, 2015).*

Unequally shared family responsibilities limit women's innovation and limiting their networking capacity in this study. Due to different gender role assigned by masculine society, women have to face gender differences on business activities.

*"I have two children. They are still going to school. I live with my parents. They also stay in bad health condition. Therefore, I have to stay in home to care for them. That is why I am maintaining this stall at home. Most of time I miss opportunities to participate in training programs because if I go no anyone care about them. I have to support my children's homework. In addition, I have to carry out my parents for clinic. I have to do everything including cooking, washing, cleaning everything by myself. Therefore, I have no chance to consume more time on my business" (In depth Interview, Field data, Female entrepreneur, Small scale retail enterprise in Hikkaduwa, 2015)*

Studies reveal that the age of children is a vital factor that has impacted on entrepreneurship development. However, it largely affects women. Kumar (2015) pointed out that the age of children which affects women's small-scale enterprise development could contribute to the roles of women generally in society. Women carry the triple burden of home care, socialization of children and social roles in the community. Time invested in taking care of children will in no doubt affect the time allocated to look after their business affairs.

With the emerging post-war tourist policy, the arrival of tourists has increased which has directly resulted in the expansion of business of entrepreneurs. However, social norms which subordinate women have a huge impact on women's businesses as well as the support available to women entrepreneurs. Therefore, women tend to receive lower income and profit compared with men in the tourism sector. Generally, women tend to perceive that it is better to run their business small perceiving they have fewer capacities with the burden of household duties. In addition, as stated in the OECD report 2012, Women-owned enterprises tend to be smaller; and have 30–40% lower profits than enterprises of comparable size owned by men (OECD, 2012), which has led women to have lower performance than men do.



### *Lack of education and training*

Lack of education and training is another dimension of gender constraints on women entrepreneurs found in this study. Educating girls is one of the most powerful tools for women's empowerment and education provides women with the knowledge, skills and self-confidence they need to seek out economic opportunities. In this area, most women get primary education and less secondary level. OECD's (2004) argument claims that the majority of women entrepreneurs are lacking training and education, which caused the problems for women in setting up and running of business enterprises. The situation is common for Eurasian countries as they claimed gender differences exist to a large extent in the labour market, and reasons are found that women still bear the burden of the unpaid, but unavoidable tasks of daily domestic life, such as childcare and housework. And as for the present study, the situation remains the same where women are challenged with fulfilling household responsibilities along with their business success. In less developed countries, young women are more likely than young men to be neither in employment nor in education or training. When they do enter the labour market, there is more chance for them be confined to the most vulnerable jobs, frequently in the informal sector (OECD 2012). That education or training raises the productivity of workers by imparting useful knowledge and skills which raising the worker's future income and lifetime earnings" (Chinomona and Maziriri, 2015: 838). Sample survey reveals majority of female respondents (43.1%) have studied up to A/L, while majority of male respondents (45.1%) have studied up to O/L. It is only 0.5% male respondents and 1.5% female respondents followed higher education wherein women have received higher educational attainments than men in the sample. Therefore, no significant difference found in the level of education among men and women in the sample. Women have shown fewer chances to acquire trainings related to tourism.

It is noted that, quarter of the (25.1%) female respondents who engage in tourist affiliated retail stores business are A/L qualified, compared to their male counterparts (21.5 %). Similarly, the majority (29.2%) male respondents who engage in tourism affiliated retail stores businesses are O/L qualified, compared to their female counter parts (26.2 %). However, though there is no difference for Sri Lankan females to access to education at all levels, education has not adequately empowered women to be aware of and assert their rights, and that women are still unable to resist the social imposition of practices that inhibit their personal development (Wellalage et al, 2012).

