Journal of the Faculty of Graduate Studies

Journal of the Faculty of Graduate Studies, University of Kelaniya, 2012

Message from the Vice Chancellor

I am very happy to write this message for the first issue of the *Journal of the Faculty of Graduate Studies, University of Kelaniya, Volume 1, 2012*. The Faculty of Graduate Studies (FGS) is the standard bearer for research in our university, and I am very pleased that a publication is being launched to highlight the work done by our graduate students.

The Journal of the Faculty of Graduate Studies, University of Kelaniya, has been compiled based on the papers presented at the 12th Annual Research Symposium conducted by the University of Kelaniya, in 2011. The papers have been reviewed by a panel of expert researchers and selected for publication following rigid peer review procedures. I hope that in the years to come, the same procedures will be followed, and standards of a refereed journal will be continued to be met.

I note with pleasure that this publication represents the work of graduate students from diverse institutions, and I welcome them to the research community of our university.

I wish the members of the research community of our university the best of luck, and I congratulate the graduate students and their supervisors for the papers selected to be published in Volume 1 of the *Journal of the Faculty of Graduate Studies, University of Kelaniya, 2012*.

In conclusion, I wish the Faculty of Graduate Studies continued success in its endeavor to showcase the research output of the University of Kelaniya, Sri Lanka.

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FOREWORD

It is a pleasure for me to write the foreword to the first edition of the *Journal of the Faculty of Graduate Studies* of the University of Kelaniya. The Board of the Faculty of Graduate Studies (FGS) believes that the time is right to publish a journal as follow-up to the annual research symposium, conducted by FGS. In keeping with this belief, this edition showcases the interests of the graduate students reading for M.Phil. and Ph.D. degrees at our university, and academics from other universities.

The topics of the papers range from the sustainability of remittances on Sri Lanka's economic development to innovative ways to develop 'English as a Second Language' (ESL) skills of Sri Lankan undergraduates. The research articles represent the diversity of interests of the graduate students. Papers vary in thematic content from corporate governance theories to Global Environmental Governance, to carbon retention capacity, to the indigenous 'aadi vaasi' communities of Sri Lanka, to colonialism's impact on fine arts, to the de-construction of gender identity in children's literature, to the significance of facial expression in theatre arts. While commending the students for the diversity and enthusiasm the papers represent, the Editorial Board would also recommend more papers on empirical research rather than theoretical discussions based on secondary sources.

Another noteworthy aspect of this edition is the provenance of the researchers themselves. We have an author from Gombe State University, Nigeria, researchers affiliated to the University of Colombo, Visual and Performing Arts University, an author from Sri Lanka's private sector, researchers from the University of Jaffna and the Open University of Sri Lanka, and our own home grown graduates of the University of Kelaniya. We hope this rich mix of inter-university collaboration continues in the years to come.

On behalf of the Editorial Board I wish to thank the research community of the Faculty of Graduate Studies for their input, and hope that the next issue of the *Journal of the Faculty of Graduate Studies* will represent the work of both the graduate students and their mentors, so that the selection would symbolize the efforts of the young researchers and the senior academics.

I welcome all of you to contribute to the *Journal of the Faculty of Graduate Studies, University of Kelaniya,* which is a peer-reviewed (refereed) journal. Submission Guidelines for the next volume are given in this journal.

Manique Gunesekera
Dean, FGS
Chair, Editorial Board
October 2012.

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Contents

The Impact and Sustainability of Remittances on Sri Lanka's Economic Development

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Abstract

Workers' remittances consist of goods or financial instruments transferred by migrants living and working abroad to residents of the home of the migrants. There is no doubt that workers' remittances can spur economic development. Evidence abounds that workers' remittances in many nations have helped in no small way in the development of the countries. The impact of remittances on development is both at the macro and micro level. Have remittances impacted on Sri Lanka's economic development? Could the impact be sustained? And, for how long could it be sustained?

The objective of this study is to find out the impact of remittances on economic development in Sri Lanka, and the sustainability or otherwise of the foreign capital inflow into Sri Lanka. Secondary data was collected and used for this study. The study confirmed that remittances have impacted positively on the economic growth and development of Sri Lanka at both macro and micro level, but the study found that sustaining such inflow of foreign capital may be hampered by growing resentment against foreign workers in many countries of the world, macroeconomic instability across nations that is becoming more frequent et cetera.

Keywords: Economic Development, Economic Growth, Impact, Remittance, Sustainability

Introduction

Remittances are the portion of international migrant workers' earnings sent back from the country of employment to the country of origin, and play a central role in the economies of many labour-sending countries. Workers' remittances consist of goods or financial instruments transferred by migrants living and working abroad to residents of the home economies of the migrants. It is limited to transfers made by workers who have stayed in foreign countries for at least one year, while workers who are self-employed are excluded (International Monetary Fund, 1999).

The phenomenal growth of remittances in recent times has caught the attention of governments, particularly in developing countries that are in dire need of foreign exchange for the development of their economies; such that it has become the focal point on the ongoing debate concerning the costs and benefits of international migration for employment. Remittances are important sources of external financing. Worker remittances have outperformed some traditional inflows such as foreign direct investment and portfolio investment in Sri Lanka and several other countries. By its nature, remittances are counter cyclic in nature, voluntary and targeted at improving the welfare of family members in home countries.

The inflow of remittances during periods of economic downturn when compared with other flows further highlights its potential as an economic development tool. Studies have shown that several factors influence the decision to remit money from abroad. One of such factors is the prevailing economic circumstances or economic activity in the country of origin; other factors include exchange rates, wage rates and inflation rates, marital status, level of education of the migrant, whether accompanied or not with dependents, (Russell, 1986; Shivani, 2001). Furthermore, demographic characteristics of migrants, political, economic and legal environment of home countries are all part of the factors worthy of consideration, including strong cultural behavior and emotional links to the migrants' home of origin, which are also critical.

In recent years, remittances have began to receive attention from a number of parties, including academics, policy makers, bankers, non-governmental organizations and activists working on behalf of migrant communities. Researchers however, have not agreed on its role as an economic development tool as some have expressed concern that continued currency appreciation due to high inflows could lead to a Dutch disease phenomenon. On the other hand, there are examples of countries that made deliberate efforts to attract remittances as a source of external financing. It is against this background that this research was undertaken, to examine the impact of remittances on economic development in Sri Lanka and the sustainability of remittance as a means of development.

Concept of Remittance

Remittance is the inflow that results from migration. Migration is the voluntary movement of person(s) from a home country to seek a more prosperous environment and or to ensure the safety of life. When migration is documented it is termed regular, the reverse is termed irregular migration. Human trafficking is not migration because people are forced to move or tricked to move against their will. Fundamentally, the theory of labour migration takes into consideration the various labour market opportunities available to labour in developing countries. The theoretical underpinnings are those individuals who choose employments that maximize their expected gains from migration. The labour force both actual and potential, compare expected incomes for a given horizon in the labour receiving country with the domestic incomes: and migrate if the former exceeds the latter, (Todaro, 1996). The most favourable outcome of migration is remittances. 'Remittances' has been defined severally as monetary and non-monetary items that migrants earn while working abroad and later send back to their families or their accounts in their country. The International Labour Organization (ILO, 2001) defined remittances as the portion of international migrant workers' earnings sent back from the country of employment to the country of origin. Harrison (2003) and the Department for International Development (DFID, 2003) in their analytical studies defined remittances as the sum of workers' earnings and compensation of employees' and migrants' transfer.

To avoid the ambiguity surrounding the specific meaning of remittances, countries adopt the definition in the balance of payments statistics manual of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), where 'remittances' is defined as the sum of three components; workers' remittances, compensation to employees, and migrant transfers. Workers' remittances are recorded under the current transfers in the current account of the balance payments. It includes goods and financial instruments transferred by migrants, who reside and work abroad in a given country for more than one year. It could be in cash or in kind from migrant to resident households in the country of origin.

Migrant workers are treated as capital transfers of financial assets as they move from one country to another and stay for more than one year. The assets or liabilities that migrants take with them when they move from one country to another are also regarded as workers' remittances. They are reported under capital transfers in the capital account of the IMF's balance of payments. The manual simply views workers' remittances and migrants' transfers as transfers, while compensation of employees is a record of remuneration for work done. They are part of the unilateral transfer account in the current account section of the balance of payments. In other words, they are credit items in the current account; hence they help to partially offset the deficit in trade on merchandise and services.

Remittances can be sub-classified into financial remittances, social remittances and remittances -in-kind. Financial remittances are the inflow of cash and financial products. Cash includes money sent formally through the banks and network of international Money Transfer Organizations (MTOs), and also conveyed through informal channels. Financial remittance could also be in the form of Diaspora bond receipts that are designed by the home countries to attract funds from the Diaspora. The Diaspora provides social remittances to their local communities in the area of health, education as well as infrastructure through the donations of funds. A social remittance occurs when migrants speak directly to a family member about different types of politics and encourage them to pursue reforms. In cases such as these, ideas are communicated intentionally to a specific recipient or group. People know why and when they change their mind about something and begin to act in a different way. Remittances-in-kind are goods that are sent from abroad to home countries of the migrants. This can take the form of clothing items, electronic equipment, books, automobiles etc.

Review of Literature

There has been a plethora of literatures on all aspects of financial flows to developing countries with few references on remittances. This is possibly because official remittances which are the financial counterpart of migration flows have received less attention by mainstream academics and policy makers. In recent times, there has been increasing changes following the growing recognition of workers' remittances as an important and stable source of financing economies of most countries. As a result, the issue of remittances cannot be treated in isolation of migration as both concepts are commonly linked. The theory of migration, therefore, takes into cognizance the various labour market opportunities available to the labour force in developing economies. Thus, the theoretical underpinning states that every individual chooses the job that maximizes their expected gains from migration as the labour force, both actual and potential, compares their expected incomes for a given horizon in the labour receiving country (the difference between returns and cost of migration) with prevailing average countries' of origin incomes; and migrate, if the former exceeds the latter (Todaro, 1996).

Available statistics show that the size of remittance flows depend partly on the number of emigrants' resident in other countries, and in part relates to their salary levels and cost of living. Therefore, the migrants' propensity to remit from the available resources determines the volume of the remittances sent, which is in turn a function of a combination of factors: the available incentive programmes, the removal of black market premium on exchange rates and the presence of stable or unstable economic and political conditions. Macroeconomic studies by El-Sakka and Mcnabb (1999); Russell (1986) identified determinants such as the level of economic activity in the host and the

home countries, the wage rate, inflation, exchange rate, interest rate differentials or the efficiency of the banking sector as contributory factors to remittance flows in countries.

In one of the studies conducted by Wahba (1991), he stressed that the prevailing circumstances in the country of origin coupled with political stability and consistency in government policies and financial intermediation significantly affect the flow of remittances. Faini (1994) finds evidence that the real exchange rate is also a significant determinant of remittances. Real earnings of workers as well as total number of migrants in the host country were consistently found to have a significant and positive effect on the flow of remittances.

Another factor that affects remittances of migrants is socio-demographic characteristics of migrants, in situations where a migrant is married and has her/his families with them in the host country; these will greatly impact on what to send home, (Swamy, 1981; Straubhaar, 1986; Elbadawi & Rocha 1992). Social factor by way of strong cultural behavior and emotional links to the migrants' home of origin is also critical in the decision making process for remittances.

What could be the reason for remitting money home? Among many reasons, Rapoport and Docquier (2005) provide an excellent overview of theoretical reasons for remitting money home. They state that remittances are sent home due to altruistic and self interest motives. It has been widely acknowledged that altruism towards family members at home has become an important motivation for remitting (Lucas & Stark, 1985). This implies that remittances are simply due to utility functions in which the migrant cares about the consumption of the other members of the households. In this respect, migrants send remittances in order to reimburse the household for past expenditures such as schooling or costs directly related to migration or investment for the future, either out of concern for inheritance or as a way of maintaining status or to return home with dignity. Lucas and Stark (1985) view remittances as result of an inter-generational contract between migrants and their parents in the home country.

The most notable effect of migration is in remittances. It has great potential to generate a positive impact in the migrant's home country. Maimbo and Ratha (2003) posit that remittances to developing countries have doubled the Official Development Assistance (ODA) from developed countries. Ratha (2003) also observes that remittances have proved to be the most stable flow compared to ODA and private capital flows.

Unequivocally, remittances are not only used as a mechanism for the survival of the poor in the developing countries, but also in risk sharing mechanism, a stable source of investment and for stable source of funding economies of these countries. In addition, remittance flows could be planned for consumption (by recipient households)

as they are less volatile than those for investment. Migrants are however implored to strive to increase remittances during the time of economic problems, especially in low-income countries where their families depend significantly on remittances as a source of income and live close to subsistence levels. Even when the purpose behind remittances is investment, remittances are less likely to suffer the sharp withdrawal that characterizes portfolio flows to other countries. Numerous cases of evidence have proved that remittances are increasingly used for investment purposes in developing countries, especially in low income countries.

The Impact of Remittances on Development

Different definitions of economic development are widely used, but the most notable and universally acceptable definitions are the ones that consider the enhancement of productive capacity of a country. The impact of remittance however can be viewed at the macro and micro levels and have varied over the years.

The consensus view on the impact of remittance on economic development had been subject to cycles of pessimism and optimism, (Harrison 2003; Carrasco & Ro, 2007). In recent times, governments have embraced and promoted the inflow due to greater understanding and magnitude of inflow (Russell, 1986). The potential benefits identified over the years are: it serves as a potential source of external finance, a potential source of capital formation through savings and investments, promotes human capital development and reduces inequality and poverty. There is evidence that shows that remittances are increasingly used for investment purposes in developing countries, especially in low income countries. Migrants are more likely to continue to invest in their home countries despite economic adversity than foreign investors, an effect that is similar to the home bias in investment (World Bank; Carrasco & Ro, 2007).

At the macro level, remittances are incorporated into the national accounts of the receiving countries as transfers from abroad. Hence they go directly into the expenditure pattern of the economy, savings or investments. Long-run output growth could be accelerated as a result of the additional investments in physical and human capital, especially where well developed financial systems and institutions allow remittances to be well intermediated and used.

Large remittance flows improve a country's creditworthiness for external borrowing. This is because the inflow will effectively reduce the country's debt/exports ratio, thereby improving the country's credit ratings and access to international capital markets. Moreover, some financial institutions in developing countries have been able to tap into international market under relatively favourable conditions through securitization of the future flows.

Remittances increase the resources at the disposal of recipients resulting in increased demand for goods and services. The growth in the consumption of social amenities such as health, shelter and education produces a positive impact on human development. Remittances, if invested or consumed, contribute to output growth and generate positive multiplier effects, where there are sound economic policies and flexible foreign exchange rates in place.

