Island Studies Journal, 13(2), 2018, 111-128

Gendered consequences of mobility for adaptation in small island developing states: case studies from Maafushi and Kudafari in the Maldives

Phu Doma Lama
Division of Risk Management and Societal Safety, LTH, Lund University, Sweden
phu_doma.lama@risk.lth.se

ABSTRACT: In recent years island communities have actively adapted in response to a complex combination of changes that has shaped life on the islands, and this has had gendered consequences. The gender ramifications of adaptation on islands are still largely neglected in adaptation policies, although they are increasingly being addressed in the scientific literature. Understanding gendered consequences is indispensable for a critical comprehension of adaptation on islands. It would help avoid the formulation of adaptation policies that tend to focus only on technical problems and solutions. Such solutions potentially run the risk of reducing island problems to only biophysical issues such as sea level rise or problems attributed to the size and isolation of the islands. This paper investigates the consequences of adaptation for the mobility of both women and men on two islands in the Maldives, a small island developing state (SIDS) that has experienced unprecedented changes in recent decades. The focus on mobility stems from the fact that it forms an integral social and cultural part of island life. Although gender and mobility are intrinsically linked, the gendered consequences of adaptation for mobility are understudied. This study used qualitative interviews to collect narratives. The results show that the adaptation interviewees describe from their living memory has only exacerbated gender inequality by influencing the mobility of men and women in different ways.

Keywords: adaptation, gender, mobility, Maldives, small island developing states (SIDS)

https://doi.org/10.24043/isj.64

Introduction

Islands have long been objects of fascination aesthetically, in literature, and in academic scholarship (Baldacchino, 2004; King, 1993; McCall, 1994). The rise in global cultural interaction has further increased this fascination and has opportunities in some cases provided islands with (Lockwood, 2004). Contrary to the view that holds that globalization has a homogenizing effect, local-global interactions often create heterogeneity (Appadurai, 1996). This heterogeneity is a product of local-global interactions and local responses to it, albeit on an unequal basis (Pieterse, 1994).

Globalization discourses focusing mostly on the internationalization of the capitalist economy could disguise the role of power and its cultural and ideological influence and create generalizing discourses, including discourses on gender (Chowdhry & Nair, 2004; Mohanty, 1988). For instance, discourses on adaptation on islands that focus on their isolation and geography sometimes end up disguising the historical and cultural experiences of global changes and perniciously shift focus away from pressing issues in the adaptation process (Farbotko, 2005; Kelman, 2014). This is not to disregard the importance of understanding the vulnerabilities and risk stemming from island geography. However, such discourses give

primacy to islands' smallness and geographical isolation in understanding the risks and vulnerabilities to which islands must adapt. Understanding adaptation only from a vantage point of geography rather than island lives enmeshed in power relations might depoliticize adaptation and its consequences and disguise gender issues. This could ultimately generalize women in the global south, as often occurs in discussions that showcase women either as 'virtuous' in saving the environment or 'vulnerable' due to poverty (Arora-Jonsson, 2010). Such generalization can be reinforced by a lack of "critical analysis of the social inequalities and hierarchies within and across islands" (Karides, 2017, p. 30).

The purpose of this paper is to contribute to a critical understanding of adaptation on islands by showing that the consequences of adaptation are gendered in an island context. More specifically, this paper describes the gendered consequences of adaptation for the mobility of men and women within an island context.

Mobility is an important adaptive strategy (Kronlid & Grandin, 2014) that influences identities and the availability to and accessibility of opportunities (Felgentreff, 1999; Kitrinou & Mytilini, 2014). Furthermore, nature of certain island geographies may be such as to heighten the importance of mobility mechanisms and strategies (Alexander, 2015; Farbotko et al., 2016; Grydehøj & Hayward, 2014; Spilanis et al., 2012). This paper adopts a view of adaptation that involves "those processes by which a population attempts to achieve a working relationship with its environment" (Agnew, 1981, p. 106) in the boadest possible sense. Environment here refers not only to nature but also to the lived environment of the people involved. This lived environment is both social and natural, and its social and natural aspects are intertwined to such a degree as to be indivisible (Adger, 2006, p. 37). Human beings act *within* rather than *on* their environment (Taylor, 2015). Equally important to note is that the process of adaptation is politicized, so that power operates in the negotiation of interests and needs (Nightingale, 2017). The process of adaptation itself involves some form of change, which could be an adjustment or a transformation. However, what separates an adaptation from a change in general is that it has a motivational core (Thornton & Manasfi, 2010). The motivational core of the adaptation lies in the fact that it happens in response to some changing condition, stress, hazard, risk, or opportunity that people value (Smit & Wandel, 2006).

The Maldives has been adapting to a series of major economic changes with the spread of tourism, commercialization of fisheries, political changes in its quest for democracy, sea level rise, and social and cultural changes with the opening up of the economy. Adapting to these changes has had consequences. Using in-depth interviews conducted on two islands in the Maldives, namely Kudafari and Maafushi, this paper attempts to answer the research question: What consequences has adaptation had for the mobility of men and women in the two case studies? The Maldives makes an appropriate case due to the stated increase in gender inequality over the past ten years, despite a national commitment to mainstream gender in policies (May, 2016; UNDP, 2011).

In an attempt to answer the research question, I start by presenting the context in an effort to relate adaptation to the two islands. This is followed by a conceptual framework comprised of a detailed description of how concepts are used in the paper. Next, the methodology section provides a detailed description of the approach used for the study, including the methods for data collection and analysis. This is followed by a presentation of the key findings of the study, followed by a detailed discussion. I conclude by pointing out the key discussion points that reaffirm the need for a gender-focused approach to understanding adaptation in an island context.

Background to the study

Historically, the Maldives have witnessed a strong foreign influence due to the islands' strategic position along the Indian Ocean trade route. These foreign influences have shaped

religious beliefs and have influenced the change of the administration of the country from a sultanate to a constitutional monarchy (Phadnis & Luithui, 1981). In terms of religion, the Maldives were Buddhist in ancient times, with Islam being introduced in the 12th century by the Arabs (Phadnis & Luithui, 1981). After its independence from the United Kingdom in 1965, the Maldives have undergone a major social and economic transformation, especially since the economy opened to the outside in the 1970s (Fulu, 2004). Up to the 1980s, it was one of the poorest countries in the world, characterized by a fishing-based economy. The opening of the economy transformed both the tourism and fishing sectors, and this has had its own implications. In the tourism sector, the Maldives followed a one-island-one-resort policy. Tourism was restricted to resort islands where locals did not and still do not reside. Under the rule of Maumoon Abdul Gayoom, in 1978, quality tourism projects were introduced to respond to the problem of environmental degradation and mismanaged tourism. This included a move to avoid "cultural pollution" (see Scheyvens, 2011, p. 152). Tourism rules regarding ownership changed after 2008 when the new government allowed tourism on islands inhabited by locals. This gave rise to guesthouse tourism, which allows locals to construct and own guesthouses on these locally inhabited islands (Kundur, 2012).

When it comes to fishing, mechanized boats, canned wet fish, and fish-aggregating devices were introduced to enhance the competitive edge of the fishing industry in terms of export (Adam et al., 2003). Increased international trade and tourism had a multiplier effect, leading to increased demand for imported goods (Maldives Human Development Report, 2014, pp. 23-24) and infrastructure development, especially transport.