Table 3: Respondent's Level of Education

Respondent's Level of Education								
Gender	Types of Small-Scale Enterprises		Grade 1-5	Grade 6-11	O/L Passed	A/L Passed	Higher Education	Total
Male	Accommodation	Number	0	1	18	18	1	38
		% of Total	0	.5	9.2	9.2	.5	19.5
	Food and Beverage Services	Number	0	2	13	7	0	22
		% of Total	0	1	6.7	3.6	0	1.3
	Tourist Affiliated Services	Number	6	30	57	42	0	135
		% of Total	3.1	15.4	29.2	21.5	0	69.2
	Total	Number	6	33	88	67	1	195
		% of Total	3.1	16.9	45.1	34.4	.5	100
Female	Types of Small-Scale Enterprises							
	Accommodation	Number	0	1	12	23	2	38
		% of Total	0	.5	6.2	11.8	1	19.5
	Food and Beverage Services	Number	0	2	8	12	0	22
		% of Total	0	1	4.1	6.2	0	11.3
	Tourist Affiliated Services	Number	3	31	51	49	1	135
		% of Total	1.5	15.9	26.2	25.1	.5	69.2
	Total	Number	3	34	71	84	3	195
		% of Total	1.5	17.4	36.4	43.1	1.5	100

Source: Questionnaire Survey, 2015.

The following table shows that there is a significant difference between male and female entrepreneurs in small-scale industries in the training they get related to business /tourism. And chi-square test run between training or examination related to business/tourism with genders reveals that there is a significant difference in training p value sig. 000.

Table 4: Training or examination related to business / tourism.

Training or examination related to business / tourism	Type of Small-Scale Enterprise											
	Accommodation				Food and Beverage Services				Tourist Affiliated Retail Stores			
	Respondents [Ma1] [Ma2] [Ma3] [Ma4] [Ma5] [Ma6]				Respondents				Respondents			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Count	Column N %	Count	Column N %	Count	Column N %	Count	Column N %	Count	Column N %	Count	Column N %
Yes	6	15.8%	2	5.3%	10	45.45%	4	18.2%	30	22.22%	36	26.66%
No	32	84.2%	36	94.7%	12	54.54%	18	81.8%	105	77.77%	99	73.33%
Total	38	100%	38	100%	22	100%	22	100%	135	100%	135	100%

Source: Questionnaire Survey, 2015.

Women in both accommodation and food and beverages sector tend to receive less training compared with the men in the same sectors except women in Tourist Affiliated Retail Stores sector (26.66%). Compared to men in the same sector, there is only a very small difference (men 22.22%) between them. Analysing the entire pattern of training in which men and women receive, it is observed that they receive little opportunities for trainings related to tourism. In every sector the percentage of those who did not receive any training is higher than who receives training. Even from that women remain to have low percentage.

### ***Poor networking***

Moreover, looking around the reasons behind why women in the SME sector are mainly disadvantaged in running their business effectively, reasons are found as poor networking and social linkages remain their major barriers.

They build up close relationships with top-level business supporters to promote their business. Her limited networking capacity impedes her future endeavours. Following evidence of present study reveals that women have fewer motives in innovation and promotion compared to men. Particularly, women's fewer motive in innovation and promotion for this study since due to less access to financial support due the fewer networks they are involved in. The result was that women remain away from enhancing their productivity and their entrepreneurial opportunities. Improving women's access to innovations will increase their productivity. When women want to start their new idea, they have to get support from their family members or relatives due to lack of capital on them.

*“Most of male entrepreneurs are establishing a good relationship with government officials and politicians to promote their business. Some responsible officers even come to their home for lunch or dinner. But we cannot do like that as women and we cannot follow those male officials if our deals are not formal since gossip will be created on such things. Unlike men, as women we have to keep our good name (In-depth Interview, Field data, Key Female Informant, Tourist Affiliated Retail Stores, 2015).*

Successful entrepreneurs often had to have connections with senior officers, politicians or people who have business experience. This creates difficulties for new entrants without personal connection. They have prohibited maintaining personal contacts with managers. If, such things happen, the society often label them as bad women and spread gossip about them. Mostly women lack an environment supportive to expand their business. That was one of the gender effects, faced by women in business environment.