A remittance contributes to national savings which, in turn increases investment in the economy. Remittances as a source of external financing also help to smooth fluctuations in economic growth in migrants' countries of origin, as remittance flow continues at a normal rate or even increases during periods of economic hardship (WEO 2005).

Looking ahead, remittance flows could also be used to accelerate financial development in recipient countries depending on the extent to which financial products and institutions can be developed to persuade recipients to turn their remittances into deposits with financial development generating positive effects on growth and development.

At the micro level, remittance studies by Newland and Patrick (2004) showed that millions of poor people in countries that have access to technology benefit from the multiplier effect of Diaspora investment. This is in spite of the fact that their countries are not positioned for international investments. Furthermore, remittances have a direct impact on poverty reduction since they flow to the household directly. Remittances help to loosen budget constraints on recipients allowing them to increase the consumption of durables and non-durable goods. Hence, a sizeable amount of remittance flows are utilized to maintain family and provide social security as there is no national welfare system operating in most developing countries. Various studies have shown that remittance receiving households tend to be better than non-receiving households in terms of higher average incomes and asset bases (Sander 2003; Rajan & Subramanian 2005).

Economic impact studies in Mexico showed that remittances mostly or sometimes completely cover general consumption and housing. One estimate indicates that 80 percent of the money goes for food, clothing, health care, transportation, education and housing expenses. Remittances are also for financing new business venture or used to sustain an existing business which in turn contributes to the development of the economy.

Countries that have promoted the use of the formal financial sector for remittances have increased their banking population, an indication of economic development. Thus, highly stable and predictable remittances can be used as collateral and leveraged to provide access to commercial credit and the capital markets by individuals, which, if judiciously disbursed will impact positively on the economy of the recipient country.

Methodology

Secondary data was used for these studies- mostly obtained from Central Bank of Sri Lanka Annual Reports.

Impacts of Remittances on Development in Sri Lanka-Findings

The Sri Lankan Ministry of Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare (MFEPW) recognized the significant contribution of all Sri Lankan migrant workers to the national economy through foreign exchange remittances and other mechanisms, such that, a national policy on labour migration was developed in 2008. The policy has the goals of developing a long term vision for the role of labour migration in the economy, enhancing the benefits of labour migration on the economy, society, the migrant workers and their families, minimizing its negative impacts and, finally, working towards the fulfillment and protection of all human and labour rights of migrant workers (MFEPW 2008). The final and third section of the national policy relates to the linking of development and migration processes in recognition of the contribution of labour migration to employment, economic growth, development and the generation of income.

Sri Lanka has seen tenfold increase in migrant labour remittances which are quite significant and are rising (MFEPW 2008). At the end of 2004, officially recorded remittances had increased to US$1.3 billion. Then it boomeranged to US$4.1 in 2010 and is still on the increase (see Table 1). Private remittances as a percentage of total exports have over the years been on the increase. In 1990, private remittance stood at Rs.16.054 which is about 20 percent of total exports, ten years later (year 2000), private remittances have increased to Rs. 87.697 which was about 24 percent of total exports, and by year 2007, private remittance stood at Rs. 276.814 which was about 34 percent of total exports (MFEPW 2008). The increase in private remittances was as a result of increase in migrant workforce, which by 2008 estimates suggest that over one million Sri Lankans are working abroad, with an annual outflow of about 220,000 (MFEPW 2008). Departures for foreign employment in 1986 stood at 16,458, it increased to 184,007 in 2001 and thereafter, it was on average over 200,000. Sri Lanka was among the 20 largest recipients of remittances, collectively making the South Asia region the second largest regional recipient of remittances in the world after Latin America and the Caribbean (Asian Development Bank, 2006).

Significantly, remittances are larger and more stable than foreign direct investment and on a per capita basis; workers' remittances to Sri Lanka are the highest in South Asia. In recent times, remittances to Sri Lanka have exceeded foreign direct investment inflows by 2 to 3 times; more than doubled net receipts of foreign assistance, and reached close to 25 percent of export earnings, second only to the garment industry, and ahead of tourism and tea- the island's traditional export industry. At the microeconomic level, about 10 percent of households are recipients of overseas and domestic remittances. Overseas and domestic remittances constitute as much as 20.7 percent and 9.1 percent, respectively of total income of recipient households according to the 2001/2002 household survey. The trend could be the same (though there is no available data to support that) but we can deduce from the number of departures and the over 1 million migrant workers abroad that overseas and domestic remittances could be much higher than the 2001/2002 household survey. According to MFEPW (2008) foreign employment has over the years generated substantial inflows of remittances, and relieved local unemployment pressures and provided employment opportunities, especially for women who were hitherto unemployed.

Table 1: Remittances in Sri Lanka for Selected Years

Year	Amount (in Millions of US dollars)
2004	1300
2007	2502
2008	2918
2009	3330
2010	4116

Source: Annual Report Central Bank of Sri Lanka Various Editions

Remittance flows are set to continue increasing as skilled and unskilled workers continue to migrate to the Middle East and other regions of the world. For the unskilled worker, temporary migration to the Middle East brings in earnings that are 8 times greater than what could be expected at home. The Sri Lankan Bureau for Foreign Employment (SLBFE) estimates that 49 percent and 21 percent of Sri Lankans departing to work overseas in 2003 were housemaids or unskilled, respectively. By the year 2007 housemaids and unskilled workers constitute 69.36 of departures to work overseas (1,139,290 out 1,642,455) (MFEPW 2008). This trend has not significantly changed as the majority of migrants are housemaids and unskilled to date.

Notably, nearly 70 percent of Sri Lankan temporary migrants are female, most of them working as housemaids. The percentage though has changed over the years to slightly above 50 percent. For example, the percentage was 59, 55 and 53 for the years 2005, 2006 and 2007 respectively. Just over one percent of all migrant workers are classified as skilled. The Sri Lankan household survey of 2001/2002 indicates that about 28 percent of remittance recipient households stand within the top income quintile and around 27 percent stand within the lowest two income quintiles. These ratios, however, change considerably in the pre-remittance scenario. When remittances are deducted from total household expenditure, nearly 45 percent of recipient households stand within the lowest two income quintiles. Although information on how Sri Lankan recipient households use remittances is not yet conclusive, the above findings suggest that remittances can have an important impact on recipient households. A broader study by International Monetary Fund (IMF 2005) on remittances concluded that remittances can help improve a country's development prospect, maintain macroeconomic stability, mitigate the impact of adverse shocks and reduce poverty. Remittances allow families to maintain or increase expenditure on basic consumption, housing, education and small business formation; they can also promote financial development in cash based developing economies (IMF 2005). The Sri Lankan MFEPW (2008) in its national policy aptly stated that the role of migrant remittances in development must be better understood and recognized, particularly in its role in human capital formation through education and healthcare for children, added to savings and investments that are other means by which migrant remittances may contribute directly or indirectly to development.

But there must be means by which remittances are facilitated to the home country of the migrants. Speaking on the role of the financial sector in facilitating remittances, the IMF study also concluded that the long run output growth resulting from additional investments in physical and human capital financed by remittances might be especially likely, where a well developed financial system and institutions allow remittances to be effectively intermediated and efficiently used (IMF 2005).

Table 2: Remittances as a Percentage of Gross Domestic Product (GDP)

Year	Percentage (Per Capita US $)
1989	6.8
2000	7.1
2001	7.5
2002	7.9
2003	7.1
2004	7.1

Source: World Bank Working Papers No3789 December, 2005

From all these statistics (Table 2) we can categorically state that remittances have impacted positively on Sri Lanka's development through the provision of income to households, resulting in increased consumption, savings and investments, human capital development, source of foreign exchange, provision of employment etc. In an attempt to discuss the impact of remittances on economic development in Sri Lanka, one is tempted to state that the larger the resources of the Diaspora saved or invested for economic expansion, the better for the country, particularly, if official remittances derived from recipient countries are properly harnessed. This is expected to enhance the chances of moving the economy on the path of sustainable growth.

The Middle East is where the majority of Sri Lankans are engaged as foreign employees, though the majorities are unskilled women who are employed as housemaids. According to the *Daily News* (Accessed 26/10/2011 and Sri Lankan Central Bank) the Middle East is still the traditional market that dominates foreign employment (Over 90 percent). Remittances constitute on average about 7 percent of Sri Lanka's GDP (see Table 2). At the micro level, once basic needs are met, remittances are used for savings, debt repayment, consumer durables, land and housing purchases, small enterprise development and agriculture, and investment in education and healthcare (World Bank, 2005). This is one reason policy makers are enthusiastic about remittances in Sri Lanka. It is believed that about 10 percent of households received remittances in Sri Lanka. A positive effect of remittances to these households is its potential to augment individual incomes (the enhanced incomes have also helped the migrants to improve their social status within the community) and increase the recipient country's foreign exchange reserves. An access to foreign exchange earnings provides valuable support to balance of payments account. According to Sri Lanka's Central Bank Annual Report 2010, a considerable increase on inward workers' remittances to US$ 4.1 billion has helped offset the trade deficit to a great extent in 2010. The story has been the same all through the years as regards the effect of remittances on trade in Sri Lanka.

The marginal propensity to save generates higher income multiplier effect from international remittances than for domestic urban – rural migration remittances. Ranasinghe (1989 as quoted by Shivani, 2001) estimated the consumption functions of both remittance-receiving and non-remittance receiving households in Sri Lanka from survey data and found out that there was no significant difference in the overall consumption pattern between the two groups. In some instances micro-level research yielded evidence to the contrary, namely that remittance receiving households saved more. Reporting on the findings of ILO study of remittances, Amjad (1986b as quoted by Shivani, (2001) noted that total savings out of remittances were estimated at 44.5 percent for Sri Lanka. A major reason is that Asian workers are predominantly target savers who go abroad on limited period contracts, thus, given the feature it is quite possible that migrant families consider remittances only as a transitory income and tend to save as much as possible. Added to the beneficial effects of remittances is the fact that return migration and circulation are key opportunities for skill transfers, productive employment and conflict free social integration (MFEPW, 2008).

From these we can see that remittances support investment in Sri Lanka. Economic theory states that; that which is saved is invested and thus the multiplier effect. But according to Ilene (2011: 02) these achievements must be placed into a broader context. It is widely known that the formal banking system and the state in developing countries have long underserved the poor mainly in two ways; first, most banks are located in the urban areas with few, if any, in the rural areas where the poor live; second is in the area of the provision of credit to agriculture and small business that belong to the poor. The granting of credit to the poor is most times never possible, because the poor cannot meet the stringent conditions consequent upon granting of credit. According to Ilene (2011: 02) the problem has become more severe in the neo-liberal era as states have dismantled long standing programmes that provided some assistance through the provision of working capital at subsidized rates. She concluded that "and so it may be that remittances now patch over the gaps in public funding and bank financing that have grown ever larger thanks to neo-liberal policy".

The increase of personnel in overseas employment has provided for the economy a useful safety valve. Migration has been a major factor behind the decline in the rate of unemployment from over 18 percent at the end of the 80s to around 8 percent in 2002 and by 2010 considerably much lower. The unemployment rate decreased to 4.9 percent in 2010 from 5.8 percent in 2009 due to broad based growth in all key sectors of the economy (foreign employment being one of the key sectors) (Sri Lanka's Central Bank Annual Report, 2010).

A problem that may likely crop up is that of "moral hazard" on the part of the government. Thousand are sent abroad or encouraged to find employment abroad, as a strategy to curb unemployment instead of the government tackling the menace of unemployment head on- and that is moral hazard on the part of the government. Thus, in a sense, the government is partially resolving important bottlenecks by filling the void through foreign employment.

Remittances sustain consumption and household investments in human capital by providing critical support to families, especially in times of economic, financial and political crises and natural disasters. This is true of Sri Lanka and any other country where remittances are received. According to Ilene (ibid) the material support provided by remittances to the vulnerable during crises is an achievement that cannot be dismissed. Thus, remittances function as a private mechanism that displaces the burden of adjustments to shocks as a result of, either economic, financial and economic crises and natural disasters- a lot of the cycles of these shocks abound everywhere. An added impetus to the shocks is neo-liberalism that creates an environment where shocks become more frequent and more severe, especially as we are told in no unmistaken terms that the world is a global village. Thus, a crisis that emanates from another country is felt in no time in other countries.

Ilene (2011: 02) however, cautioned that the destabilizing role of remittances should not be ignored; there are few cases where remittances are actually an independent channel of destabilization. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (it was alleged) got a lot of remittances that were used to execute the war with the Sri Lankan Government that lasted for over 30 years- that is a clear case of the destabilizing act of remittances. In fact it was alleged that the Tamils in the Diaspora were the lifeline of rebels during the war.

Similarly, it is important to note the contagion effects of remittances. Ilene (2011: 02) stated that remittances link economies of nations so closely that remittances could be seen as another channel of contagion that can transmit economic instability or contraction from one country to another. As a result of the world economic recession that became more serious in 2008/2009 there was a downturn in remittance flow but later picked up in 2010, in Sri Lanka.

Could remittances be sustained?

Ilene (2011: 03) cautions that "we should also not be surprised to learn that conventional wisdom on the developmental role of remittances may change dramatically as a consequence of the current global financial crisis". In the context of the crisis, it appears that remittances are behaving pro-cyclically, making them more like other international private capital flows. Thus, the sustainability of remittance flows in the

face of macroeconomic instability is greatly questioned. During the Asian financial crisis of 1997/1998, migrant workers were expelled from countries, thus, also calling to question the sustainability of remittances. The political crisis in part of the Middle East/North Africa saw in its wake foreign workers being humiliated; all confirming the non-sustainability of remittances, especially as the region employs over 90 percent of Sri Lankan migrant workers.

The growing resentment against foreign workers in the more advanced nations and strict issuance of visas to these countries also call to question the sustainability of remittances as a stable source of foreign exchange for development. There is also the growing campaign by activists against sending women as housemaids from Sri Lanka to other countries as a result of abuse suffered by the women in foreign countries. As this continues the government may likely succumb to these campaigns and stop/discourage sending women for foreign employment, which will in turn dry up remittances.

MFEPW (MFEPW, 2008) clearly confirmed that despite the initiatives by the Sri Lankan government, its migrant workers continue to face a number of challenges in the field of foreign employment, such as the vulnerability of workers who migrate under risky and unsafe conditions and the predominance of low remittance, low skilled jobs mainly for women with heavy social cost for families. These challenges are still a serious problem to labour migration, despite the fact, that the national policy on labour migration is meant to strike a balance between the promotion of labour migration and the protection of national workers abroad. Thus, these challenges call to question the sustainability of remittances as a stable source of finance for development, because even the news of the challenges could deter or discourage people from seeking employment abroad.