Important to note here is that the transport and construction sectors are dominated by men. Additionally, both the tourism and fishing sectors are male-dominated, and all means of production, including fishing vessels, are owned by men (Asian Development Bank, 2014). Women historically engaged in fish preparation and processing, but fishing itself has always been a male-dominated activity. With the increased commercialization of fishing, the activities that women previously carried out have substantially reduced (Fulu & Miedema, 2015, p. 435). Tourism contributed 79.4% of the Maldives GDP in 2016 (World Travel and Tourism Council, 2017) and accounts for more than a fifth of employment (National Bureau of Statistics IV, 2014). However, these employment opportunities have not benefited Maldivian women and youths (Maldives Human Development Report, 2014).

Historically, the Maldives had a matrilineal tradition (Kulikov, 2003, p. 203). Female sultans ruled the Maldives from time to time until the 16th century, but since then women have increasingly assumed domestic roles (Faizal, 2005, p. 92). Democracy has come at a price, with the country witnessing a rise in non-secular voices (Bonofer, 2014). The rise of fundamentalism is recognized as hindering public participation, especially by women (UNDP, 2011). Studies have confirmed that religious norms act as a barrier that keeps Maldivian women from participating in the tourist industry (Shakeela et al., 2010). The cultural norms in Maldives link men to occupations that require them to go outside and work, while reproductive tasks, such as childcare and household activities, are considered women's domain (Asian Development Bank, 2014, p. 5). The unemployment rate among women is twice that of men (Asian Development Bank, 2014). The number of Maldivian women who hold jobs that involve decision-making is extremely low. There was a ban on women holding the office of president until 2008, with women holding around 5.6% of the total number of seats in the national parliament, and women make up just 0.5% of atoll councillors and 5.1% of island councillors (El-Horr & Pande, 2016, p. 27) with the country's local and regional government system.

The population of the Maldives increased dramatically in the first half of the 20th century but has been undergoing a decline since the 1970s. The country's population was around 341,000 as of 2014. This includes a substantial number of immigrants, mainly from Bangladesh, India, and Sri Lanka. Immigrants make up 16% of the population, and 88% of immigrants are male labour migrants (May, 2016). The construction sector has been a major

employer of migrant labour (HDR, 2014). The increasing pace of urbanization combined with tourism has led to a population concentration on a few islands, especially in the capital city of Malé. This has led people to redesign spaces to accommodate the increased concentration of people with the result that people's activities have become limited to the private spaces of homes (Fulu, 2014; Fulu & Miedema, 2015). Artificial islands are also being built to resettle populations under the Safer Island strategy (Maldives Human Development Report, 2014). Efforts to deal with sea level rise, with growing climate change concerns, have increased emphasis on construction efforts for coastal protection (NAPA, 2007).

Furthermore, the rapid pace of political and economic change in the Maldives has been marked by an increase in divisive politics and economic inequities that have had a negative effect on the social cohesion of communities (UNDP, 2014, p. 46, p. 58). For example, there has been an increase in gang and gender-based violence. This is linked to young drug users with high levels of unemployment and a lack of trust in the government (UNDP, 2014).

It is against this backdrop that I examine local consequences of adaptation. This evaluation goes beyond generalizing consequences as only economic and as devoid of gender.

Conceptual Framework

For the analysis reported in this paper, two conceptual discussions are relevant. First, gender is relevant for adaptation studies. Second, mobility is considered an important capability for adaptation and well-being.

Gender and adaptation

Literature on gender, especially on development and environment, has been accused of a tendency to generalize gender vulnerabilities and disregard context (Arora-Jonsson, 2011). With adaptation gaining currency with respect to global changes, especially in the context of islands, recognizing gendered adaptation supports the timely effort to contribute to a critical view of how change is experienced in island contexts (Karides, 2017). Feminist studies focusing on gendered experiences of island tourism (Momsen, 1994; Stonich et al., 2009), studies using the analytical lens of religion combined with tourism to understand women's access and opportunities (Shakeela et al., 2010), and studies using an intersectional lens to understand gendered experiences of living on and being part of an island (Karides 2017) are all steps in the right direction. Understanding gendered consequences of adaptation to a complex combination of changes in shaping mobilities could further support such efforts.

In contrast to a binary male-female perspective, this paper views gender as a social construct, using the term 'gender' as described by Lorber (1991, p. 280) "as a process that creates social differences that define 'man' and 'woman' […] As part of a stratification system, gender ranks men above women […] As a structure gender divides work at home and economic production." This paper acknowledges that multiple power intersections exist in society, including island subjectivities (Karides, 2017), and that 'women' do not represent a homogenous group (Mohanty, 1988) but that a discussion of each of these intersections requires further research.

Gender and mobility

Using mobility as an indicator of gender practices seems congruent with the current focus on critically understanding gender and adaptation. Mobility is a power-laden concept, as the mobility of some could restrict the mobility of others (Manderscheid, 2009; Urry, 2007). In other words, both the exercise or lack of exercise of mobility (as a capability, discussed below) could be indicators of inequality, and this represents gender in practice and helps in its construction (Uteng & Cresswell, 2008). This paper uses the expanded definition of 'mobility' used by Cresswell (2006, p. 3) as a "socially produced motion," referring to mobility as a movement, going beyond the physical aspect to include the representation or symbolic

meaning of this movement (Cresswell, 2010). Mobility and immobility may not be merely concrete experiences (Silva, 2015). Lack of mobility could result in conditions characterized by insecurity and lack of opportunity to have experiences. Thus, it is important to acknowledge mobility as a concrete reality and to understand the subjective meanings and potentials it represents. Mobility can also be understood as a capability, defined by the opportunity to function and to lead a life that one values (Sen, 2005). In an island context, mobility plays an integral role in accessing livelihoods (Christensen & Gough, 2012) and has been considered as an adaptive strategy, influenced by cultural, religious, economic, and social factors (Stojanov et al., 2016).

Mobility to access livelihoods and deal with risks includes both the ability be mobile and accessibility to the capacity. When accessibility and ability to be mobile are achieved, the potential for movement is unleashed (Kaufmann et al., 2004). Mobility can thus produce new meanings and representations of "progress, freedom or modernity" (Uteng & Cresswell, 2008, p. 1) and empowerment in the form of accessibility (Hashemi et al., 1996).

The present paper endorses this view and discusses three types of mobility and what they represent. The three types of mobility are 1) physical mobility (on the island, between islands, and on the open sea), 2) occupational mobility, and 3) existential mobility. Physical mobility represents not just physical movement but also the potential this creates for occupational and existential mobility. Occupational mobility (intergenerational or intragenerational) commonly refers to change in the work people do (Treiman, 2007), but also represents potential to be socially mobile (Lipset & Bendix, 1992, pp. 1-8). The third type of mobility is existential mobility, which is described by Kronlid (2008) as "intrinsic capability" to "imagine and dread potential identities and future lives." Existential mobility represents well-being as accessing and actualizing "a full range of experiential and behavioural possibilities" (Todres & Galvin, 2010, p. 3).