*“I am a creative person. Therefore, my ideas for business are deep within me. I have not studied anything like design because in that period we did not have sufficient money to spend on design courses. Every time I travel, I looked for new designs. Within that new idea I decided to startup this shop within my family support. All*

*these Batik designs were created with to my own ideas. But I do not advertise my business. I just tell friends, relatives and contacts in business societies. If I am on the internet, I can see ideas from others. But I do not have much idea on consumption of modern technology” (In-depth Interview, Field data, Key Female Informant, Retail Store Sector 2015).*

Less networking on the other hand impacts on getting away from modern technologies and strategies. They have lack of systematic information on business environment. It hinders their scholarship and visiting due to lack of information from outsiders. Loss of such networks reduces skill development relevant to their business.

Due to lack of coordination with outside environment women have less awareness on business activities such as changes in the market, insurance policies, modern technologies and strategies etc.

*“We have insurance, but we do not know how that policy functions. None of us have claimed for it so far. Maybe the insurance will work for us. I do not know what the procedures are. We just know monthly payment term for insurance” (In-depth Interview, Field data, Female entrepreneur, Food and beverages sector 2015).*

Especially, the government has introduced new social protection mechanisms such as insurance, disaster management policies etc. The objective of introducing these policies is to provide the social security for women and empower them to make economically independent. However, due to lack of awareness on these procedures, women face obstructions in insurance process.

Cultural factors shape their own lives. In this study we found that culture and tradition have acted as major barriers for making women’s income generation. They have no time to interact with others and share their ideas within groups. Mostly men have connection with their friends, neighbours, and other entrepreneurs. Men are supposed to take on the role of breadwinner. These stereotypes have made women stay at home to care for their young children and engage in another household chorus. According to feminist thinking, men are connected with the public domain in the world and women with the private domain at home. It is clearly justified to the setting of the study in this case study. “In the process of entrepreneurship, women have to face various problems associated with entrepreneurship and these problems are doubled because of their dual role as a wage earner and a homemaker” (Chinomona and Maziriri, 2015:836).

#### ***Patriarchy on decision - making.***

The patriarchal values in the market have constructed positions for men and women. Women in the market thereby have been compelled to follow decisions than make decisions.

*“In a field like tourism we are not received as same as men because, they have more contacts with managers in star class hotels. If we are going to keep close contact with such people, village women brand us as bad women and spread gossips (In-depth Interview, Field data, Small Scale female Entrepreneur-Accommodation Sector 2015).*

In another in-depth interview, a woman mentioned that woman can reach into the decision-making level in the business but her decision-making power and abilities have been challenged by men or the patriarchal institutions. Men play the key role in the business.

*“Both myself and my husband have equal claim to the business. We both can take the decisions in the business. However, if the decision has been taken by me, it would become my responsibility. Husband neither supports nor criticizes my decisions. In his case, I always support his decisions. When I am not confident on my decisions, I usually give up because I cannot bear the consequences alone” (In-depth Interviews, Filed Data, Small Scale Entrepreneur, Tourist Affiliated Retail Stores, 2015).*

Her story is an example to the poor capacities pertaining to women at the decision making in their own business.

Table 5: Decision making on investment at the beginning of your business.

	Entrepreneur		Both (Entrepreneur and Spouse)		Entrepreneur's Spouse		Family member		Employee	
	Count	Row N %	Count	Row N %	Count	Row N %	Count	Row N %	Count	Row N %
Male	127	65.1%	64	32.8%	1	.5%	3	1.5%	0	.0%
Female	100	51.3%	86	44.1%	4	2.1%	4	2.1%	1	.5%

Source: Questionnaire Survey, 2015.

Men (65.1%) reported to have higher independent decision-making power on investment at the beginning of their business than women (51.3%). Out of women's decisions 2.1% is decided by Entrepreneur's Spouse while the case for men being only 0.5%.

In that view, the male takes decisions on key factors like children's education, the ownership and control of property, income pattern in family. The woman does not own power for herself being either single or married. Women care for their husbands by obeying and men care for their wives by making decisions for them, home and children's needs. Men (35.9%) make independent decisions which is higher than women (33.8%). Theoretical reading on

liberalism become challenged when women make malpractices on taking decision on family matters. It violates the equal rights for women in family context. However, women are unable to make choices without the limitations set by stereotypes. Women still lag far behind men.