Recommendation and Conclusion

The impact of remittances on economic development hinges on the sustainability of the inflow as well as the development of the appropriate structures to channel the inflows into areas that would be beneficial to the economy as a whole. Here lies the importance of the channel through which remittances is sent, sending through the formal sector helps in ensuring that funds are channeled to the areas that are beneficial to the economy as a whole. Thus, encouraging the use of formal channels as a means of inward transfer is a sine qua non for remittances to serve as an effective medium for the development of the economy.

Apart from encouraging the use of formal channels for transfer, Sri Lanka's government should look into the possibility of opening domestic bank branches in countries that have high migrant populations such as the Gulf States. This is likely to increase remittance flows as migrants may prefer to deal with domestic institutions and staff. This could likely affect the cost and increase the efficiency of remittance delivery – especially if bank branch networks are found everywhere and easily accessible to recipients.

The Sri Lankan national policy on migration should be strengthened and implemented especially in the area of encouraging the migration of professionals and skilled workers, and in the scouting for markets for such groups of would be migrants. In other words, the regulatory framework should be strengthened and made to work.

The need to leverage remittances for Small and Medium Enterprise development and Microfinance is important. An entrepreneurship development scheme for returning migrants should be fostered. The grass root institutions that serve the poor in providing efficient remittance services linked to the tailored financial products (deposits, savings, investment and insurance) should be adequately empowered as well as linked to entrepreneurship programmes. Therefore, creating an enabling environment is central to a remittance institutional strengthening programme. That is why the national policy on migration in Sri Lanka is a step in the right direction.

It is also important that domestic banks should encourage savings by offering financial instruments that could motivate savings by migrants and recipients of remittances; such as opening of bank accounts by recipients and credit services that are securitized by future remittance inflow to recipients. This could likely encourage saving of parts of funds that can be channeled into economic activities for the development of the nation. Bonds could also be offered to the Diaspora to raise money for investments in Sri Lanka with an attractive premium. This could be made possible if the government tries to sell its programmes to the Diaspora through appropriate propaganda machinery.

Another asset is that most banks in the rural areas in Sri Lanka are Cooperative Banks or Micro-Finance Banks. These banks can be permitted to operate as channels through which remittance could be sent; this is likely to make informal flow of remittance to be formalized. Optimization should focus more on improving formal channels to both senders and receivers so that the market share of an alternative remittance system is brought down through market forces. A measure that could complement these is to implement a practical agenda that would reflect the needs of the migrants and the recipients in Sri Lanka. And for any development agenda for remittances to be realistic, it is imperative to encourage Development Banks to play a major catalytic role in optimizing the remittance markets. Optimization of remittances should go beyond

merely inducing reduced cost of transaction, but involve the enhancement of factors such as convenience, safety, regulatory compliance and positive development impact to attract larger flows of financial resources than would otherwise be the case.

The promotion of skilled worker migration is seen as key to linking development and migration processes. In particular, it is seen as imperative to ensure the development of a higher mix of skills and to increase opportunities for prospective migrant workers to become skilled. This must be pursued with all vigor. For a skilled migrant workforce will reduce abuse and earn much higher incomes.

Lastly, a strong and stable macroeconomic environment is required to assure migrants of the safety of their inflow, which should be enthroned, especially a stable currency. Remittances are being regarded as one of the stable and predictable sources of finance for economic development, especially if properly invested. The effect of remittances varies from country to country, in relation to their efficiency in channeling remittances to productive uses.

Although remittances affect economic behavior, it is not the omnibus solution to the problems of underdevelopment. Thus, the Sri Lankan government must, as a matter of urgency and necessity, start looking inwards for a more comprehensive strategy to provide a source for foreign exchange, as well as provide employment to its citizens. Sending women for foreign employment has repercussions (social, political and economic) for the economy which when it accumulates, can burst forth and affect the nation in no small way. Thus, caution should be the watchword.

In conclusion, the use of remittances as a resource for development remains highly debatable even though examples abound where it has been used to transform economies to some extent. Further empirical studies however may bring to light more information on its role as an economic development tool. Sri Lanka requires better data management on its inflow, usage pattern, transfer mechanism, and good practice to channel savings into investment schemes for economic development. Based on this premise, we say more research needs to be conducted on labor migration in Sri Lanka and the effect of remittance on development.

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Analysis of Corporate Governance Theories and their Implications for Sri Lankan Companies

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Abstract

During the past two decades various scholars, researchers and investors have demonstrated a high degree of exigency to accentuate the importance of Corporate Governance in private sector organizations. Recent corporate scandals such as World. Com that shook the economic foundations in those countries, have reiterated the importance of enacting sound Corporate Governance practices in the private sector companies. In Sri Lanka too, several corporate entities dramatically collapsed due to poor Corporate Governance practices causing much amusement and disgust in the investor community and the stakeholders, in the recent past. With the competition becoming stiff and fierce around the world, introduction of sound Corporate Governance practices has become of paramount importance.

This research paper which critically analyses the various established theories such as the agency theory, stewardship theory, stakeholder theory, theories of hegemony, legal theory, Anglo-US Model, the Cadbury Code, Resource Dependency theory etc., develops a typology of Corporate Governance and suggests implications especially focusing on private sector companies in Sri Lanka.

The analysis reveals that a typology of Corporate Governance theories can be developed by using 03 dimensions, namely: the shareholders, directors and the corporate management of a company. Critical analysis further unveiled that theories and codes that evolved in the last decade paid greater emphasis towards "Directors" than the other two dimensions. Out of all eight (08) theories and codes discussed, the study reveals that five theories can be implemented in order to enhance the degree of Corporate Governance in Sri Lankan companies. The balance three (03) theories are detrimental from the Sri Lankan perspective.

This paper focuses only on the management and academic perspective, and not on the finance or business perspective. Another limitation is that only the established theories and codes have been discussed.

Keywords: Corporate Governance, Theories, Sri Lankan private sector, Directors

Introduction

The importance of Corporate Governance has emerged in the contemporary world as a crucial arena due to corporate frauds and scandals around the world such as Enron, World.Com, Satyam and some local corporate giants. These scandals have exposed the pathetic state of Corporate Governance not only in less developed countries but also in so-called developed nations. Due to globalization, companies attempt to expand their horizons in borderless and seamless markets. As a result, competition has become stiff and fierce, and the corporate companies strive to enhance their profitability under trying conditions. Similarly, investors and shareholders demand a higher return for their investments and an appreciation of the share value. Under such a degree of unprecedented pressure, companies ignore accepted norms in business which has led to the meltdown of several large companies in Sri Lanka and around the world. This has triggered an exigency in Corporate Governance especially in listed companies in Sri Lanka.

Corporate Governance: A definition

Corporate Governance is the relationship between corporate managers, directors and the providers of equity (shareholders), people and institutions who save and invest their capital to earn a return. It ensures that the board of directors is accountable and responsible for the pursuit of corporate objectives and that the corporation itself conforms to the law and regulations, (International Chamber of Commerce, 2007: 01).

Cadbury (1993) defined Corporate Governance as the system by which companies are directed and controlled.

Implications of Agency and Legal Theories from a Sri Lankan Perspective

Berle & Means (1932) developed the agency theory which is the cornerstone of modern day Corporate Governance. Agency theory can be defined as the agency conflicts arising from a divergence between agents' and principals' utility functions, creating the potential for mischief, (Dalton, Daily, Certo, & Roengpitya, 2003). The rationalisation for this is that the directors are agents of the shareholders. This theory was further improved by Meckling and Jensen (1976).

The agency theory fundamentally entails the relationship where one party known as the 'principal' delegates work or some activities to another person called the 'agent'. From the company's perspective, owners (shareholders) are the principals and the directors are the agents. Though explicitly not stated, it implies that shareholders who are the owners of the company hand over the company to directors who are the agents to run the company on their behalf.

The legal theory which is the legal perspective of the agency theory, emulates a lot of exciting arguments purely from the legal dimension. Based on the agency theory, Heracleous (2010) argues three (03) major points. The first argument is that the 'principal' is not the shareholder, but the company. Elaboration of the second argument is that the board of directors is not agents but an autonomous fiduciary that has been entrusted with the powers to act on behalf of a beneficiary. The third argument is that the intention of the board and that of the shareholders (principals) should be one that is to take action to maximize the principal's returns. But Heracleous (2010) argues that the board's role is not a 'monitoring role' but a different role that balances and acts as mediators between the managers and the owners to avoid conflict of interest, allocate resources, control company assets and make key strategic decisions. The illustration in Figure 01, displays the difference between the agency theory and the legal theory argued by Heracleous (2010).

Figure 01; Comparison of Shareholder Primacy and Director Primacy Model
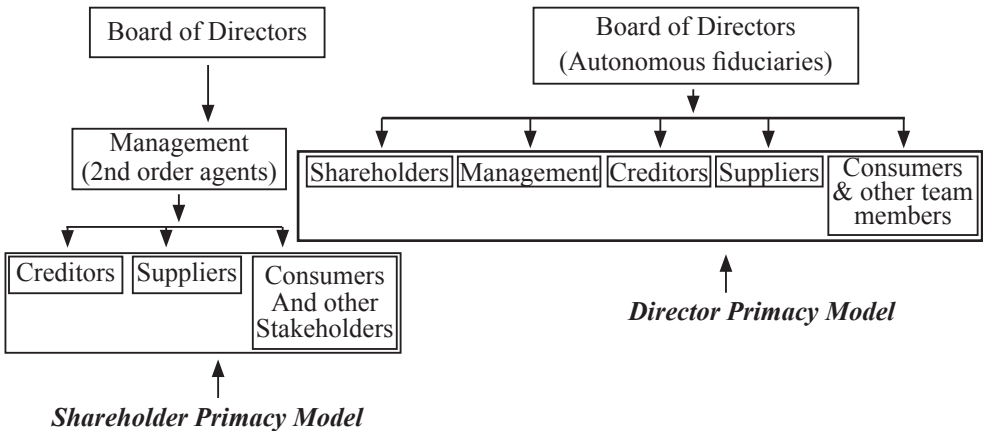
(Source: Heracleous 2010: 302, Rethinking of Agency Theory).

To reiterate, the agency theory was constructed by Berle & Means (1932) on the premise that there's a relationship between the principal and the agent (directors). This involves the risk of whether the agent will act to meet the expectations of the principal (due to conflict of interest). Okpara (2011) states the common question is whether the agent will be driven by self-interest rather than a decision to maximize the profits for the principal. Another concerned attribute is that the agency theory was originally introduced by Berle & Means (1932) about 08 decades ago, in an era when competition was at a lower ebb than in contemporary times. Also, one can argue that the Corporate Governance components such as "ethics' were considered as perpetual and parties were assumed to have higher levels of values in the 1930's. However, one may wonder whether the agency theory can be applied in Sri Lanka due to the fact that

all perceived and non perceived attributes are measured in monetary terms. The reality in Sri Lanka is that the shareholders have become the agents and the directors have become the principal. In certain companies, directors are non-shareholders. Therefore, under such circumstances, and with the perceived conflict of interest, implementation of the agency theory can be detrimental from the Sri Lankan perspective.

Upon perusal and the comparison of the legal theory with the agency theory, one can conclude that the director primacy theory is quite evident in Sri Lanka. This is due to the fact that the shareholders instead of managing the directors, are being managed by the directors. For instance, this is evident from the way directors run the companies, the way they conduct the Annual General Meetings (AGM), the way negligible amount of attention is paid towards the minority shareholders etc. which is the reverse of the agency theory. Hence the fundamental crux of the agency theory does not align with the reality of Sri Lankan companies.

On closer scrutiny of the director primacy diagram (Figure 01), one can see that the directors not only manage the shareholders, but also manage the creditors, suppliers and all other stakeholders. This undoubtedly augments the directors' degree of dominance over all stakeholders. From the legal theory perspective, attempting to manage all other stakeholders could create a detrimental and unhealthy situation to the company and the shareholders. This is the exact and simple reason for most of the scandals. Hence from the Sri Lankan perspective, agency and legal theories are unfavourable for Corporate Governance.

Implications of the Stewardship Theory

This theory is mainly viewed from the 'financial' perspective. Donaldson & Davis (1991) contributed to this theory. Stewardship theory is a process through which shareholders, directors and stakeholders seek to influence companies in the direction of long term sustainability, which derives by sufficiently contributing to the organization, human beings and the environment (Reisberg, 2011). This is the modern day "triple bottom line" concept. Michael, McCuddy & Wendy (2007) argue that the stewardship theory should be an integral component in financial decision making. Reisberg (2011) even connects this theory to spirituality attributes and says that the way directors are answerable to God, they are answerable to the shareholders. Leopold (1998) described this theory as the protective restraint, taking care of resources through nurturing and managing them properly on behalf of the shareholders.

Recently, having experienced the recession, a "stewardship code' was enacted in the United Kingdom in 2009, the first of its kind for the Financial Reporting Council (FRC). The prime objective of this enactment is to protect the institutional investors, (Reisberg, 2011). This theory further discusses the situation if the company is growing

or declining (under turbulent circumstances), that the directors have to understand the situation, evaluate opportunities, assess the risks in the environment and act accordingly.

The question that arises with regard to stewardship theory is, do directors act as stewards in modern day Sri Lankan companies? Do they possess or apply the required degree of spirituality? If so, how is there any possibility of avoiding corporate scandals such as Ceylinco in Sri Lanka?

This theory rationalizes the necessity for the directors to act as stewards of the company striving to achieve long term sustainability, and to maximize the wealth of the shareholders while paying equal attention towards human beings, and the environment. This aligns with the concept of sustainability in the contemporary world where corporates have to focus on '3Ps' namely the People, the Planet and Profitability. This has so much of relevance to Sri Lanka. Also as Reisberg (2011) says with the addition of spirituality, directors are answerable to shareholders at all times. Practicing the stewardship theory will pave the way to have "well and ethically" governed companies in Sri Lanka, not focusing only on profitability but also on the people, and the planet (ecology). Hence, this evaluation suggests that implementation of the stewardship theory should be given priority in Sri Lanka.

The 'stewardship code' which was introduced recently in Great Britain for Financial Reporting, has much relevance as directors should know not only to perform in emerging and booming eras but also to read the future well and to have meticulously planned contingency strategies to manage turbulent times. This displays a true sense of professionalism as they have to assess the risk, evaluate the environment and take accurate decisions to protect the company. Managing turbulent times is important in Sri Lanka taking into consideration the prevailing degree of volatility and vulnerability in the economy. Therefore, the stewardship theory is well accepted and can be applied to Sri Lankan companies.

Implications of the Stakeholder Theory

Stakeholder theory accounts for a wider range of parties than focusing only on shareholders. As per Freeman, (1984), a stakeholder of a company can be defined as an individual or a group who can affect the business or can be affected by the achievement of the organization's objectives. From the corporate perspective, Bhagat & Black (1999) state that stakeholders are employees, customers, suppliers, creditors, and shareholders as well.