Methodology

A case study approach was deemed appropriate for this study as it provides the researcher with an opportunity to gain an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon (Noor, 2008; Yin, 1994) in its natural setting, which also makes it context aware (Walsham, 1995). A major challenge in a qualitative case study approach is identifying the boundary of the cases (Creswell, 2007). This could easily lead to subjectivity on the side of the researcher (Patton, 1987). However, creativity requires subjectivity, and by exercising explicitness with regard to the criteria and rationale behind the selection of the cases, one can avoid being accused of unscrupulous subjectivity (Diefenbach, 2009, p. 891).

Two islands, Maafushi and Kudafari, were chosen for this study. The island of Kudafari lies in the Noonu atoll (Southern Milandhunmadulu), an atoll with a registered population of 453 people, 99 of whom are non-Maldivian (National Bureau of Statistics I, 2014, p. 33). The island of Maafushi lies in the Kaafu atoll (corresponding to the Malé atoll), with a registered population of 3025 people, of whom 419 are non-Maldivians (National Bureau of Statistics I, 2014, p. 43). Tourism has resulted in both internal and international in-migration. Interviews and personal observations revealed in-migration for work by Maldivians from other islands (mainly the Addu atoll, the southernmost islands of the Maldives) as well as foreigners. Most of these migrants are employed in the tourism industry as hotel managers, water sports instructors, or waiters at restaurants and hotels.

Maafushi was selected as it was the first island to allow guesthouse tourism. The encouragement of local tourism on the islands allowed for the operation of guesthouses by locals on the islands. The second case, Kudafari, was chosen due to its limited tourist influence. The choice of the two islands was influenced by situational constraints of time and resources, along with the availability of gatekeepers. The fieldwork was carried out in January and February 2016.

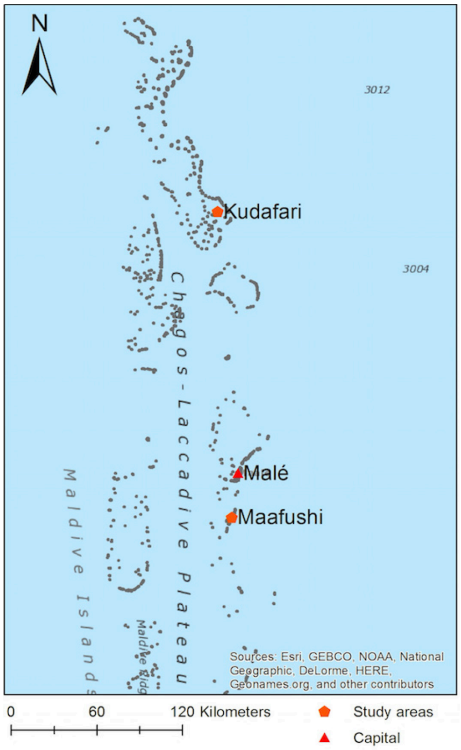

Figure 1: Location of the islands under study.

Understanding the lived realities of community members is important for understanding change (Rigg, 2007; Wicks et al., 2008). Consequently, the empirical data was collected using two kinds of interviews, namely unstructured in-depth interviews and semi-structured key informant interviews. The interviews were conducted with the help of research assistants who live on the island and have better knowledge of the local contexts. They acted as interpreters during interviews conducted in the Divehi language. They also acted as gatekeepers to provide entry into the community as they live on the islands themselves. They played a key role in the selection of some of the respondents, which was influenced by the availability and willingness of respondents. In this way, the research assistants played a major role in the co-production of knowledge about the islands. Trust was built by having discussions before the interviews to clearly state the objectives of the research, and following up the interviews with another discussion. This process helped reduce selection bias.

The combination of two ways of interviewing helped to confirm and elaborate upon issues that emerged during interviews. In-depth interviews allowed the researcher to get a glimpse of the lived reality and to collect detailed information about the issues that the interviewee narrated (Legard et al., 2003). The key informant interviews helped the respondents narrate their experience of the changes taking place on the island. They also proved useful for bringing to light conflicting views on common subjects (John, 2001, p. 106) that could potentially be linked to gender. During unstructured in-depth interviews, questions were more general and emerged out of the interview itself. This helped cover a broad range of topics and at the same time get in-depth information on relevant ones. Key informant interviews were semi-structured in the sense that questions were framed more specifically to confirm and elicit new information on key issues that emerged from in-depth interviews with other respondents.

In-depth interviews were carried out with respondents of a mature age, most being over 50 years old. An older age group was selected as a sampling frame to gain insight into how islands and lives have changed over time. The key informants from the community, representatives of an NGO, and local government officials were subjected to semi-structured interviews.

Before the interviews, permission was requested after the purpose of the interview had been explained to the respondents. Only one of the interviewees requested anonymity. A special attempt was made to interview an equal number of male and female participants. This was done to help unearth what people value (Alkon, 2004) and to see gender differences (Beutel & Marini, 1995). Due to the qualitative nature of the study, a smaller sample size was deemed suitable (Anderson, 2010, p. 4). Furthermore, this decision was validated when the information that emerged from the interviews became repetitive after a certain number of interviews.

Table 1: Interviews conducted on Maafushi and Kudafari.

Interview type	Maafushi		Kudafari		Total
	M	F	M	F	
Unstructured in-depth	6	6	11	8	31
Semi-structured key informant	1	1	2		4
Total	7	7	13	8	35

On Maafushi, a group discussion ensued, which was not intended in advance. It involved four men engaged in water sports work. Semi-structured key informants on Maafushi included the head of the women's association and the island council head. On Kudafari, the key informants included a local NGO representative and the island council head. A group discussion also ensued on Kudafari while we were interviewing a female respondent as other women gathered in her house. In Malé, an Environmental Protection Agency representative and two members of Transparency International (NGO) were the key informants. The language barrier was a major limitation. Interpreting, translation of the interviews and the analysis of the data proved challenging. However, before and after every interview, a short discussion was conducted with the gatekeeper to better understand the context and content of the interview. The respondents provided a narrative of the past that included references to their childhood and youth without mentioning the exact timeline. Considering the age of the respondents, many events referred to could date back more than ten years. On several occasions, it was difficult to conduct single-person interviews as the older people are usually found in groups.

The interviews were conducted in Divehi (Maldivian language) and translated to English with the help of the research assistants. The transcribed interviews were then analysed using a coding technique. Initially, open codes were identified from the interview data. Next, categories were developed and named using these in vivo codes. Initially, there were 42 codes relevant to the study; some of these were subdivided as coding progressed. Comparative coding, annotations, and literature were used to inform the three types of mobility categories. NVIVO software was used for coding and categorization.

Findings

The following section describes the ways in which people on these islands have adjusted and responded to the changes they have experienced according to their living memory. The consequences that these adaptations have had for people's mobility is concurrently discussed.

Physical mobility

Changes are observed in three types of physical mobility: mobility on the island, between islands, and on the open seas. In the past, women on Kudafari were more mobile on the island. Some of the changes to their physical mobility on the island can be linked to changes in the religious views on the islands. One of the female respondents mentioned that there used to be a special mosque that had been erected by women for their own use. At this mosque, women led the prayers. Women and men both mentioned the ease of visiting their

neighbours in the past. On Maafushi, both male and female respondents, expressed that there used to be no hesitation to physically move around the island.