The dealing with financial institutions were masculine duties of male dominant society. Therefore, in a patriarchal society, women find it quite a challenging to prove that they are capable and efficient. In public and private lives, women have to struggle to achieve their desires and to find their own voices. It is clearly justified through the above narrative of a woman entrepreneur.

In this study, most women stay under fewer development opportunities and less formal training due to bias from their family. Some case studies revealed their inability to travel longer distances for empowerment activities because of unwieldiness of their family members. The outcome of empowerment programs shows that, women can find their voice and independence through getting involved in tourism activities by becoming part of decision-making processes and by redefining their roles in families. The key problem was that values of patriarchal society failed to accept this perception. Some adult women have said that they have to inform their husbands of their decisions to participate in programs.

Women have been socialized into traditional roles in a patriarchal society. She performs with lack of autonomy in the decision-making process in family matters. Their gender identity is leading as preventing factor for empowerment in patriarchal society because, gender is a socially and culturally constructed phenomenon.

*“I am being a guesthouse manager for two years. I have two children. Therefore, I have to work hard. Sometimes I have to come home at night. My in-laws and husband were supportive, but they indirectly suggested me not to get involved in business works. They always told me that, I had to be a good mother than a good manager. Some days my little son cries when I come to work. Under these circumstances, I have to stay home. I met many losses in terms of money and customers. But I did not care because my family is more important than other things” (In- depth Interview, Field data, Female Headed Small Scale Entrepreneur, Food and beverages Sector 2015).*

According to the literature examined, women face stress from both the work, home and social environments (Kasomo, 2012:7). This statement has been clearly emphasized in the following narrative of women entrepreneur. There are no legal barriers for women to work outside their home. But male gender opinions impose bias for such mobility. Married women are found to have performed dual roles. Fulfilling desires of family as a good mother, a daughter in law and wife are perceived as the promises of her marriage life. Therefore, she has to perform her role well in private sphere than the public sphere. She wants to be a good mother than good businesswomen and she does not abandon her family and household obligations. In a patriarchal society, a successful woman is defined as married woman who is a mature, responsible and caring mother. Socially constructed institutions such as marriage, religion, and patriarchy have been oppressing women in both private and public sectors to a



certain extent (Vithanage, 2015:4). Accordingly, male domination is evident both in public and private sphere. The women's labour in family had never been counted (Otope, 2013:15). In that view, entrepreneurship proved too hard a test for most of the women because the pressure at home was overwhelming on women entrepreneurs than the male vendors. Professional women might be valued by men because of her skill as a professional and as a mother of household. However, at the same time she is criticized for neglecting her obligations in relation to her family and children.

Findings of present study show that families have expected only traditional role from women entrepreneurs. They depend on idea of women as good in housework. It causes stress to women on losing dignity. Following empirical data of male entrepreneur's view, it highlighted clearly.

*"We cannot cook well. But women are good in that. My children complain their father not cooking well" (In- depth Interview, Field data, Male Headed Small Scale Entrepreneur, Accommodation Sector 2015).*

Women have dual roles to play in liberal market as she acts her role in reproduction process as well as the production process. Mostly women are engaged in unpaid activities such as cooking, cleaning and other housework, provision of basic household needs, which are largely seen as the key responsibilities of women. Those unequal divisions of labour support keep women away from innovation activities. Participating in training programs help to encourage business skills of entrepreneurs. Therefore, women have a limited chance to involve in those programs due to the role of care provider. According to Singh, "In the process of entrepreneurship, women have to face various problems associated with entrepreneurship and these problems are doubled because of their dual role as a wage earner and a homemaker" (Chinomona and Maziriri, 2015:836).