In-depth analysis of this theory reveals that there are two types of stakeholders for a company: normal (not so important) stakeholders, and crucial stakeholders. Hence the organization has to give voice to these powerful stakeholders as they can "make or break" the company. Spitzech and Hansen (2009) state that from a normative perspective these powerful stakeholders have to be included in corporate governance in order to respect their moral rights (Mendalow, 1991), [as cited by Johnson, Scholes & Wittington (2008)]. (Figure 02)

Figure 02: Mendalow Matrix[1]

A Keep satisfied	B Key Players	High
C Minimum effort	D Keep informed	Low
Low	High	

Power and influence

Interest
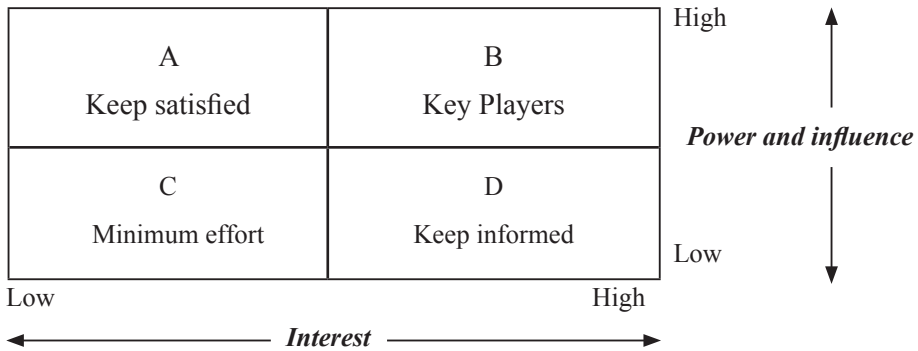
(Source: Johnson, Scholes & Wittington, 2008)

Based on the matrix given in Figure 02, any company can pay attention to important stakeholders and give a hearing to their views and suggestions.

Antic and Sekulic (2006) discovered five major categories of stakeholders of a company. (Refer Exhibit No. 01)

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1   Mendelow, A. L. (1991). *Stakeholder Mapping*. University of Ohio, USA. Retrieved sketch on 10th March 2012 from www.google.lk

Exhibit No. 01

Stakeholder Group	Primary Measures	Secondary Measures
Shareholder	Return on shareholder Investment	- Revenue - Productivity - Liquidity
Customer	Customer satisfaction and service quality	Customer survey for different products and markets
Employee	Employee commitment Employee competence Employee productivity	- Analysis of employee opinion - Financial ratios of employees - Costs and revenues
Suppliers	Continuity of orders and payments	- Analysis of suppliers' requirements - Quality raw material
Community	Public image Market reputation	Level of public / societal needs

(Source: Antic & Sekulic, 2006: 74)

As per the Mendelow Matrix, the primary attributes for these stakeholders are fundamentally result oriented and the secondary measures are directed as primary result drivers. It clearly elucidates the importance of shareholders as well as paying attention to key stakeholders in a company.

Stakeholders are important for any company. However, from the Sri Lankan standpoint, though the stakeholder theory highlights the role of the employees as stakeholders, they are, except for a few companies, considered as mere employees, workers or the 'work force'. As per Mendelow Matrix, employees fall into 'C' category.

Another rationalization to negate this theory is that in the corporate sector, directors should maintain a close rapport with the institutional investors / shareholders. Cadbury (2000) also confirms the importance of this aspect. However, practically, directors maintain a rapport with the institutional investors and the major shareholders only for their benefit as generally directors perceive them as a threat as they have the ability to buy further shares and strengthen the ownership claim to become a director, or at any moment they can dispose such shares to another potential buyer who is vying to purchase the company as a 'hostile takeover'. But if the directors, maintain a close rapport with the institutional shareholders and high net worth investors, risk of such

hostile takeovers can be minimized as they feel if consulted, that they can play a role in leading the company. Pragmatically directors avoid category 'B' in the matrix. This is a paradox.

From the suppliers' perspective, directors do not consider them as stakeholders unless they possess bargaining power in the industry. The community is also not considered as important stakeholders as the company's objective is to maximize its wealth. Most of the companies target the society/ community for their CSR (Corporate Social Responsibility) activities not because they are stakeholders but to use CSR as a strategic marketing tool. Only the customers are considered important to a certain extent as they assist companies to generate their revenue. Hence suppliers, society and the consumer fall into 'D', 'C' and 'A' in the matrix respectively.

Though the stakeholder theory identifies 05 categories, practically, only one segment (customers) is considered as stakeholders in Sri Lanka. Stakeholder theory, if implemented properly, would cover a wider range of stakeholders with enhanced bargaining power which would eventually pressurize the directors to govern the company professionally. Hence implementation of this theory checkmates the directors, and strengthens the company ownership by having different types of stakeholders.

Implications of the Theory of Hegemony

The theory of hegemony was first introduced by Gramsci (1937) [as cited by Alvarado & Boyd-Barrett, 1992] while in jail. This theory has two dimensions namely "Class Hegemony" and "Managerial Hegemony." Class hegemony explains that directors view and perceive themselves as en elite set of people at the top of the company and they will recruit or appoint other directors who are of the same caliber and can align with them (Fahr, 2010).

Managerial hegemony is that corporate management members run the day to day operations of the company and as a result directors lose control to a certain extent. This not only weakens the influence of the directors, but also casts a passive role on the directors who become mere statutory bodies, (Okpara 2011).

Analysis of the theory of hegemony demonstrates a great deal of relevance with regard to 'class hegemony' from the Sri Lankan viewpoint. A few companies have appointed directors who are well received in business echelons, value integrity and ethics with high esteem as the class hegemony theory explains. This can be termed as a class of *'positive hegemony'*. "Positive" means that the directors appoint another director who has "good" perceived qualities, values and ethics. However, the majority of the directors who fall into the 'negative' *(negative hegemony)* category where one director or the main investor appoints another director who would align with her/him,

to be a 'yes' master or a henchman or a "remote controller" of the main investor. For instance, "negative" means, if the board of directors is a group of unethical and corrupt set of directors, they will appoint directors with similar perceived unethical qualities to the board rather than a person who is "positive' and values honesty and integrity above all. However, the question is where to draw the line to demarcate and classify 'positive' and 'negative' hegemony.

Careful evaluation of the board members in the corporate sector in Sri Lanka proves this fact to a great extent. The theory of class hegemony is quite true from the Sri Lankan perspective, yet, very unpleasant from the ethical and shareholder perspective as a sizeable portion of the directorate falls into the class of negative hegemony. In the absence of an effective monitoring mechanism on money laundering, and due to other unethical means of earning money in Sri Lanka, negative hegemony is rampant and unrestrained, grooming unethical directors in companies. Here one can argue; is money the only criterion to become a director in Sri Lanka?

Another dimension which is quite visible in the Sri Lankan scenario is the emergence of business tycoons in the recent past, who are in a hurry to expand their corporate horizons and business empires. As a result, they can purchase bulk shares in various companies and can 'plant' their 'yes' masters and 'henchmen' to look into the affairs of those companies. The implications are that these tycoons use their henchmen even to purchase millions of shares in other companies utilizing the tycoon's wealth to control such companies. For instance, last year, (in 2010) a leading weekend newspaper (*The Sunday Leader,* 17/10/2010) reported how a store keeper became a billionaire overnight by selling his shares financed by a tycoon. This is the "perceived notion" of the general public, although such acts cannot be legally substantiated. Due to these atrocities, shareholders' powers and influence have become phenomenal, and employees have little say in Sri Lanka.

Another prominent fact is that most of these so-called tycoons opt to or are content to remain as a "normal director" or the deputy chairman of the board and do not wish to be the Chairman of the company. In Sri Lanka, upon careful analysis of several companies, not even 20% of the boards have appointed the major investor or the tycoon as the Chairman. In practical terms, a 'known" or 'loyal' person is appointed as the Chairman to lead the company and the tycoon acts from behind the scenes, and does not come to the forefront. But all activities of the company take place according to the whims and fancies of this major investor or tycoon.

The majority of the boards in the corporate sector form "inner circles" using little over 50% of the numbers of directors who belong to the same 'class of hegemony' (say 4 out of 7 directors). This circle makes life 'uneasy' for the other directors if they do

not adhere to their requests. As a result, due to frustration or to avoid confrontation with a group of unethical directors, they resign when their term ends on the board without contesting. Another director with the same class of negative hegemony would then be appointed to the board thus increasing the number of members in the circle. The author of this research paper stated in a magazine that "most of the board decisions are made while playing golf and not in the board room" (Mendis, 2010:157). This is due to the existence of 'inner circles'. Another example is that of three company directors who took legal action against the major investor as he was attempting to manipulate the system to sideline these three directors for voicing their honest opinion against a particular decision taken by him, (www.nation.lk, 03/12/2006; *Sunday Times*, 31/10/2010).

These are some of the published cases though there are several unpublished cases which can be highlighted to prove the existence of the class of negative hegemony. The directors with class of positive hegemony face repercussions if they oppose an unethical proposal put forward by the main investor. This also raises the question of director independence and the level of democracy in the board room. Hence 'class of negative hegemony' is very visible in Sri Lanka. Therefore, the regulators and the authorities should work hand-in-hand to avoid the class of negative hegemony and to develop a mechanism to negate the "perceived notion' of the general public due to certain 'acts' performed by the directors. Therefore the "class of negative hegemony" is inappropriate from the Sri Lankan point of view.

Implications on 'managerial hegemony' reveal that generally, corporate management (top management) makes day-to-day decisions in the company as professionals. This sounds satisfactory as they generally make rational decisions upon evaluation of pros and cons. Also, they are employees of the company, and with the given culture in Sri Lanka, they look for job security and status rather than the directors who can move to another company after the Annual General Meeting (AGM) or by merely disposing of their shares to another buyer through the stock exchange.

Another positive factor of managerial hegemony is that if the top management is effective, as the theory states, directors become impotent and will play a passive and an advisory role and their influence over all activities will be curtailed. This undoubtedly pushes the directors to be more professional and aggressive, in order to outperform the corporate management and also to challenge their decisions.

Hence the theory of managerial hegemony is more appropriate and suitable from the local perspective.

Implications of the Cadbury Code

The Cadbury code (1993) was published in the United Kingdom in order to pressurize British boards to change their behaviour and to adopt new practices in corporate governance. All companies quoted in the London Stock Exchange (LSE) were required to adhere to this code with effect from 1993. Stiles and Taylor (2003) point out six major areas for boards in the UK.

- There should be a clearly accepted division of responsibilities at the head of a company. i.e. the chairman and the CEO should be two people.*(Cadbury Code, 1.2)*

- The pay packages of the Chairman and the highest paid U.K director should be disclosed in the annual accounts. *(Cadbury Code 3.2)*

- The board of directors should include at least three non-executive directors two of whom are independent of management and free of other business links with the company *(Cadbury code 1.3)*

- The board should have an audit committee composed of at least three non-executives *(Cadbury Code 4.3)*

- Each board should have a remuneration committee made up mainly of non-executive directors *(Cadbury code 3.3)*

- The board should have a nomination committee composed wholly of non-executives *(Cadbury Code7)*

As per Stiles and Taylor (2003), this code was developed due to the huge public outcry in Great Britain in the late 80's and early 90's demanding a legal framework to run public quoted companies in a better and professional way.

The implementation of the Cadbury code is favourable from the Sri Lankan perspective as the code accentuates the appointment of two separate individuals as the Chairman and the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) in the company. The CEO who is appointed by the board of directors, is an employee of the company, and answerable to the board. Having two individuals for two crucial positions is fitting for sound decision making, rational thinking and avoidance of bias.

The Cadbury code (1993) explains the importance of non-executive directors. However, the effectiveness of non-executive directors is questionable considering the recent corporate scandals which took place in Sri Lanka. Similar sentiments were also expressed by Stiles & Taylor (2003) from a 'real life scenario' in Great Britain, in 1997, where even with the appointment of former Attorney General of the British Government

and the Lord Chancellor as non-executive directors in the company, could not prevent a major fraud in Maxwell Communication Corporation where the two dominant directors namely Lords Hanson and White were so powerful. Similar scenarios are amply evident from the Sri Lankan perspective as well. Furthermore, though there are loopholes, it is still advisable to have non executive directors to mitigate the risk of bad governance in Sri Lanka, at least to some extent.

A different argument from a different perspective is that the board should be a 'team of professionals" from various fields such as law, accountancy, banking, manufacturing, business etc., with more expertise if necessary, from the relevant field, depending on the nature of the company. For instance, if the non-executive director is a Chartered Accountant, s/he can head the audit committee. This evinces not only the degree of professionalism in the board but also would be an asset and guiding light to the external auditors of the company.

All these noteworthy conditions in the Cadbury code are practically possible and well accepted around the world. Hence, such conditions can be easily implemented in Sri Lanka. Successful implementation of these conditions will enhance the degree of Corporate Governance, encompassing several dimensions in companies in Sri Lanka.

Implications of the Anglo-US Model

The Anglo-US Model

A comprehensive study on Anglo-US systems of Corporate Governance (Roberts, 2001), found that the Anglo-US model is characterized by share ownership of individual, and increasingly institutional investors not affiliated with the corporation (known as outside shareholders or "outsiders"); a well-developed legal framework defining the rights and responsibilities of three key players, namely the management, directors and shareholders; and a comparatively uncomplicated procedure for interaction between shareholder and corporation as well as among shareholders during or outside the AGM.

Players in the Anglo-US model include management, directors, shareholders (especially institutional investors), government agencies, stock exchanges, self-regulatory organizations and consulting firms which advise corporations and shareholders on corporate governance and proxy voting. Of these, the three major players are the management, directors and shareholders. They form what is commonly referred to as the "corporate governance triangle" (Roberts, 2001). The interests and interaction of these players may be diagrammed as follows:

Figure 03: Corporate Governance Triangle; Anglo-US Model

Management   Shareholders

Board of Directors
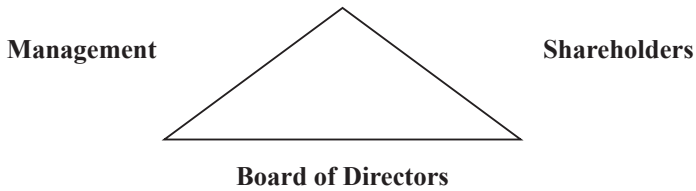
(Source: "Three Models of Corporate Governance," Lectures on Corporate Governance; East, West Management Institute, Partners for Financial Stability, Dec. 2005 p. 02. Retrieved on 12/12/2010 from www.ewmi.hu p. 1-10.)