There is a stark difference in the present-day mobility of men and women. The mosque dedicated to women is closed now, and there is a new mosque that is mostly visited by men. Only a few women visit during Eid celebrations. A change in the kind of Islam practised was briefly mentioned as the reason for the closure of the mosque for women. It was not completely clear from the interviews why women stopped worshipping, but one of the respondents pointed to the strict form of Islam, which is different from the Islam practised before, as the reason for restrictions on women in terms of visiting mosques and the way they women dress. Also related to religion, parts of Maafushi have been labelled as no-go areas for local, particularly the bikini beach area. The beach was constructed for tourists by the guesthouse owners. Women on the island protested but lost the legal battle in the court. As a compromise, a straw fence was built to demarcate the area as a no-go zone and to veil the activities of the foreign tourists. It is possible that women wish to avoid the beach area due to pressure from their husbands, but the interviews tended more towards the women having their own religious reservations about tourist culture.

On Kudafari, one of the respondents also pointed out the growing influence of religious conservativeness: "There's a new kind of religion. They're told they'll burn in hell for not covering their heads […] The tsunami was considered a curse for their actions" (Male, 35, Kudafari). On one occasion, female research assistants refused to enter the premises of the tourist guesthouse where an interview was due to take place due to the aforementioned religious reservations. Men who live on Maafushi have always been mobile, but even they do not venture into the bikini beach area. However, Maldivian men from other islands who work with water sport activities operate very close to this area.

Looking into mobility between islands, the motivation for being mobile has always been related to livelihoods. In the past, women travelled between islands to collect materials to sell. Today, however, women from Kudafari and Maafushi no longer make these trips, and very few collect materials from different islands. Household duties such as taking care of children, particularly with the commencement of formal education, were given as reasons for this decrease in movement. At the same time, the decline in the primacy of material collection activities as their source of income, provision of pension, and indirect benefits from the tourism industry in the form of remittances could also be potential reasons why women are less physically mobile. This can be inferred from the quotes below:

> "Women used to collect shells, coir ropes (rope made of coconut husk), clean around the island for money. Now we don't do much. The local council has people to clean and are paid to do it" (Female, 56, Kudafaari).

> "Women have to go look after their kids and be on time. They look after the children. This was because of formalization of schools. Men don't do it. Women have to do it" (Female, 71, Kudafari,).

In the case of men, fishing and selling processed products has always been a main reason to move between islands. There has been a rise in demand for commercial fishing with the rise in tourism and exports. Mechanized travel and changes in fishing methods with the use of bigger boats and fish-aggregating devices were some of the changes made to meet the demand. Illegal fishing and unsustainable fishing methods were noted as the primary reasons for the decline in fish stocks. Climate change was discussed as influencing *nakait* (the traditional weather calendar), rendering men unable to make weather predictions during fishing periods. This reduction in fish stock in the house reef (reef around the main island) and the reefs of nearby islands has compelled men to travel farther to distant islands and also

to move farther into the open seas. Longer distances mean more use of diesel and greater need to store catch, both of which are noted as proving difficult. Although the introduction of mechanized travel has helped ease travel, fishermen rely on resorts for their fuel supply.

> "We didn't have engines, we had sailing *dhonis*, so it took 2-3 months to travel, and it took a long time to bring in food items […]. Now we fish for yellowfin tuna in mechanized vessels in the night time, and we use lights to catch bait fish, 80-90 miles outside the atoll" (Male, 50, Maafushi).

> "Fishing today is terribly unsustainable […] fish-aggregating device is a big blunder […] International boats come and fish in Maldivian waters" (Male, 56, Kudafari).

Women do not engage in the activity of going to the open sea to fish. The decline in fish stock has not impacted their physical mobility directly, but rather indirectly, as it partly affects their occupational mobility as their participation in preparing fish has been affected.

Occupational mobility

In terms of occupation, interviews from both the islands reveal that women were engaged in diverse occupations in the past. Men, on the other hand, were mostly involved in fishing activities, carpentry and, sap collection (the sap of the coconut palm is used for making the local toddy, known in the Maldives as *Ruku-raa*). As mentioned earlier, women used to collect materials that they used for making products like cowry shells, coir ropes, thatch for roofing purposes, and coconuts for their husks and oil. In the past, these products, especially cowry shells, were in great demand (Maloney, 1980). On the island, women collected breadfruit, coconut, and firewood and were engaged in maintenance work.

> "Women used to be very active. We did a lot of activities, like weaving, making thatch roofs, collecting shells, which were special activities […] construct the water supply system by digging out the trenches. All the preparation work was done by us. The cement work and its preparation was also done by women. We did it manually. We would fill the bags and help create the sea walls. Whenever people needed help, women would do it voluntarily before even anyone asking […] Now women perform only housework. No, there is no longer fish cooking or anything of the kind of activities done in the past" (Female, 56, Kudafari).

> "We used to get toddy from the coconut palm and get the drink which was sold on the island. I was in the timber business, so it was carpentry and then later fishing" (Male, 80, Kudafari)

Women used to clean the island until this became a remunerated occupation. Women on Kudafari were also key to the post-cholera clean-up of the island. On Maafushi, women cleaned streets and repaired *dhonis* (local boats used for fishing and carrying passengers and goods). In the past, agricultural activities like growing chillies, onions, and aubergine was also done by women. The quotes below reflect the gendered division of labour in the past and in the present:

> "We grew chillies and sold coir ropes […] After having children; I stopped working" (Female, 65, Maafushi).

> "We used to go fishing in the *dhoni*. They used wake up early in the morning and wake and collect food from there, rice, curry, and sugar. Everybody used to take their own food" (Male, 73, Maafushi).

Women on Kudafari are no longer engaged in multiple occupations. Tourism created more income-earning opportunities, but mostly off the island, which means that only men can access it. A few women still prepare snacks and make thatch with palm leaves, but on a small scale. This does not suggest that the employment situation on the island has become either better or worse for the men, but it suggests a shift in the types and number of employment opportunities available and accessible to women. In other words, women's options for being occupationally mobile have become more limited.

In contrast to Kudafari, women on Maafushi now cook food for guest workers and do laundry, services started to cater to tourism needs. One of the female respondents has even converted a room in her house into a souvenir shop where she now sells hand-painted t-shirts and coconut shells, apart from working as a tutor teaching religious studies. The quotes below reveal the gendered division of labour in the tourism industry on Maafushi:

> "Tourism has helped in development […] it is beneficial for the income. I have a shop that sells t-shirts and shells. I get more tourists now" (Female, 47, Maafushi).

> "We do laundry, make snacks, and so now job opportunities are more" (Female, 63, Maafushi).

> "Even if I have got a masters in management it's difficult still to get a decent job […] Since I knew about the tourism, I got into this stuff, and so we got in couple of cousins" (Male, 26, Maafushi).

Maafushi also has a women's association that offers courses in baking, sewing, and other topics, along with religious studies. This offers opportunities for starting home-based activities. The association mainly has two sources of income: the local pre-school operated by the association and rent from the land it leases. The association has a female president, who is also part of the local island council. Religious studies are the most popular courses provided by the association.

Men on the island of Maafushi cater to tourism directly by working at resort islands or in guesthouses. Observations at the local school and local island council office as well as interaction with the locals revealed that both men and women are employed, but the precise proportions could not be confirmed due to a lack of data.