In a male dominant society, women have to perform stereotyped work including domestic works. In that view, cooking was labelled as a responsibility of women than the male. According to his statement, gender division of labour in society. Food preparation, water and wood collection are stereotyped as women's tasks. According to that, woman's labour is restricted to domestic sphere and Man's labour to public sphere as the evidenced in this study. Women are labelled as the good homemaker rather income earner in family. In addition, traditional gender roles assigned to women define the major responsibilities of women as raising children, caring of elderly, laundry and sweeping in patriarchal society. This allows less autonomy in the integration of work and impose more home obligations on them. Therefore, they hinder women's autonomy due to interference of husband, family and children.

*"My family was not happy when I raised the idea of starting a handicraft stall. I do not have sufficient money. Therefore, I have to take bank loans to startup my business. But my family members did not support me because they have doubts about my business as to whether it may succeed or not. I was spending long months without*

*seeing economic results. In this case, I could not see positive responses from my family members. Therefore, I do my business in my additional time. I weave the handcrafts while children are sleeping.” (In- depth Interview, Field data, Female Headed Small Scale Entrepreneur, Tourist Affiliated Retail Stores, 2015).*

As empirical data shows, general perceptions have biases on women’s ability to earn, manage money and make economic decisions. This has revealed women's dependency on others over the entire life course, with little own decision-making authority.

Mostly, women have less choice to take decisions on what they want and what they want to do. The narrative of young entrepreneur in this study clearly justified how women are supposed to act as secondary sex in the family.

*“This business was inherited to me from my parents. But it is registered under my husband’s name. Therefore, this business is maintained by my husband because of I do not have free time to maintain this. In addition, I have no proper business skills about this field because I was only educated up to grade 4. He was the major income of our family. He gives the profit for me and I protect that money. When I want to buy my needs, I ask from husband for money.” (In- depth Interview, Field data, Female Headed Small Scale Entrepreneur, 2015).*

According to above empirical data, women have to get consent from husbands or family heads to make their decisions. Without permission of head of family, she may be unable to fulfil women’s desires. Especially, control and ownership of cash is done by male partner. Women are limited to making decisions only on major household purchases and daily household purchases. Men control the properties and financial ownership. These contribute to creating a gender gap between men and women. Due to lack of communication within household for decision making by women, it creates low social status and dilemma of empowerment on them. Economic status in the household emerged as a leading factor with their autonomy in decision-making. In addition, women with lower education were considered powerless, with little decision-making where *women* play a subordinate role on financial management. They only manage that money and men control the economic resources. Some factors affect for women taking part in the decision-making in the household. Background of women was one of the leading factors affecting active involvement in decision-making. Just having lack of education excludes women from decision-making. Above case studies have strongly argued that women remain unable to take decisions without external interferences. They still play a role as a secondary sex in the household.

Women have started entering the workforce in large numbers, gained more freedom of socio-economic mobility and shown their capabilities in diverse fields, especially as professionals. However, they are still restricted in their participation in decision making in the household. Supporting women’s participation in household decision-making was

necessary to empower women. Women still experience their traditional family life. Some women are willing to actively involve in taking decisions on family matters. However, some are preferring to hold their positions as secondary sex in household.

### Conclusion

The paper concludes that gender is definitely biased and has impacted on profit making of small-scale entrepreneurs in tourism sector. Gender based labor division in a masculine society affect women's growth and performance in their business. The study has recognized that lack of education and training, gender pay gap, lack of networking, subordinate role on decision making, patriarchal values of masculine society as the outcomes of the hegemony of gender in the market and both in public and private spheres. Women's secondary status, lower socialization and undervalued productive work have led to them remain as a secondary sex in male dominant society.

Along with these findings, women entrepreneurs are posed greater challenges to overcome the issues raised owing to their gender within the patriarchal family structure. Private and civil society has the responsibility in constructing a gender free society and a gender free tourist sector. Private sector can promote the division of labour on qualifications. Non-government sector can empower women and men both on their rights. The right to have equal payments, right to have free and fair division of labour, right to have transparent promotional schemes, right to be free from exploitation and harassments in the working environment are some of the elements to be included in the civil society programs to raise awareness in this regard.

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