The Anglo-US model, developed within the context of the free market economy, assumes the separation of ownership and control in most publicly-held corporations. This important legal distinction serves a valuable business and social purpose: investors contribute capital and maintain ownership in the enterprise, while generally avoiding legal liability for the acts of the corporation (Zetlin & Herrigel, 2004; Zetlin, 2003).

Most importantly, they prescribe the election of a board of directors by shareholders and require that boards act as fiduciaries for shareholders' interests by overseeing management on behalf of shareholders. Heracleous (2010) also states that the directors are fiduciaries in the legal theory.

It is good to identify the three main categories: namely, the investors (shareholders), the outsiders (non executive directors) and the insiders (top management) due to the following reasons.

The first being clear demarcation of three categories. The Anglo-US model specifies and clearly defines who is an outsider and who is an insider. Also, this adds value to the system by explaining that there should be at least three outsiders, which means these three outsiders are not involved in the day to day business of the company.

The second reason is that these three parties have to play different roles to make sure that the company performs well. When the company performs well, investors can earn their dividends, which are the return for their investment. This creates more opportunities for the top management, and the reputation and the remuneration of the directors will swell accordingly.

The third reason is that this model clearly says that outsiders are independent directors who should not be influenced by anybody. This amply demonstrates the importance of maintaining independence in the board, if the company is to prosper.

The fourth reason is as per Roberts (2001); this model focuses especially on institutional investors and important parties such as the stock exchange, government corporations, consultancy firms who advise the shareholders about proxy voting on crucial decisions. This is really sound as all these parties are equally important in Corporate Governance. Hence, this is an acceptable model from the Sri Lankan perspective.

Implications of the Resource Dependence Theory:

Boards of directors are the driving force for various resources (Hillman & Dalziel, 2003). The accepted proposition is that, if the labour market is efficient, intellectually capable directors can be accessible and competitively found from the market. The degree of resource dependency increases if the market is competitive in nature. This theory also argues that not only the directors, but also the top caliber corporate management members can be recruited from the labour market if the market and the environment are competitive.

This theory is effective if the market is efficient, and competitive. However, the reality is that anyone who has legal or illegal means can invest in the stock market and become a director. Market competitiveness, intellectual capabilities, acceptance in society etc., are secondary, irrespective of the level of efficiency and the competition in the market. Also, with class of negative hegemony being more evident in Sri Lanka, any firm will not be able to fully implement the resource dependency theory.

Conclusion

This paper discussed the theories such as the agency theory, legal theory, stewardship theory, stakeholder theory, theory of hegemony, the Cadbury code, the Anglo-US model and the resource dependency theory. Considering all these theories and models, the conclusion is that the stewardship theory, stakeholder theory, managerial hegemony, Cadbury code and the Anglo-US model are sound, acceptable, and can be fully implemented to improve the standard of Corporate Governance in Sri Lanka. However, other theories such as the agency theory, legal theory, resource dependency theory and class hegemony theory are detrimental from the Sri Lankan perspective.

Based on the analysis of the dimensions that are examined and debated, a typology with 03 dimensions has been developed as depicted in Exhibit No. 02.

Exhibit No 02:

Theory		Directors	Shareholders	Corporate Management	Others
Agency Theory		x	x		
Legal Theory		x	x	x	
Stewardship Theory		x	x		
Stakeholder Theory		x	x	x	x
Theory of Hegemony	Class hegemony	x			
	Managerial hegemony	x		x	
Cadbury code		x	x		
Anglo-US Model		x	x	x	
Resource Dependency Theory		x		x	

The above typology clearly demonstrates the significance of the directors, shareholders and the corporate management members in Corporate Governance. Hence, we can conclude that these 03 parties are important and equally significant to enhance Corporate Governance in private sector companies in Sri Lanka.

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Global Environmental Governance: the Case for a New Paradigm

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Abstract

Almost simultaneously with the change of environmental problems, the politico–institutional conditions for environmental policy making are also experiencing a major transformation. In this regard Global Environmental Governance acts as a mechanism that uses organizations, policy instruments, procedure, norms and rules to regulate the process of global environmental protection.

However, it is evident that while the system of Global Environmental Governance has expanded immensely in size and scope, it has not been entirely effective in achieving sustainable development or reversing the major trends of environmental degradation. Therefore, it is considered that, Environmental Governance has departed from the traditional state-centered system in accepting a host of non-state entities. Further, due to this multi-actor system, most of the traditional principles of Environmental Governance have become obsolete. In this study we focus our attention on the micro mechanisms of Environmental Governance to the rise of state and non-state actors that create institutional arrangements that perform Environmental Governance functions.

This study will investigate three main aspects in recent debate.
1. Reforms of the institutional framework for environmental governance at the global level.
2. Proliferation of Multilateral Environmental Agreements.
3. Increased involvement in Global Civil Society in shaping Global Governance.

Furthermore, this study would incorporate models of Global Environmental Governance, aspects of environmental law, theories of development and human security approach for analysis. Research methodology adopted is qualitative and primarily based on archival research.

Keywords: Global Environmental Governance, Environmental policymaking, Non-state actors

Introduction

Concurrent with the rapid increase in environmental problems, the politico-institutional framework for environmental policymaking and governance is experiencing a major transformation. When defining Global Environment Governance, clarification is advisable in its current context. Governance is about how decisions and policies are made, who is responsible, how they carry out their mandates, and how they are accountable, (El-Ashry, 2005). Environmental Governance in a global, regional or national context emphasizes the necessity of accumulating policy instruments, organizations, rules, procedures and norms to regulate the process of global environmental protection (Najam, Papa, & Taiyab, 2006). Within this context of global environmental politics and policy, the end goal of Global Environmental Governance is to improve the state of the environment and to eventually lead to the broader goal of achieving sustainable development. However, global environmental trends continue to be negative and the resources and competency to address these issues have not been properly utilized. Hence, the challenge before us in the contemporary developments of environment protection is to resolve the paradox of achieving high development goals with low environmental degradation through a proper environmental governance mechanism.

Rachel Carson through her seminal work in 1962, *Silent Spring*, launched environmentalism as a political ideology. Carson ushered in the environmental movement and presented a critical question for generations to come: How can the practices and needs of modern society be managed in a manner that prevents damaging pollution, biodiversity loss, and other environmental harm? Or, in contemporary vernacular, how can global development proceed in a manner that is environmentally sustainable? (Fulton & Benjamin, 2011). Ever since Carson's prescient work, particularly during the past few decades, many states around the world have undertaken responsible measures to answer these questions and considerable progress has been made. Many nations have drafted, signed and/or ratified numerous multilateral environmental agreements ("MEAs") to protect the air, water, land and biodiversity. Despite these efforts to confront environmental problems, the public concern over sufficient clean water resources, climate change, desertification, endangered species protection, ocean oil spills, ozone depletion and other similar matters seems to have increased rather than decreased (Malone & Pasternack, 2006).

A key reason for this result is the failure of many countries and their leaders to implement adequately and effectively the standards set forth in these MEAs. Moreover, these defensive mechanisms are constantly threatened by the actions of economic and political actors and fueled by the growing inequalities of globalization.Hence, unceasing efforts by the stakeholders and parties interested are necessary to strengthen the effectiveness of new forms of environmental governance. This study will investigate

three main aspects in recent debate of Environmental Governance: transformation of power relations; current developments; environmental threats to human security and the need for policy direction.

Transformation of Power Relations

The past decade has witnessed a change in the world order of environmental policy making. The traditional way to see policy making in general as a top-down system which draws from the international level to the local level, with nation-states as dominating actors is being considered outdated among many academics (Eckerberg & Joas, 2004). In several theoretical studies the centralized power structure of the nation state has been questioned. One such instance derives from an international political economy point of view, where Susan Strange argues that some of the non-state authorities, from mafias to the Big Six accounting firms and international bureaucrats, whose power over who gets what in the world encroaches on that of national governments (Strange, 1996). Hence, it is vital to reconsider certain conventional assumptions of the state-centric power structure when formulating policy mechanisms and institutional framework for environmental governance. Alternatively, multi-level governance, which implies a horizontal shift of responsibilities from governmental actors/authorities towards non-governmental actors and all other societal levels- local, regional, national and international could be taken as an effective approach in this regard (Eckerberg & Joas, 2004). This process clearly demonstrates a transformation of power relations among national entities and supra-national entities in the context of Global Environmental Governance.

Environmental Threat to Human Security

Mostly, security is defined as the integrity of the state and its national interests from the use of force by an adversity, (Parkin, 1997). In this context, the concept of security has been interpreted narrowly: simply as security of territory from external aggression or as a protection of national interests in foreign policy. As viewed by many scholars, this definition is inadequate to provide a broader picture of security as it requires including non -military aspects of security. Therefore, maintaining a predominantly military approach to security has become obsolete as it has to look at the other non-traditional dimensions of security.

In this regard, human security can be considered as a new approach to look at the concept of security, replacing the traditional approach to security which is defined mostly in the military sense. Human security as a people-centered model of security looks at various dimensions where insecurity can arise with chronic threats and sudden hurtful disruptions in the pattern of daily life. On the other hand, the concept of human security is another profound transition in the process of shifting from traditional security to non-traditional security. In this scenario, environmental security has been recognized as a key factor for social security, economic growth, and prosperity. In other

words, human security has a great impact on environmental preservation focusing on the major elements of the ecosystem.

Moreover, the co-relation between human security and the environment is close as well as it is complicated, (Khagram et al, 2003). More recently, it has become increasingly clear that this relationship is closely associated with non- conventional notions of security. Therefore, environmental security is interconnected with the contemporary environmental changes. This increasing scope of security includes environmental degradation, global warming, climate change and other considerable environmental issues, which are directly seen as threats to human security.

On the other hand, the environment has become a source of conflict, creating numerous civil wars based on environmental related issues. The past decades have witnessed the environment as the major player in human security issues. Therefore, environmental security has created new room for policy making at the global level, going beyond the national level, focusing on numerous environmental issues. However, today's international community has realized that the environment is an "issue-originated entity" (Ganoulis, 2007). Also, it is correct to say that the international community has acknowledged the importance of the environment in achieving human security. Therefore, many attempts have been made by the nation-states through various means of multi-national co-operation to address the environmental issues in order to secure human security. Moreover, a set of institutions has been created for this purpose, integrating many national units into supra national units. This proves that maintaining traditional political borders of nation-states is worthless when tackling environmental issues, (Eckerberg & Joas, 2004: 409).

As most of the environmental problems are trans-boundary in character, environmental security can be considered as the widest component of human security that has led to global-level Environmental Governance. Considering the attention given to the environmental impact on human security by states, it can be said that environmental security is crucial to determine human security as it gives rise to various issues at national as well as international level.

As pointed out by the World Bank Report, eighty countries, with 40% of the world's population, already suffer from shortage of fresh water, (Parkin, 1997). Not only that, changes in climate patterns brought global attention on possible threats to human security, unearthing many issues. Further, global warming, green gas effect and deforestation are some of the salient environmental issues that directly threaten human security. Air pollution has become another contentious issue being common to developed and developing nations. Although the character of environmental damage differs between industrial and developing countries, the effects are similar almost everywhere.

In general, many environmental threats are chronic and long-lasting, while others take on a more sudden and violent character. For example, Bhopal and Chernobyl incidents are the most obvious sudden environmental catastrophes, *(Human Development Report*, 1994: 29). Many chronic natural disasters in recent years have also been provoked by human beings. Deforestation has led to more intense droughts and floods. And population growth has made people prone to natural disasters such as, cyclones, quakes or earth floods (ibid).

During 1967-91, disasters hit three billion people: 80% of them in Asia. More than seven million people died, and two million were injured. Specifically, Sri Lanka also should be taken into consideration as it is experiencing a large number of environmental issues. As viewed by the CIA World Factbook, deforestation, soil erosion, air pollution in urban cities and industrial wastage are some of prominent environmental issues in the country (2012). Therefore, Sri Lanka is also placed in a vulnerable position regarding environmental issues. These are some ground realities that prove environment is a threat to human security.

Current Developments

Since the past few decades, the response of the international community to the challenges of environment and sustainable development included four international summits, four ministerial conferences, three international conventions, two protocols and a new financial entity – the Global Environment Facility (GEF) (El-Ashry, 2005).

The Global Environment Facility (GEF) was established in 1991, to address the need of funds for developing countries to achieve goals of sustainable development and to facilitate the environmental projects. GEF projects are principally carried out by UNDP, UNEP and the World Bank assisting to conserve and sustainable use of biological diversity. On the other hand, GEF helps to reverse the degradation of international waters, combat land degradation and drought.

Regarding more current developments in Environmental Governance, the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) is the most significant landmark in the emergence of Global Environmental Governance, and also the world's leading environmental agency protecting human security. The major objective of UNEP is to coordinate United Nations environmental activities, and assist developing countries in implementing environmentally sound policies and practices. It was founded as a result of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in June 1972. Further, UNEP promotes Environmental Science and it develops international conventions with the collaboration of many state and non-state entities.

The next initiative can be identified as the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) which was held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. It can be considered as a transformation of attitudes and the behavior of the participating nations to make the principal theme Environment and Sustainable Development a reality. The significance of this summit was to draw the attention of the nation-states to rethink their economic development and find ways to halt the destruction of irreplaceable natural resources and the pollution of the planet. Therefore, this summit can be considered as a major transformation of Global Environmental Governance, which made a considerable change on the thinking patterns of the nation-states.

The next step was the "Earth Summit + 5", which was held by the General Assembly in 1997, to review and appraise the implementation of Agenda 21. The major purpose of the summit was to make recommendations for its further fulfillment. The final session recommended the adoption of legally binding targets to reduce emission of greenhouse gases leading to climate change; moving more forcefully towards sustainable patterns of energy production, distribution and use; and focusing on poverty eradication as a prerequisite for sustainable development.

The Millennium Summit which was held in 2000 was another remarkable milestone of Global Environmental Governance, which motivates nation-states to achieve certain goals towards sustainable development by 2015. Goal 7 in particular, seeks to ensure environmental sustainability.

Another global event was the World Summit on Sustainable Development held in Johannesburg in 2002. This was another attempt to address the issues arising from the 1992 Earth Summit and it was in the character of an implementation summit: Millennium Summit, 2000.

It is obvious that many attempts have been made at various levels to address the environmental issues. On the face of it, these are remarkable achievements, but in spite of the high-powered gatherings, agreements and commitments, little progress has been made in improving the environment and in pursuing sustainable development at ground level.

Conclusions and Need for New Policy Directions

The study suggests that in an increasingly globalized, interconnected economy there can be no enduring development without environmental care. Hence, the development of strong environmental laws and policies to preserve the environment must better reflect a balance between underlying economic and social issues. Much of the current context of Global Environmental Governance, for which policy advice is needed, is one of uncertainty. Under such circumstances, decision makers need information about the nature of threats, how each will be affected, as well as the types of arrangements that can be collectively developed to address trans-boundary and global risks. Accordingly, many attempts have been made to tackle the issues with the aid of implementing environmental related meetings, conferences, agreements and forums in the past decades. Yet, this study points-out that still there is space lingering for further development and protection of the environment through well-coordinated global environmental mechanisms.