Existential mobility

On both Maafushi and Kudafari, male and female respondents said that community bonds were stronger in the past than they are at present. Women described these communal bonds by referring to their group work when collecting materials. Women used to organize themselves in groups to divide the work of food preparation and material collection. When talking about their past activities, women described themselves as *working* and being involved in different sorts of manual labour, including the maintenance of the island.

Their narratives about their present situation reflected a different state of affairs. Women described the loss of this group work culture and expressed caution about working together, fearing conflict, as reflected in the quote below:

> "Yes, before we could go from one house to another, we will share everything, our food, from one house to another. We had such a stronger and friendlier community spirit. Now all the women stay in the house, few talk to each other" (Female, 65, Maafushi).

While describing changes on the island, one of the respondents said: "So different now, we almost have no trees, it used to be wild forest before […] The island is empty now" (Female, 50, Maafushi). On Maafushi, women described tourism as creating opportunities,

but also as something that brings restrictions and a sense of loss. They expressed discomfort about moving freely on the island as they did before. This is reflected in the following quote: "Disadvantage is that they are wearing bikini […] For local people, there is no place for picnic, we cannot go with families there" (Female, 28, Maafushi).

Male respondents who have had experiences of working at resorts described the restrictions that the work culture at the resorts imposes on their own work culture. They feel restricted to one part of the resort. The resort was compared to a jail-like environment, with limited holidays to visit their families. As a result, former staff members of the resorts on Maafushi had taken jobs in guesthouses. During a group discussion on the changing nature of work, one of the respondents was quick to point out that: "The pay is much better in resort. But compared to the work and freedom that we get here, we will choose here. Even if the pay is low, a happy staff will be happier" (Male, 33, Maafsuhi).

Despite the low pay, being employed at a guesthouse is favoured over the resorts due to a more favourable work culture. On Kudafari, two of the respondents had left their resort jobs to operate an environmental NGO, even though funds are intermittent. The guesthouse owners had a different take on tourism and described it as benefiting the economy of the island. One of the guesthouse owners even described the owners as "powerful" in providing jobs. Another guesthouse owner described the community as dependent on the guesthouses for income. The present state of power relations on Maafushi can be ascertained from the quotes below:

> "Actually, in Maldives, rules and regulation do not allow this because people live on the island. Those who can invest in the local tourism, they can pressure the government. This is not good for the local island" (Male, 39, island council head, Maafushi).

> "We bring the guest and money in, and they respect us and like us. Even the locals cannot say anything to us we are more powerful than them" (Male, 34, guest house manager, Maafushi).

Discussion

The findings and background information clearly indicate different mobility changes on the islands for men and women. The examples of mobility differences show that people have adapted to changes in circumstances that in many cases have been outside their control. This proves that a power interplay exists in the adaptation process that could influence gender practices in new ways (Kaufmann & Montulet, 2008; Sheller, 2008). The two case studies show inequality in the respondents' capacity to access mobility. This inequality in capability is the result of a reduction in women's physical mobility. This can be attributed to the creation of gendered physical spaces; reduced occupational mobility, with reduced diversity of job opportunities; and finally reduced existential mobility, with restriction in access to opportunities.

Gendered physical spaces were created with the development of stigmatized physical spaces, e.g. the area where the bikini beach is located or the women's mosque where women went for prayers in the past. The development of stigma and resultant restrictions in women's movement could be seen as a consequence of the creation of a kind of localism or glocalism (a synthesis between localism and globalism) (Robertson, 1995). However, this glocality does not imply empowerment of the local (Anthias, 2002). For example, the promotion of tourism caused Maafushi to be converted into a hub for guesthouse tourism, which involved the creation of physical spaces that do not benefit the locals, such as the bikini beach. Protests by locals did not stop the creation of the bikini beach; instead, the demarcation of the area was decided upon by representatives of the tourism industry and the island council. As noted from the findings, both these entities wield power when it comes to deciding access to areas on the island. Local women on Maafushi were sidelined even though they played an important role

in protests. There is a relationship between women's ability to adapt economic change and the development of gendered spaces that affect mobility. These spaces result from the tension between maintaining the power of Maldivian community on the one hand and the promotion of tourism for income generation on the other. The effect this has on mobility represents domination and a form of violence (e.g. Bourgois, 2001).

In comparison with women, men, with a few exceptions, are more physically mobile. Men face no obvious restrictions to physical movement, except on the resort islands. Women, however, are discouraged from even going to or working at resorts, indicating the stigma attached to women working in tourism. Even the proportion of men migrating overseas is higher compared to women (UNICEF, 2013).

Men and women experience different kinds of occupational problems. The new constraints limit men's occupational choices and mobility in a different and less severe when than they do women. However, although men are less restricted than the women, they too experience more occupational constraints than before. For instance, men who engage in fishing cited fuel and storage constraints as well as the depletion of baitfish resources as common problems. At the national level, the high unemployment rate among young men is attributed to a lack of suitable education and training (National Bureau of Statistics IV, 2014). In addition, the case studies reveal that political affiliation could influence access to employment opportunities. These problems are more related to existing resource constraints than to a lack of choice. Women, however, face constraints in both choices and resources. The tourism sector has failed to provide employees with childcare facilities, and social norms further restrict women from engaging in tourist-related activities, especially staying on resort islands (Shakeela et al., 2010, p. 67).

It can be argued that adaptation to opportunities created by tourism resulted in more job opportunities for men, providing them with more occupational choices, but that these same dynamics reduced occupational choices for women by indirectly forcing them to stay home and care for the household. This is confirmed by the decline in women's labour force participation (May, 2016, p. 12), with twice as many women unemployed than men (May, 2016). Taking an example from Kudafari, women have stopped performing multiple livelihood activities and are instead engaged in making snacks, a less financially viable option, due to lack of market opportunities. This activity is only supplementary to the household income. Adaptation to change has not only created unfavourable gender roles but has also engrained the unequal gender division of labour (Huws, 2012).

Women are engaged in home-based work and constitute 90% of the informal sector. Government employment is 38% for women compared to 68% for men (UNDP, 2011). This is reflected on Maafushi, where women, including expatriates (mainly from Bangladesh), are engaged in the 'low-ranking' work of washing clothes as well as making and serving food, tasks considered unworthy of being performed by Maldivian men. This indicates limited job opportunities and constrained access to resources due to changes on the island, forcing women to undertake less profitable livelihood activities. It also reflects a loss of social network, as the group previously allowed them to build trust and community bonds. This culminates in *involuntary mobility* (Carling, 2002), with a restriction on freedom to physically move perpetuating social immobility (Kaufmann & Montulet, 2008:38; Kronlid, 2008), all of which reflects gendered inequalities of power (Silvey, 2000).

The limit imposed by social norms, such as restrictions on accessing tourism-based jobs, affect men less than women. In fact, despite constraints, ease of travel due to mechanization has allowed the men to be more mobile. This means men can travel to other islands for work (especially tourism) or farther out to sea to catch fish. This allows men to be both physically and occupationally more mobile than in the past. This faster transport service has its advantages but is privatized and costly, which poses a challenge in the event of medical emergencies. It potentially increases health risks for all, but especially women who need to travel during emergency situations, e.g. women facing complicated pregnancies (UNDP, 2011).