To address these needs possibilities of a more coherent institutional framework need to be explored while seeking means to upgrade the existing international institutional framework to respond effectively to the emerging threats of environmental degradation and complexities associated with it. Without confining the workload to a single global environmentally linked institution, mainstreaming the environment agenda to other international institutions such as the World Bank, regional development banks, WHO, UNESCO and other non-environment related agencies and institutions would enhance the capacity to deliver the internationally agreed goals and commitments. Also, the UNEP which is the UN's principal environmental organization should be strengthened with a new mandate to coordinate world-wide environmental activities and to manage Global Environmental Governance efficiently. As stated in the UN Secretary-General's High Level Panel on System-Wide Coherence 2006 (A/61/583) "To improve effectiveness and targeted environmental activities, the system of environmental governance should be strengthened and more coherent, featuring an upgraded UNEP with real authority as the United Nations environment policy pillar".

Apart from the governing institutional bodies, multilateral environmental agreements should be implemented efficiently reducing the administrative inefficiencies connected to it. Furthermore, substantive coordination should be pursued by diverse treaty bodies to support effective implementation of major MEAs. Such coordination is being pursued by the Basel Rotterdam and Stockholm convention secretariats (El-Ashry, 2005: 07).

Deviating from the mainstream governance structure associated with institutions, agreements and high panel discussions, this paper suggests that the transformational stage of Global Environmental Governance requires a more people-centered, simple and transparent approach to form a basis for effective environmental governance. In this sense environmental laws should be clear, equitable and shared with the public. According to the recommendations made by UNEP, preparatory meeting of the World Congress on Justice, Governance and Law for Environmental Sustainability (2011), affected stakeholders should be given the opportunity to participate in environmental decision making, and they should have access to fair and responsive dispute resolution procedures (Fulton & Benjamin, 2011). The collective efforts mentioned above aimed at the process of transforming Global Environmental Governance coupled with improved international coordination and systematic collaboration will enable to create a path towards achieving global sustainable development.

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Carbon retention capacity of two mangrove species, *Bruguiera gymnorrhiza* (L.) Lamk. and *Lumnitzera racemosa* Willd. in Negombo estuary, Sri Lanka

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Abstract

Carbon accumulation/sequestration by plants is a major function that contributes to removal of carbon dioxide from the atmosphere and capacity to perform it depends on the plant species and environmental conditions under which they live. Carbon retention by natural ecosystems such as mangroves therefore, is considered a crucial ecological service, and valued highly under the current global context of continued increase in greenhouse gas emission and associated climate change, on which marginal effort has hitherto been spared over its quantification. The Present study was conducted to characterize two true Sri Lankan mangrove species, i.e. *Bruguiera gymnorrhiza* (L.) and *Lumnitzera racemosa* Willd.,. with respect to their carbon retention capacity, and to develop allometric relationships between biomass of plant components and stem diameter at breast height (dbh) of the two species with a view to assisting quantification of carbon-sink function of mangrove ecosystems. Fourteen trees of *B. gymnorrhiza,* and ten trees of *L. racemosa* that represented the range of dbh distribution in the mangrove area at Kadolkele in Negombo estuary were selected, harvested and dry weights (biomass) were obtained of the components based on wet:dry weight. Organic carbon in samples taken from each plant component of the two species was determined using dichromate oxidation and colorimetry using spectrophotometer. Partitioning of biomass between above (A) and below (B) ground components is approximately 3:1, revealing that the pattern resembles more of that of terrestrial plants (A/B = 3.9-4.5) than mangrove species in higher latitudes (A/B = 2-3). A positive correlation (p<0.01) and non-linear relationship (linear log-log relationship) was revealed between dbh and biomass (component and total) of the two species and allometric equations were derived that could be used to quantify carbon-sink function of mangrove ecosystems comprised of these species and the potential of mangroves in carbon mitigation programmes with financial incentives for mangrove conservation. The average amount of carbon retained by an individual was 9.16 kg per tree and thus the total organic carbon retained by *L. racemosa* in the mangrove ecosystem in Kadolkele was 9.44 t/ha while that of *B. gymnorrhiza*, was 5.6 t/ha, despite its greater capacity of individual carbon retention (13.76 kg per tree) due to its relatively low density and basal area. *L. racemosa* contains higher percentage of carbon in the stems, branches and roots than *B. gymnorrhiza*,

revealing its superior contribution to carbon-sink function of mangrove ecosystems.

Introduction

Mangroves are coastal wetlands that essentially occur in tropical inter-tidal areas and their primary productivity is characteristically high when compared to other terrestrial plant communities (Lugo & Snedaker, 1974; Khan *et al*, 2009; Suratman, 2008). Part of the gross primary production or the atmospheric carbon assimilated through photosynthesis is accumulated in the plants themselves and it is measured as net primary production, the portion that is available for other heterotrophs in the ecosystem as a source of energy. Carbon that is accumulated in the above-ground components such as leaves, smaller branches and non-woody aerial roots that decompose rapidly is considered labile carbon, as it readily moves back into the atmosphere. Carbon that remains away from atmosphere within plants for considerably a long time, i.e. carbon in wood (of stems and large branches) and woody roots, both below-ground and aerial, is the sequestered carbon that contributes to carbon sequestration function of mangrove ecosystems. Carbon sequestration capacity of mangrove plants depends on biomass/carbon partitioning pattern which is characteristic to the species. Contribution of mangrove plant species for carbon sequestration may vary from species to species, for their inherent capacities of primary production, storage and environmental conditions such as soil salinity, nutrient availability and location/latitude which determine the amount of photosynthetically active radiation (PAR) available for photosynthesis (Twilley *et al*, 1992).

Allometry is a powerful tool for estimating tree weight from independent variables such as trunk diameter, tree height that are easily quantifiable in the field. The growth rate of one part of the tree is proportional to that of others, which is the basic theory of allometric relationships and therefore the trunk diameter of a tree is highly correlated with trunk weight (Komiyama, Ong, & Poungparn, 2008). If a range of tree sizes is measured, a regression equation can be derived for predicting tree weight. Although allometric equations have been developed for a number of mangrove species, hardly any literature is available for estimating mangrove root biomass and it may be due to complete extraction of mangrove roots being a difficult and tedious process. Accurate estimates of biomass and carbon contents are important for describing the current state of mangrove forests and for predicting the consequences of change such as age-size structure, species composition and carbon assimilation capacity. Further, such estimates are of considerable practical significance for modeling the potential consequences of climate changes, carbon sequestration capacity and for national and international carbon accounting and monitoring requirements.

Mangroves in Negombo estuary, however, are constantly under human pressure and being located in the vicinity of populous areas, mangroves are removed for human settlements, roads and public utility areas and in the process, carbon sink function is lost irreversibly. Although *Avicennia marina* (density- 2470 trees/ ha) and *Rhizophora mucronata* (405 trees/ ha) appear to dominate Negombo estuarine mangroves superficially, *L. racemosa* ranks second in abundance (620 trees/ha) in these mangrove areas and determining its contribution to C-sequestration function is important to calculate the total sequestration capacity of the mangrove area in performing this function. *B. gymnorrhiza* ranks fourth in abundance (80 trees/ ha) and its contribution is too significant to disregard in total sequestration capacity calculations. Although allometric relationships have been developed for *A. marina* and *R. mucronata* (Amarasinghe & Balasubramaniam, 1992) absence of the same for the latter species under local environmental circumstances was the prime reason for selecting these two species for the characterization under the present study. Development of allometric relationships between dbh and biomass/organic carbon content enables quantification of carbon-sequestration capacity of plants in this mangrove area.

The Present study therefore was conducted with *Bruguiera gymnorrhiza* (L.) Lamk. and *Lumnitzera racemosa* Willd., with the objectives of developing allometric relationships between biomass of stems, leaves, below and above ground roots with easily measured variables such as girth/ diameter at breast height (gbh/dbh) of trees that assist to estimate the total organic carbon retaining capacity of the two species.

Methodology

Determination of Biomass

Fourteen trees of *Bruguiera gymnorrhiza*, dbh of which falls within 2.18 -13.33 cm, and ten trees of *Lumnitzera racemosa* (dbh range 4.20 – 15.43cm) were harvested from Kadolkele mangrove area (7011'42.18"- 7011'50.48" N; 790 50'32.08"– 790 50'47.50" E) at Negombo estuary and to measure biomass. Each sample tree was cut at ground level using a chainsaw and separated manually into trunk, branches, leaf fractions and reproductive parts. For all sample trees, the trunk diameter at ground level (D_0), at dbh level ($D_{1.3}$) and at each 1m interval between the above two levels, were recorded. Roots of each sample tree were excavated using mechanical devices and washed with pressurised water. (Comely & McGuinnes, 2005, Komiyama, Poungparn & Kata, 2005).

Fresh weight of each sample trunk, branches, leaves, reproductive parts and roots were recorded with electronic balance with 1.0 g accuracy in the field. Fresh weight (0.1 g accuracy) of sub-samples from each component was obtained by oven drying at 65^{0}C to constant weight. Fresh to dry ratio of samples was used to calculate total dry weight of each biomass component.

Accuracy of developed equations for biomass estimation was tested with actual biomass data and the percentage difference between estimated and actual values was calculated to determine the extent of accuracy of the calculated biomass using the equations.

Determination of Total Organic Carbon Content

Total organic carbon content in wood in stem, leaves and roots of the two species were oven dried at 60^0 C until constant weight, ground with an electrical grinder and sieved through 150 µm mesh. Wet oxidation (using potassium dichromate) method without external heating procedure was used (Anderson & Ingram, 1998) to determine the total carbon content.UV-visible spectrophotometer (Spectro UV-VIS Double Beam UVD-3000) under 600 nm was used to measure absorbance by chromic solution.

Relationship between dbh of trees and biomass of components was analyzed with SPSS Ver.16.

Results

Distribution of Biomass

Biomass of the above ground plant components is nearly three times greater than that of the below-ground components in both the mangrove species (Table 1).

Table 1: Biomass of plant components of *Bruguiera gymnorrhiza* and *Lumnitzera racemosa* trees sampled at Negombo estuary, Sri Lanka. Percentage distribution of biomass among above and below-ground plant components are given within parentheses.

| Species | Biomass (dry weight)/plant (kg/plant) | | | | | | Total/plant | Ratio of above to below ground biomass |
| | Above-ground | | | | Below-ground | | | |
	Stem	Leaves	Branches	Roots	Total	Roots		
Bruguiera gymnorrhiza (n=14)	10.62 ± 4.35 (32%)	5.30 ± 1.95 (16%)	7.91 ± 2.93 (24%)	1.52 ± 0.56 (5%)	25.35 ± 9.43 (77%)	7.54 ± 2.83 (23%)	32.89 ± 13.08	3.36
Lumnitzera racemosa (n=10)	15.10 ± 4.36 (32%)	1.80 ± 0.47 (4%)	18.07 ± 5.94 (38%)	0.81 ± 0.42 (2%)	35.78 ± 11.44 (76%)	11.35 ± 2.88 (24%)	47.13 ± 14.58	3.15

Allometric Relationship between dbh and Biomass

Among others, Power curve was determined the most fit for the data sets of the two species and therefore allometric equations were derived from power curve (Fig 1). A strong positive correlation (p<0.01) and a high coefficient of determination (r2>0.80) with non-linear relationships were observed (except leaves) for all plant components with tree dbh of two species (Table 2).
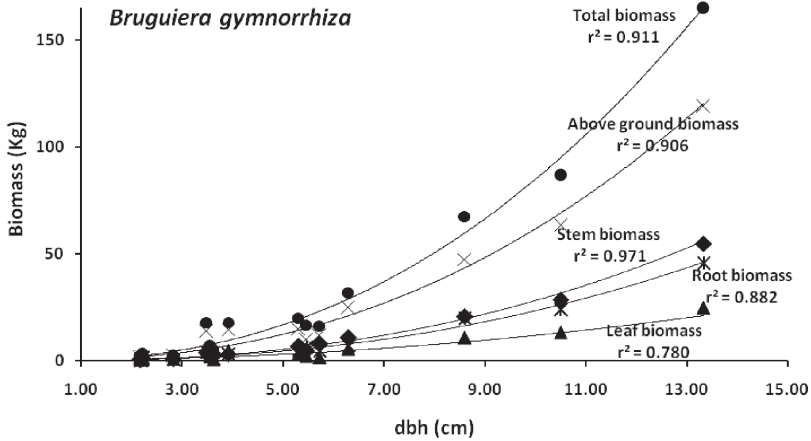
Fig.1: Relationship between dbh and biomass of plant components of *Bruguiera gymnorrhiza* (r^2 - Coefficient of determination)
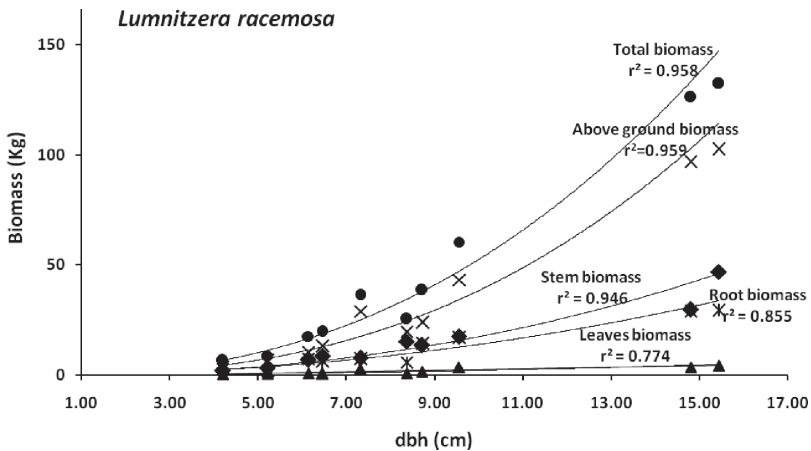
Fig.2: Relationship between dbh and biomass of plant components of Lumnitzera racemosa (r^2 - Coefficient of determination)

Table 2: Regression results for data fit to the power curve in each tree component with dbh (D1.3) for the two species

Species	Component	B_0	B_1	r^2	MS_{error}	n
B.gymnorrhiza	Stem	0.115	2.386	0.972	4.041	14
	Leaves	0.114	2.017	0.780	1.811	14
	Root	0.100	2.366	0.882	3.397	14
	Total AGB	0.289	2.328	0.906	8.756	14
	Total Biomass	0.405	2.321	0.911	12.140	14
L. racemosa	Stem	0.099	2.243	0.946	4.363	10
	Leaves	0.019	2.014	0.762	0.474	10
	Root	0.118	2.063	0.856	3.227	10
	Total AGB	0.114	2.524	0.960	11.436	10
	Total Biomass	0.220	2.377	0.958	14.575	10

B_0 and B_1 are the regression coefficients , MS_{error} is the mean stand error, n is the number of individuals and AGB is the aboveground biomass, r^2 is the coefficient of determination.