On an individual level, the outcome of this physical and occupational immobility for women could be interpreted as what Lems and Moderbacher (2016, p. 123) describe as a "feeling of being at a complete standstill" in the present. This condition, when compared to men, would translate into highly unequal mobility. Although men experience a feeling of being stuck in a jail-like an environment on the resort islands, their physical and occupational mobility allows them to have different experiences, which does not qualify them as existentially immobile. They are more mobile and also assert this mobility, in some cases causing immobility for others. The case of guesthouse owners asserting their power is exemplary of how the mobility of one person restricts the mobility of another.

Adaptation to a nexus of complex social, political, environmental, and economic changes results in the construction of place and identity over time (Olwig, 1999). The existential crisis for women can be seen in the changes in their identity from working to not working, from practising their religion to being good and obedient religious women, and a sense of loss related to belonging to the island. This is representative of a stagnant situation, in which women can no longer utilize their potential as they once did. Adaptation to new changes, particularly tourism, might have brought economic advancement for both men and women, but this does not necessarily imply gender equality. Economic advancement could prove regressive in strengthening gender inequalities (Kronlid, 2014, pp. 157-180). Adaptation to the changes brought about by tourism metamorphosed and enhanced the existing gendered division of labour.

Tourism creates opportunities and home-based services that are accepted as a celebratory sign of female empowerment. However, what is veiled by this false sense of empowerment is the reinforcement of gender roles. It marginalizes women into underpaid jobs and reinforces the idea that women's place is at home, creating existentially immobile gender roles. Home symbolizes a safe sanctuary, away from the western influences of tourism, such as drinking, which is considered socially and religiously inappropriate. The very labelling of home-based work as a female's domain and outside work as a male domain shows that work itself is gendered. This unequal and discriminatory division of labour further supports other unequal gendered identities. As pointed out by Ghafournia (2017, p. 148), although religion can act as a source of empowerment, it can also intersect with political, economic, and cultural factors to act as an agent of oppression.

On Maafushi, women, in a bid to maintain a balance in their household roles, take advantage of job opportunities and at the same time try to maintain their identities as good religious women, but they often end up stuck in informal activities or not working at all. There are religious norms that prescribe that a Maldivian woman should be dressed in a particular socially acceptable manner and should not venture into the bikini beach area. The veil in particular has come to symbolize discord with western culture (Listerborn, 2013) and could be argued in this case to represent a form of "strategic garb" (Aksoy & Gambetta, 2016) for resisting western influences. These identities and roles create immobile choices that have the potential to impinge upon other capacities that are important for individual well-being (Arora-Jonsson, 2011; Lamphere et al., 1997). Since mobility is seen as a capacity for well-being (Kronlid, 2008; Nordbakke & Schwanen, 2014), restrictions on mobility can have repercussions for women's well-being.

Conclusion

This paper treats mobility as an important adaptive strategy on the part of the islanders and contributes to an understanding of adaptation by using a gendered lens. A gendered understanding of adaptation is important for cautioning against the reduction of island problems to geography and isolation alone, to the generalization of the experiences of change by men and women in island settings, and to the generalization of the problems of 'third-

world women' (Mohanty, 1988). This paper attempted to confirm the divergent adaptive consequences for the mobility of men and women in two cases in the Maldives. What is peculiar is that the consequences are not just different but also unequal and discriminating, establishing that adaptation is a gendered process. The two case studies show how adaptation to multiple changes has increased mobility restrictions for women while, barring a few exceptions, increasing the overall mobility of men.

There is a mobility complex in which interdependent economies influence interdependent activities, thereby causing mobility stratification in the daily lives of a population (Urry, 2009). Mobility becomes even more pertinent in an island setting as it is an adaptive strategy (Rasmussen et al., 2009). Changes in each type of mobility, as well as the interplay between them, reinforce old and create new gendered practices. Changes in physical movement result in gender-stigmatized spaces in terms of both geographical and social space. This gendered social space has implications for women's occupational mobility in the form of a reduced range of occupations from which to choose. Finally, an existential restriction is created as women are physically and occupationally immobile, preventing them from grasping emergent opportunities. These types of restrictions on mobility represent physical and material restrictions, but they also represent a lack of freedom for women to make choices and make judgements.

This paper strongly advocates that research on adaptation include gender questions, recognizing that the consequences of adaptation may be different and unequal. Doing so will help guide the understanding of adaptation in a direction that is nuanced and that emphasizes the identification of sources of unequal power in order to at least partially resolve gender blindness in adaptation policies.

Acknowledgements

This article is the product of a larger PhD project on adaptation and communities. I would like to thank Shameem, Mizy, Mary, and Affu in particular, without whom this study would not have been possible. Thanks to Per Becker, Johan Bergström, Misse Wester, Srilata, and Riya Raphael for their comments on the draft paper. A special thank you to Björn Arvidsson for map design. I would also like to thank the reviewers of this article for their constructive comments.

References

Adam, M.S., Anderson, R.C., & Hafiz, A. (2003). The Maldivian tuna fishery. *IOTC proceedings*, 6, 202-220.

Agnew, R. (1981). The individual and values in human ecology: An examination of the adaptive processes. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 22(1), 105-117. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1533-8525.1981.tb02212.x

Aksoy, O., & Gambetta, D. (2016). Behind the veil: the strategic use of religious garb. *European Sociological Review*, 32(6), 792-806. https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcw035

Alexander, R. (2015). Career decision making in island communities: applying the concept of the aquapelago to the Shetland and Orkney Islands. *Shima*, 9(1), 38-52.

Alkon, A.H. (2004). Place, stories, and consequences. *Organization & Environment*, 17(2), 145-169. https://doi.org/10.1177/1086026604264881

Anderson, C. (2010). Presenting and evaluating qualitative research. *American Journal of Pharmaceutical Education*, 74(8), 141. https://doi.org/10.5688/aj7408141

Anthias, F. (2002). Diasporic hybridity and transcending racisms: problems and potential. In F., Anthias & C. Lloyd (Eds.) *Rethinking anti-racisms: from theory to practice* (pp. 22-43). London & New York: Routledge.

Appadurai, A. (1990). Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 7(2), 295-310. https://doi.org/10.1177/026327690007002017

Arora-Jonsson, S. (2011). Virtue and vulnerability: discourses on women, gender and climate change. *Global Environmental Change*, 21(2), 744-751. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2011.01.005

Asian Development Bank. (2014). *Maldives: Gender equality diagnostic of selected sectors*. Asian Development Bank.

Baldacchino, G. (2004). The coming of age of island studies. *Tijdschrift Voor Economische en Sociale Geografie,* 95(3), 272-283. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9663.2004.00307.x

Bonofer, J.A. (2010). The challenges of democracy in the Maldives. *International Journal of South Asian Studies*, *3*(2), 433-449.

Beutel, A.M., & Marini, M. M. (1995). Gender and values. *American Sociological Review*, 60(3), 436-448. https://doi.org/10.2307/2096423

Bourgois, P. (2001). The power of violence in war and peace. *Ethnography*, 2(1), 5-34. https://doi.org/10.1177/14661380122230803

Carling, J. R. (2002). Migration in the age of involuntary immobility: theoretical reflections and Cape Verdean experiences. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* 28(1), 5-42. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830120103912

Christensen, A.E., & Gough, K.V. (2012). Island mobilities: spatial and social mobility on Ontong Java, Solomon Islands. *Geografisk Tidsskrift-Danish Journal of Geography*, 112(1), 52-62. https://doi.org/10.1080/00167223.2012.707803

Chowdhry, G., & Nair, S. (2013). *Power, postcolonialism and international relations: reading race, gender and class*. London & New York: Routledge.

Cresswell, T. (2010). Towards a politics of mobility. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 28(1), 17-31. https://doi.org/10.1068/d11407

Cresswell, T. (2006). *On the move: mobility in the modern western world*. New York: Taylor & Francis.

Creswell, J.W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: choosing among five approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Diefenbach, T. (2009). Are case studies more than sophisticated storytelling?: Methodological problems of qualitative empirical research mainly based on semi-structured interviews. *Quality & Quantity*, 43(6), 875-894. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-008-9164-0

El-Horr, J., & Pande, R.P. (2016). *Understanding gender in Maldives: toward inclusive development*. World Bank. https://doi.org/10.1596/978-1-4648-0868-5

Faizal, F. (2005). Societal insecurities: a Maldivian study. In F. Faizal & S. Rajagopalan (Eds.) *Women, security, South Asia: a clearing in the thicket* (pp. 89-111). New Delhi: Sage.

Farbotko, C. (2005). Tuvalu and climate change: constructions of environmental displacement in the Sydney Morning Herald. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 87(4), 279-293. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0435-3684.2005.00199.x

Farbotko, C., Stratford, E., & Lazrus, H. (2016). Climate migrants and new identities? The geopolitics of embracing or rejecting mobility. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 17(4), 533-552. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2015.1089589

Felgentreff, C. (1999). Spatial population mobility as social interaction: a Fijian island's multi-local Mage community. In R. King & J. Connell (Eds.) *Small world, global lives: islands and migration* (pp. 255-276). London & New York: Pinter.

Fulu, E. (2004). *Gender-based violence in the Maldives: what we know so far*. Maldives: Ministry of Gender, Family Development and Social Security.

Fulu, E. (2014). *Domestic violence in Asia: globalization, gender and Islam in the Maldives*. London: Routledge.

Fulu, E., & Miedema, S. (2015). Violence against women: globalizing the integrated ecological model. *Violence Against Women*, 21(12), 1431-1455. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801215596244

Ghafournia, N. (2017). Muslim women and domestic violence: developing a framework for social work practice. *Journal of Religion & Spirituality in Social Work: Social Thought*, 36(1-2), 146-163. https://doi.org/10.1080/15426432.2017.1313150

Grydehøj, A., & Hayward, P. (2014). Social and economic effects of spatial distribution in island communities: Comparing the Isles of Scilly and Isle of Wight, UK. *Journal of Marine and Island Cultures*, 3(1), 9-19. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.imic.2014.03.002

Hashemi, S.M., Schuler, S.R., & Riley, A.P. (1996). Rural credit programs and women's empowerment in Bangladesh. *World Development*, 24(4), 635-653. https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-750X(95)00159-A

Huws, U. (2012). The reproduction of difference: gender and the global division of labour. *Work organisation, labour and globalisation*, 6(1), 1-10. https://doi.org/10.13169/workorgalaboglob.6.1.0001

John, M.J. (2001). In depth interviewing. In J.F. Gubrium & J.A. Holstein (Eds.) *Handbook of interview research: context & method*. Thousand Oaks, CA.: Sage.

Karides, M. (2017). Why island feminism?. *Shima*, 11(1), 30-39.

Kaufmann, V., Bergman, M.M., & Joye, D. (2004). Motility: mobility as capital. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 28(4), 745-756. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0309-1317.2004.00549.x

Kaufmann, V., & Montulet, B. (2008). Between social and spatial mobilities: the issue of social fluidity. In W. Canzler, V. Kaufmann, & S. Kesselring (Eds.) *Tracing mobilities: towards a cosmopolitan perspective* (pp. 37-56). Aldershot: Ashgate.

Kelman, I. (2014). No change from climate change: vulnerability and small island developing states. *The Geographical Journal*, 80(2), 120-129. https://doi.org/10.1111/geoj.12019

King, R. (1993). The geographical fascination of islands. In D.G. Lockhart, P.J. Schembri & D.W. Smith (Eds.) *The development process in small island states* (pp. 13-37). London: Routledge.

Kitrinou, E., & Mytilini, L. (2014). Development of a behavioural framework for analyzing employment mobility decisions in island areas: the case of the Aegean Islands, Greece. *Island Studies Journal*, 9(2), 307-326.

Kronlid, D. (2014). Adaptation for well-being. In D.O. Kronlid (Ed.) *Climate change adaptation and human capabilities*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137428042.0010

Kronlid, D. (2008). Mobility as capability. In T.P. Uteng & T. Cresswell (Eds.) *Gendered mobilities* (pp. 15-34). Aldershot: Ashgate.

Kronlid, D.O., & Grandin, J. (2014). Mobile adaptation. In D.O. Kronlid (Ed.) *Climate change adaptation and human capabilities* (pp. 47-74). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kulikov, L. (2014). Traces of castes and other social strata in the Maldives: a case study of social stratification in a diachronic perspective (Ethnographic, historic, and linguistic evidence). *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 139(2), 199-213.

Kundur, S.K. (2012). Development of tourism in Maldives. *International Journal of Scientific and Research Publications*, 2(4), 1-5.

Lamphere, L., Ragoné, H., & Zavella, P. (1997). *Situated lives: gender and culture in everyday life*. New York: Routledge.

Legard, R., Keegan, J., & Ward, K. (2003). In-depth interviews. In J. Ritchie & J. Lewis (Eds.) *Qualitative research practice: a guide for social science students and researchers* (pp. 138-169). London: Sage.

Lems, A., & Moderbacher, C. (2016). On being stuck in the wrong life: home-longing, movement and the pain of existential immobility. In M. Gutekunst, A. Hackl, S. Leoncini, J. S. Schwarz, & I. Götz (Eds.) *Bounded mobilities: ethnographic perspectives on social hierarchies and global inequalities (Culture and Social Practice)*. Germany: Transcript-Verlag. https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839431238-009

Lipset, S.M., & Bendix, R. (1992). *Social mobility in industrial society*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.

Listerborn, C. (2013). Suburban women and the 'glocalisation' of the everyday lives: gender and glocalities in underprivileged areas in Sweden. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 20(3), 290-312. https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2011.649351

Lockwood, V.S. (Ed.). (2004). *Globalization and culture change in the Pacific Islands*. Upper Saddle River: Pearson Education.

Lorber, J. (1991). The social construction of gender. In D.B. Grusky & S. Szelényi (Eds.) *The inequality reader: Contemporary and foundational readings in race, class and gender* (pp. 277-283). Newbury Park: Sage.

Manderscheid, K. (2009). Unequal mobilities. In T. Ohnmacht, H. Maksim, & M.M. Bergman (Eds.) *Mobilities and inequality* (pp. 27-50). Aldershot: Ashgate.