Allometric equations were developed between dbh with biomass of stem, leaves, roots, total above ground biomass and total biomass (above and belowground biomass) (p<0.01) of *Lumnitzera racemosa* and *Bruguiera gymnorrhiza* species (Tables 3).

Table 3: Developed Allometric equations for determination of biomass of each plant component of *B. gymnorrhiza*

Species	Component	Allometric equation
Bruguiera gymnorrhiza	Stem	$0.115 \, (dbh)^{2.386}$
	Leaves	$0.114 \, (dbh)^{2.014}$
	Root	$0.100 \, (dbh)^{2.364}$
	Above-ground biomass	$0.289 \, (dbh)^{2.327}$
	Total biomass (above+below)	$0.405 \, (dbh)^{2.320}$
Lumnitzera racemosa	Stem	$0.098 \, (dbh)^{2.244}$
	Leaves	$0.019 \, (dbh)^{2.011}$
	Root	$0.118 \, (dbh)^{2.063}$
	Above-ground biomass	$0.114 \, (dbh)^{2.523}$
	Total biomass (above+below)	$0.220 \, (dbh)^{2.376}$

Accuracy of Biomass Estimation Using Allometric Equations

Estimated values of biomass using the allometric equations were compared with actual data and the percentage differences between actual and estimated were found to be low (*B. gymnorrhiza* for all components less than 2.1% (except for leaves), *L. racemosa* for all components the difference was less than 4 % (except for stems), indicating the high reliability of using the developed allometric relationships to estimate biomass of these plant species (Table 4).

Table 4: Accuracy of estimated biomass of each plant component of *B. gymnorrhiza* and *L. racemosa* using the derived allometric equations.

Component	Biomass (Kg)		
	Actual biomass	*Estimated biomass*	*% Difference*
Bruguiera gymnorrhiza			
Stem	10.62	10.64	-0.18
Leaves	5.30	4.61	-13.01
Root	9.06	8.86	-2.09
Above-ground	23.83	23.63	-0.83
Total tree	32.89	32.50	-1.18
Lumnitzera racemosa			
Stem	15.10	16.08	6.50
Leaves	3.01	3.04	0.69
Root	11.32	11.41	0.79
Above-ground	32.83	34.12	3.93
Total tree	52.26	52.81	1.05

Total Organic Carbon Content

Except in the leaves of *L. racemosa*, approximately 50% of the biomass in all components of *L. racemosa* and *B. gymnorrhiza* were composed of carbon Table 5.

Table 5: Organic carbon content in biomass of wood, leaves and roots of *B. gymnorrhiza* and *L. racemosa*

Mangrove Species	Percentage Carbon in biomass		
	Wood	leaf	Roots
Bruguiera gymnorrhiza	54.90 ± 0.370	51.21 ± 0.219	52.91 ± 0.303
Lumnitzera racemosa	55.75 ± 0.172	44.13 ± 0.267	54.35 ± 0.322

Total Organic Carbon (TOC) Retention by Mangrove Plant Species

Organic carbon retained by *L. racemosa* and *B. gymnorrhiza* in Negombo estuary reveals that it depends not only on species but also on the structural characteristics of the mangrove ecosystems in relation to the species. Higher carbon retention capacity was recorded for *L. racemosa* (9.4 t/ha) than for *B. gymnorrhiza* (5.6 t/ha) (Table 6).

Table 6: Total organic carbon (TOC) retention capacity and related structural data of *L. racemosa* and *B. gymnorrhiza*.

	Bruguiera gymnorrhiza	*Lumnitzera racemosa*
Plant density (trees/ha)	80	620
Average dbh (cm)	5.00	4.65
Above ground TOC content (t/ha)	4.53	7.55
Below ground TOC content (t/ha)	1.07	1.88
Total organic carbon retention capacity (t/ha)	5.60	9.44
Average TOC retention	13.75	9.16

Discussion

Distribution of Biomass among the Plant Components

Although a greater average biomass was observed to be retained in stems of *L. racemosa* (15.1±4.36 kg) than in *B. gymnorrhiza* (10.62±4.35 kg), reflecting their inherent differences, both species retain 32% of total biomass in their stems (Table 1). Comley & McGuinness (2005) too, have observed that biomass retention by stems may vary from 14 – 40%, depending on the species of mangroves. Leaves are the plant appendages that contain least percentage of biomass (4 – 16%) and the leaves of *L. racemosa* contain more water as manifested by greater weight loss when dried. Profuse branching in *L. racemosa* may contribute to greater biomass (twice as much as that of stem) in them relative to *B. gymnorrhiza*.

Accumulation of biomass in knee roots (20-30 cm above ground) in *B. gymnorrhiza* accounted for 5% of total biomass, and it is greater than that observed to be accumulated in the slender knee roots (4-5 cm above ground) of *L. racemosa* (2% of total biomass) which are confined to trees growing in areas inundated for comparatively long periods. Development of knee roots of *L. racemosa* therefore appears to be a response to stress conditions created by anaerobic conditions due to prolonged inundation.

Biomass Distribution among Above and Below- ground Plant Components

Nearly quarter of the total plant biomass in both the species are stored in underground roots, with *L. racemosa* having higher below-ground root biomass than *B. gymnorrhiza*. The former species produces a larger/deeper below ground root-ball while the latter produces a spongy (with larger air spaces in the root cortex) near-surface network of roots which does not produce a significant pool of biomass. This observation contradicts that of Ong *et al.*, (2004) who reported that 30% - 90% of the total biomass of *Rhizophora spp.* in a Malaysian mangroves to be retained in below ground roots and thus resulting a low above (A):below (B) ratio. Ong *et al.*, (2004) also reported that mangrove plants maintain bottom-heavy tree forms and low A:B which appear useful to keep the plant upright in unconsolidated inter-tidal soils.

The A:B was revealed to be approximately similar for *B. gymnorrhiza* (3.36) and *L .racemosa* (3.15) (Table 1) and these values are lower than that for terrestrial trees, which range 4 - 4.5 (Cairns *et al.*, 1997). Generally, this ratio lies between 2.0 and 3.0 for the mangroves (Komiyama *et al.*,2008). This appears to be evidence that mangrove plants accumulate more organic carbon in their root systems compared to terrestrial plants/trees. This ratio was recorded to be 1.1 with *Ceriops tagal* in Thailand and 4.4 for *Sonneratia* stands in Indonesia (Komiyama *et al.*, 2008), indicating that the *Sonneratia* plants in Indonesia where the tidal range is above 3m possess extensive pneumatophore systems, accumulate relatively low amount of biomass in below-ground roots than in *Ceriops tagal*, which does not produce aerial roots such as prop, stilt and knee roots or pneumatophores, despite living in a similar tidal environment. *B. gymnorrhiza* is a mangrove species that produces characteristic knee roots and they originate from radial underground roots. In the present study, although *B. gymnorrhiza* was revealed to account for an A:B of 3.36, when all root biomass (above and below ground) is considered together, the A:B reduces to 2.6 which then falls in the range hitherto reported for mangrove species (Komiyama *et al.*, 2008) and this applies to *L. racemosa* too. Comley and McGuinness (2005) reported the A:B of four mangrove species, *Avicennia marina* (1.08), *Bruguiera exaristata* (0.75), *Ceriops australis* (2.44) and *Rhizophora stylosa* (2.12) growing in macro-tidal Darwin Harbour, Australia, where the tidal amplitude is 8m. They also highlight that it is difficult to distinguish between the above and below-ground roots when sediment accumulates near the roots and thus inclusion of biomass of part of the above ground roots in the below-ground components, contributing to lower A:B is not an unlikely error that would associate in measuring biomass of below-ground roots. Mangroves being plants living in an environment subjected to the effect of tides that enhance the instability of substratum, diversion of part of the root biomass to appendages such as the variety of aerial roots that they possess appear to be not only an adaptation to cope with the anaerobic conditions prevailing in mangrove soils, but also a measure of rendering the plant, enhanced stability to remain upright in an unstable substratum. The radial roots, although not penetrated deep into soil, are extended over

a wide area, rendering stability to the plant in anchoring itself in the unstable inter-tidal substratum.

Observations on the presence of pneumatophores of *L. racemosa* revealed that they are present only in the plants located close to puddles and creeks that are inundated for relatively long periods and pneumatophores were absent in other localities where the plant/root system is exposed, thus resulting in a very low mean biomass value for above ground knee roots (0.81 ± 0.42). This observation reveals that *L. racemosa* spares some of its below-ground biomass to develop pneumatophores when the plant is under stress due to anaerobic conditions in the root zone. These two mangrove species with low below ground biomass in comparison to that of other mangroves reported, represents a condition that prevails with plants in terrestrial forests, where the A:B is between 3.96 and 4.52 (Cairns *et al*., 1997). This indicates that the intertidal environment where the above mangrove species occur does not impose anaerobic conditions that can result in high environmental stress on plants/roots. Being a micro-tidal estuary, with less than 50 cm of average tidal amplitude and located in the wet zone of Sri Lanka where opportunities are marginal for development of high soil salinities and prolonged periods of inundation, *B. gymnorrhiza* and *L. racemosa* that naturally occur in Negombo estuary, may manifest a within plant biomass distribution that represents more of terrestrial plants than of semi-aquatic plants that exist under severe environmental stress, especially due to anaerobic soil conditions under inundation.

Below-ground to above ground biomass ratio (B/A) was observed to vary with tree height (Fig, 1). With increasing the tree height of *B. gymnorrhiza*, more biomass was accumulated in below ground portions and this observation was common to other terrestrial forests (Fromard *et al*. 1998). Similar observations were also recorded by Alongi, 2009 with data from Matsui, 1998, with *Rhizophora stylosa* stands in Iriomote island, Japan. A contradictory observation was recorded with *L. racemosa* in this study: more biomass was accumulated in below ground portion in smaller trees and B/A ratio decline with increasing tree height. This may be specific to the species, especially in tree architecture, unlike mature trees of *Bruguiera* spp. and *Rhizophora* spp., without harsh environmental conditions *L. racemosa* did not observe special types of roots such as knee roots or prop roots.

Allometric Relationship between dbh and Biomass

The strong positive correlation (p<0.01) and coefficient of determination (r^2>0.80) assures that a dbh can be used to determine the biomass of various components (except for leaves) of these two mangrove plant species (Figs. 1 & 2, Table 2). These results (Table 3) are comparable with allometric relationships developed for other mangroves species using power curves (Amarasinghe and Balasubramaniam, 1992, Comley & McGuinness, 2005 and Komiyama *et al*., 2005). The high reliability of the relationships developed for *B. gymnorrhiza* and *L. racemosa* through the present study (Table 4) can be used to estimate the total organic carbon content in these species for which no allometric relationships, based on empirical data, are available hitherto.

Comparison of biomass accumulation by individuals of *B. gymnorrhiza* with the same dbh in Australian mangroves (Twilley *et al*, 1992) reveals that, above ground biomass per tree in Negombo estuary is approximately twice as that has been estimated for individuals in Australian mangroves areas, that highlights the significance of mangroves in lower latitudes such as in Negombo estuary in global carbon-sink scenario and thus its conservation.

Organic carbon content in plant components

Estimating organic carbon content in mangrove plants reflects their significance as carbon sequestraters and the role of ecosystems in reducing global warming. Results of the present study (Table 5) reveal that percentage organic carbon content in the wood (stem and branches) of *B. gymnorrhiza* (54.9%) and *L. racemosa* (55.75%) is slightly higher than the value (49%) that has been recorded by IPCC 2006 for tropical and subtropical wood which includes plants of tropical rainforests. Besides, as revealed in the present study, *L. racemosa* accumulates more sequestered carbon in the stems and branches when compared to *B. gymnorrhiza*, thus it is relatively superior in terms of carbon sequestration. The total retention capacity of carbon by an ecosystem depends on its vegetation structure, i.e. plant species diversity, density of each species and average size of plants. Contribution of individual plant species to reduction of atmospheric carbon, therefore, depends on the environmental factors that affect their survival and growth (Clough *et al*, 1997; Tam *et al*, 1995; Ong, *et al*, 2004). Although the carbon retention capacity of *B. gymnorrhiza* (13.75 kg per tree) is greater than that of *L. racemosa* (9.16 kg per tree), because of its relatively high density in the mangrove stands at Kaldolkele in Negombo estuary (Table 6) it qualifies it as superior in performing carbon retaining functions. Although *L. racemosa* is not popular as a species for mangrove plantations or for rehabilitating degraded mangrove areas, it can be recommended as a species suitable for the purpose, which can enhance the ecological value of such endeavours.

Carbon sequestration function of natural ecosystems has drawn massive attention with the necessity to address global environmental issue of climate change. Carbon retention by natural ecosystems has not been given its due recognition hitherto, nevertheless, rapid development of market-based management mechanisms such as carbon foot printing and trading to reduce climate change as well as carbon mitigation programmes such as REDD +, a mechanism to reduce global greenhouse gasses by compensating countries for avoiding deforestation or forest degradation and conservation of ecosystems contributing to carbon sequestration, demands calculating realistic values of natural vegetation types in removing CO_2 from the atmosphere. This paper presents the findings of the first ever research performed with Sri Lankan mangrove species, and the knowledge generated on the allometric relationship between biomass and organic carbon content in the two species under study has expanded the knowledge base required to generate realistic estimates of this important ecological function and thus the conservation value of these hitherto unknown ecological services of mangrove ecosystems for the welfare of humanity.

Conclusion

Quantification of sequestered carbon in mangrove plant species could be determined by allometry of biomass and stem diameter of plants and organic carbon content in samples of plant components. High accuracy of the allometric equations derived for determination of biomass of *B. gymnorrhiza* and *L. racemosa* provides a pragmatic tool to calculate plant biomass and sequestered carbon and in turn, its relative contribution to carbon-sink function of mangrove ecosystems.