Maldives Human Development Report (2014). *Bridging the divide: addressing vulnerability, reducing inequality*. Maldives.

Maloney, C. (1980). People of the Maldives. *Bombay: Orient Longman*, 137, 404.

McCall, G. (1994). Nissology: the study of islands. *Journal of the Pacific Society*, 17(2-3), 1-14.

Mohanty, C. (1988). Under western eyes: feminist scholarship and colonial discourses. *Feminist Review*, 30, 61-88. https://doi.org/10.2307/1395054

Momsen, J.H. (1994). Tourism, gender and development in the Caribbean. In V. Kinnaird & D.R. Hall (Eds.) *Tourism: a gender analysis* (pp. 106-120). Chichester: John Wiley.

Musthaq, F. (2014). Tumult in the Maldives. *Journal of Democracy*, 25(2), 164-170. https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2014.0030

NAPA (2007). *National Adaptation Programme of Action, Rebublic of Maldives*. http://unfccc.int/resource/docs/napa/mdv01.pdf

National Bureau of Statistics I (2014). *Malives Population and Housing Census: Statistical Release: I Population and Household*. Malé: Ministry of Finance and Treasury.

National Bureau of Statistics IV. (2014). *Maldives Population and Housing Census: Statistical Release: IV Employmen*t. Malé: Ministry of Finance and Treasury.

Nightingale, A.J. (2017). Power and politics in climate change adaptation efforts: struggles over authority and recognition in the context of political instability. *Geoforum*, 84, 11-20. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2017.05.011

Noor, K.B.M. (2008). Case study: a strategic research methodology. *American Journal of Applied Sciences*, 5(11), 1602-1604. https://doi.org/10.3844/ajassp.2008.1602.1604

Nordbakke, S., & Schwanen, T. (2014). Well-being and mobility: a theoretical framework and literature review focusing on older people. *Mobilities*, 9(1), 104-129. https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2013.784542

Olwig, K.F. (1999). Caribbean place identity: from family land to region and beyond. *Identities Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 5(4), 435-467. https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.1999.9962626

Patton, M.Q. (1987). *How to use qualitative methods in evaluation*. Newsbury Park & New Delhi: Sage.

Pieterse, J.N. (1994). Globalisation as hybridisation. *International Sociology*, 9(2), 161-184. https://doi.org/10.1177/026858094009002003

Rasmussen, K., May, W., Birk, T., Mataki, M., Mertz, O., & Yee, D. (2009). Climate change on three Polynesian outliers in the Solomon Islands: impacts, vulnerability and adaptation. *Geografisk Tidsskrift-Danish Journal of Geography*, 109(1), 1-13. https://doi.org/10.1080/00167223.2009.10649592

Rigg, J. (2007). *An everyday geography of the global south*. London: Routledge.

Robertson, R. (1995). Glocalization: time-space and homogeneity-heterogeneity. In M. Featherstone, S. Lash, & R. Robertson (Eds.) *Global modernities*. London: Sage. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446250563.n2

Scheyvens, R. (2011). The challenge of sustainable tourism development in the Maldives: understanding the social and political dimensions of sustainability. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 52(2), 148-164. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8373.2011.01447.x

Sen, A. (2005). Human rights and capabilities. *Journal of Human Development*, 6(2), 151-166. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649880500120491

Shakeela, A., Ruhanen, L., & Breakey, N. (2010). Women's participation in tourism. In J. Jafari & L.A. Cai (Eds.) *Tourism in the Muslim World* (Vol. 2, pp. 61-71). Bingley: Emerald. https://doi.org/10.1108/S2042-1443(2010)0000002008

Sheller, M. (2008). Gendered mobilities: epilogue. In T.P. Uteng & T. Cresswell (Eds.) *Gendered mobilities* (pp. 257-265). Aldershot: Ashgate.

Silva, S. (2015). Mobility and immobility in the life of an amputee. In M. Jackson, M. Jackson, & A. Piette (Eds.) *What is existential anthropology?* (pp. 125-155). New York: Berghahn.

Silvey, R.M. (2000). Stigmatized spaces: gender and mobility under crisis in South Sulawesi, Indonesia. *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 7(2), 143-161. https://doi.org/10.1080/713668869

Smit, B., Burton, I., Klein, R.J.T., & Wandel, J. (2000). An anatomy of adaptation to climate change and variability. *Climatic Change*, 45(1), 223-251. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1005661622966

Spilanis, I., Kizos, T., & Petsioti, P. (2012). Accessibility of peripheral regions: evidence from Aegean islands (Greece). *Island Studies Journal*, 7(2), 199-214.

Stojanov, R., Duží, B., Kelman, I., Němec, D., & Procházka, D. (2017). Local perceptions of climate change impacts and migration patterns in Malé, Maldives. *The Geographical Journal*, 183(4), 370-385. https://doi.org/10.1111/geoj.12177

Stonich, S.C., Sorensen, J.H., & Hundt, A. (1995). Ethnicity, class, and gender in tourism development: the case of the Bay Islands, Honduras. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 3(1), 1-28. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669589509510705

Taylor, M. (2014). The political ecology of climate change adaptation: livelihoods, agrarian change and the conflicts of development. London & New York: Routledge.

Thornton, T.F., & Manasfi, N. (2010). Adaptation–genuine and spurious: demystifying adaptation processes in relation to climate change. *Environment and society: advances in research*, 1(1), 132–155. https://doi.org/10.3167/ares.2010.010107

Todres, L., & Galvin, K. (2010). 'Dwelling-mobility': an existential theory of well-being. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies on Health and Well-being*, 5(3), https://doi.org/10.3402/qhw.v5i3.5444

Treiman, D.J. (2007). Occupational Mobility. In G.E. Ritzer (Ed.) *Blackwell encyclopedia of sociology*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

UNDP (United Nations Development Program). (2011). *Women in public life in Maldives: situational analysis*. Malé: United Nations Development Programme in the Maldives.

UNDP (United Nations Development Program) (2014). *Human development report 2014. bridging the divide: addressing vulnerability, reducing inequality*. Maldives: Ministry of Finance and Treasury & United Nations Development Programme in the Maldives.

UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund) (2013). *Maldives migration profile: UN Population Division*. https://esa.un.org/MigGMGProfiles/indicators/files/Maldives.pdf

Urry, J. (2009). Sociology and climate change. *The Sociological Review*, 57, 84-100. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2010.01887.x

Urry, J. (2007). *Mobilities*. London: Polity.

Uteng, T.P., & Cresswell, T. (2008). *Gendered mobilities*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Walsham, G. (1995). Interpretive case studies in IS research: nature and method. *European Journal of Information Systems*, 4(2), 74-81. https://doi.org/10.1057/ejis.1995.9

Wicks, P.G., Reason, P., & Bradbury, H. (2008). Living inquiry: personal, political and philosophical groundings for action research practice. *The Sage handbook of action research: participative inquiry and practice* (pp. 15-30). London: Sage. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781848607934.n7

World Travel and Tourism Council (2017). *Travel and tourism economic impact 2017 Maldives*.

Yin, R.K. (1994). Discovering the future of the case study method in evaluation research. *Evaluation Practice*, 15(3), 283-290. https://doi.org/10.1016/0886-1633(94)90023-X