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(Veddas and Rodiyas: Safeguarding and Erasing Identity)

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රත්නවල්ලි කවි (වැවගෙදර : 1997)

සාරාංශය

වැදි ජනයා නූතනයේ බොහෝ විට හඳුනාගනු ලබන්නේ ජීවමාන සංස්කෘතික උරුමයක් ලෙසිනි. එයට ප්‍රතිපක්ෂ ව රොඩි ප්‍රජාව සිහිපත් වන්නේ ක්ෂය වී ගිය සංස්කෘතියක් පිළිබඳ මතකයක් ලෙසිනි. මෙවනි ද්විකරණිත අවස්ථාවකට මෙම ප්‍රජාවන් ගමන් කළේ ඇයි ද යන්නට පිළිතුර එතරම් ගැටලු සහගත හෝ විවාදාත්මක හෝ නො වේ. එනම්, මෙකී ප්‍රජා ද්වය ලැබූ අධිපති සංස්කෘතියේ සැලකුම් එකිනෙකට හාත්පසින් වෙනස්වීම මෙම තත්ත්වයට ප්‍රධානතම හේතුව ලෙස සරල ව සුතුගත කළ හැකි ය. වැදි ප්‍රජාව සිංහල අධිපති සංස්කෘතික ඇස තුළ ඉහළ ස්ථානයක තැබෙන විට රොඩි ප්‍රජාව ලංකාවේ අස්පර්ශනීය ජන කණ්ඩායම ලෙස ස්ථාපනය වීම මෙයට හේතුව යි. දෑත්තර සමාජීය පීඩනය හමුවේ රොඩි ප්‍රජාව සිය අනන්‍යතාහරණය, ඒ සඳහා ඉඩ සැලසෙන සමාජ, ආර්ථික වටපිටාව මෝදු වූ වහා ම ඇරඹූ බව පෙනේ. මෙම සංසිද්ධියෙන් දිස් වන්නේ ශත වර්ෂ ගණනාවක් අතිදුෂ්කර සමාජ කොන්දේසි මතින් මිරිකී සිටි ප්‍රජාවකට සිය විමුක්තිය සඳහා පැවති එක ම මාවත වූයේ අනන්‍යතාව දියකර හැරීම පමණක් වූ බව යි.

වැදි ප්‍රජාව හා රොඩි ප්‍රජාව මෙලෙස වෙනස් සමාජ උරුමයන් අත් කරගැනීමට අදාළ ඓතිහාසික හේතු ඉතා පැහැදිලි මට්ටමක නැත. මෙම ප්‍රජා ද්වය අතර සමානතා රැසක් හඳුනාගත හැකි අතර එකී සමානකම් තිබිය දී සමාජ ස්ථරායන විභේදනයක් වර්ධනය වීමට හේතු සාධක ගවේෂණයට උත්සාහ කිරීම මෙම පත්‍රිකාවේ පළමු අරමුණ යි. එසේ ම සිංහල සව්ඥානකත්වයේ පසුකාලීන වර්ධනයේ දී මෙම ආන්තික සමාජ කොටස් බහිෂ්කරණය, පසුකාලීන ව දෙමළ බස කථාකරන අනෙකා බහිෂ්කරණය දක්වා හැඩගැසුණු චින්තනයට පාදක වූ එක් හේතුවක් බවට හඳුනාගත හැකි ය. ඒ පිළිබඳ කාරණා යම් මට්ටමකට ගවේෂණය කිරීම මෙම පත්‍රිකාවේ දෙවන අරමුණ වේ.

මෙම පත්‍රිකාවට පාදක පර්යේෂණයේ දී උක්ත ප්‍රජා ද්වයට සම්බන්ධ ජනපද කිහිපයක වර්තමාන තත්ත්වය අධ්‍යයනයට බඳුන් වී ඇති අතර, ඒ තුළ මෙම ප්‍රජාවන් ගේ

ප්‍රතිවර්තමාන තත්ත්වය ඇගයීමට ලක් කර ඇත. ඒ කෙසේ වෙතත් පත්‍රිකාවෙහි වැඩි බර තැබීමක් සිදුකර ඇත්තේ ඉතිහාසගත කාරණා දෙසට වන අතර, එහෙයින් ඓතිහාසික කාල වකවානු කිහිපයක දී සිදු වූ සමාජ පරිණාමීය ප්‍රපංචයන් ඒ හා සම්බන්ධ සාහිත්‍ය හා (ඒට ඉතාමත් කුඩාතර ලෙස) සපයාගත හැකි සමහර දෘශ්‍ය මාධ්‍ය මූලයන් මගින් හඳුනාගැනීමට උත්සාහ දරා ඇත.

මූල පද (*Keywords*)ඃ වැදි ජනයා, රොඩී ප්‍රජාව, ජනවාර්ගික අනන්‍යතාව, සමාජ අසමානතාව

Abstract

Vedda and Rodiya communities have different social identities from dominant Sinhalese ethnicity. These communities have more social similarities than differences. However, Rodiya is stratified as an untouchable caste (or social group) of Sri Lanka while Vedda enjoys a social status equal to Sinhalese cultivators' *(govigama)* caste. The recurrent situation of these communities is the Vedda community has been identified as having a living cultural heritage and Rodiya community has been identified as one with memories of a dissolved culture. The Vedda community does not hide its social identity and represents the indigenous people of the country. The Rodiya community does not represent its own identity because of perceived maltreatment by the dominant ethnic group. The Rodiyas mix with the dominant society without a real identity.

This paper attempts to describe the factors of social stratification of both communities and influences of social inequality. Moreover, it attempts to identify Sinhala consciousness on the "other", development of ethnic categorization of Sri Lanka and the future of these communities. This paper is based on field research and library research, because there is some historical background in the study.

Keywords: Vedda community, Rodiya community, Ethnic identity, Social inequality

අධ්‍යයනය පිළිබඳ හැඳින්වීමක්

අනන්‍යතාව සමාජීය විද්‍යා ශික්ෂණයන් රැසක සමීප අවධානයට භාජනය වන සංකල්පයකි. සමාජ විද්‍යාවේ හා සංස්කෘතික මානව විද්‍යාවේ සාර්ව මට්ටමින් සමාජීය මිනිසා තුළ ද, මනෝවිද්‍යාවේ දී පුද්ගලයා තුළ ද අනන්‍යතා සම්පාදනය අධ්‍යයනය වනු දැකගත හැක. ලාංකේය තලය ගත් විට වැදි ප්‍රජාව හා රොඩී ප්‍රජාව නියෝජනය කරන්නේ ජනවාර්ගික අනන්‍යතාවක් ද, නැතහොත් වෙනයම් අන්දමක ප්‍රජා/සමාජ අනන්‍යතාවක් ද යන්න පැහැදිලි නැතත්, ඔවුන් ප්‍රමුඛ ධාරාවෙන් සැලකිය යුතු මට්ටමක විභේදනයක් පෙන්නුම් කරන බව පැහැදිලි ය. කෙසේ නමුත් බොහෝ ගති ලක්ෂණ අතින් සමාන ස්වරූපයන් පෙන්නුම් කරන ජන කොටස් දෙකක් ලාංකේය කුල නිර්මිතයේ/සමාජ ස්තරායනයේ අන්ත දෙකක ස්ථාපිත වීම ගැටලුසහගත මෙන් ම පර්යේෂකයකු තුළ කුතුහලය දනවන්නක් ද වනු ඇත. එසේ ම ලංකා සමාජ විකාශනයේ එක් පැතිකඩක් හඳුනාගැනීමට මෙම ප්‍රජා කණ්ඩායම් ද්වය පිළිබඳ සංසන්දනාත්මක අධ්‍යයනයක් වැදගත් වනු ඇත.

ක්‍රම වේදය හා අධ්‍යයන ක්ෂේත්‍රය

ආදිවාසී ප්‍රජාව නියෝජනය වන දඹාන, හෙන්නානිගල හා රතුගල ප්‍රදේශ ද, රොඩී ප්‍රජාව නියෝජනය වන බලංගොඩ ප්‍රදේශය ආශ්‍රිත ගම්මානයක්[2] ද පාදක කොටගෙන මෙම අධ්‍යයනය සිදු කර ඇත. අධ්‍යයනයේ දී විධිමත් සම්මුඛ සාකච්ඡා මෙන් ම සහභාගිත්ව නිරීක්ෂණය ද දත්ත රැශිකරණ ක්‍රමවේදයන් ලෙස භාවිත වී ඇත. එසේ ම ඓතිහාසික තලයකට ගමන් කරන මෙම අධ්‍යයනයේ විෂය පරාසය ආවරණය සඳහා ලිඛිත සාහිත්‍ය වෙත වැඩි අවධානයක් යොමු කර ඇත.

අනන්‍යතාව - බහුවිධ කතීකාවන් තුළ බහුවිධ ස්වරූපයන්

අනන්‍යතාව ශික්ෂණයන් රැසක විවිධාර්ථගත ව විවරණය වන සංකල්පයකි. මනෝවිද්‍යාවේ සිට සමාජවිද්‍යාව දක්වාත්-තව දුරටත් විහිදෙන්නේ නම් පුරා-විද්‍යා ශික්ෂණය දක්වාත් අනන්‍යතාව පිළිබඳ සංකල්පය විහිදී-යයි. පුද්ගලයකු තුළ අනන්‍යතා සාධක රැසක් අන්තර්ගත ය-ස්වීයත්වය (self) මනෝවිද්‍යාවේ විෂය පථයට අයත් වන විට ඒ හා බැඳී හා එයින් ස්වායත්ත කළ නොහැකි ලෙස එම පුද්ගලයා ම තුළින් ජනවාර්ගික, ප්‍රජා, සමාජීය හා වඩා ක්ෂුද්‍ර තලයේ දී විෂම ලිංගික, සම ලිංගික හෝ ද්වි ලිංගික ආසක්තතාව ආදි ලෙස අනන්‍යතා නිර්මාණය වේ. ජනවාර්ගික හෝ ප්‍රජා අනන්‍යතාව සමාජ විද්‍යාව හා මානව විද්‍යාව තුළ බහුල ව අවධානය යොමු වන සංසිද්ධියකි. අප්‍රිකා-ඇමරිකානු තරුණියන් ඇසුරෙන් කළ ගුණාත්මක පර්යේෂණයක දී, අනන්‍යතාවෙහි වැදගත්ම හා ප්‍රධානතම මානයන් හයක් හඳුනාගෙන ඇත. ඒවා නම් වාර්ගිකත්වය, ප්‍රමතිරිමය බව, රැකියාව, ආගමික හැඟීම, දේශපාලන අදහස් සහ ලිංගික දිශානතිය යි. මෙම අනන්‍යතා එකිනෙකා අරබයා ප්‍රමුඛ වන්නේ විවිධ මට්ටමින් බවත් අධ්‍යයනය පෙන්වා-දෙයි. එනම්, පර්යේෂණයට බඳුන් වූ දාහත් දෙනකු වූ තරුණියන් අතරින් එකොළොස් දෙනකු සිය ජනවාර්ගිකත්වය පිළිබඳ ප්‍රමුඛ ව කතා කරන විට, ඉතිරි සයදෙනා සිය ප්‍රමතිරිමය භාවයට ප්‍රමුඛත්වයක් ලබා දෙමින් කතා කළහ. මෙම අධ්‍යයනයේ සිත්ගන්නාසුලු අනාවරණය ලෙස අධ්‍යයනය පිළිබඳ විවරණයක යෙදෙන Paynter (2008) දක්වන්නේ අධ්‍යයනයට

_____

2   මෙය සංවේදී මාතෘකාවක් වන බැවින් මෙම ගම්මානයේ නම සඳහන් කිරීමෙන් වැළකී ඇත.

බඳුන් වූ අය තුළ ජනවාර්ගිකත්වය පිළිබද දැඩි සංවේදිතාවක් පැවති බව යි. කලු බව මත දුෂ්කරතාවන්ට ලක්වීම නිසා මෙම තත්ත්වය ඔවුන් වෙත ආරෝපණය වන්නට ඇති බව කතුවරුන් ගේ විග්‍රහය යි. ජනවාර්ගික අනන්‍යතාව ලංකාව වැනි රටවලට බටහිර ආභාසය ඔස්සේ අන්තර්ග්‍රහණිත සංකල්පයක් බව සමහර විශ්ලේෂකයන් පෙන්වා දෙන නමුත් ලාංකේය සමාජය තුළ සමාජ ප්‍රභේදනයන් හා වෙනස්කම් පැවති බවත්, එය අනන්‍යතා සාධනයෙහිලා වැදගත් වී ඇති බවත් යන අනුභූතිය බැහැර කළ නොහැක. එසේ ම යුරෝපීය භූමි භාගය ගත් විට ඒ තුළ "ජනවාර්ගික අනන්‍යතාව" මෝදු වන්නේ ලෝකඩ යුගය තුළ දී බව Kristiansen (2011: p 201-210) ගේ අදහසයි. මේ අනුව "මම", "අනෙකා" හා සාමූහික "මම" හා සාමූහික "අනෙකා" යන්න ද බිහිවීම දුරාතීතයකට හිමිකම් කියන බව පෙනේ. ජනවාර්ගික අනන්‍යතාව හෝ "ජනවාර්ගිකමය" ප්‍රජා අනන්‍යතාව ප්‍රමුබ ධාරාවේ ජනවාර්ගික කණ්ඩායම්වල සාමාජිකයන්ට වඩා සුළුතර කණ්ඩායම් අතර දැඩිතර බව බටහිර රටවල වෙසෙන සංක්‍රමණික ජන කණ්ඩායම් ඇසුරෙන් සිදු කළ පර්යේෂණ ඔස්සේ අනාවෘත ව ඇත. තමන් ගේ ජනවර්ගයට සම්බන්ධිත සමාජ ඓතිහාසික සම්ප්‍රදායන් පිළිබඳව මෙම සංක්‍රමණික ජන කණ්ඩායම්වල පසු පරම්පරාවන් ද ඉහළ මට්ටමින් සවිඥානික බව පර්යේෂකයෝ වැඩි දුරටත් සඳහන් කරති.

ඉතිහාසය අධිපතියා ගේ ආඛ්‍යානයන් ලෙස

ඉතිහාසය අධිපතියා ගේ නිමැවුමකි. ඉතිහාසය ලියන්නේ බලය හා ආධිපත්‍යය දරන ප්‍රජාව වන අතර අප අර්ථ නිරූපණයට බඳුන් කරන්නේ, තර්ක ගොඩනගමින් විශ්ලේෂණයට උත්සාහ කරන්නේ එම ඉතිහාසය යි. බොහෝ විට "ම්ලේච්ඡ" හෝ "ප්‍රාථමික" වැනි අරුත්වලින් හඳුනා-ගන්නා ජන කොටස් සංජානනය වන්නේ ඉතිහාසයක් රහිත ජනයා ලෙසිනි. මේ අනුව මේ ඉතිහාසය අපට හඳුනා-ගත හැක්කේ "මහා ඉතිහාසය" (great history) ලෙසින් මිස ඉතිහාසය ලෙසින් නො වේ. මේ අනුව සිංහල ජනවාර්ගිකයන් ගේ ඉතිහාසය විජයාවතරණය පිළිබඳ ව අර්ධ-සත්‍යයමය පුරාවෘත්තයෙන් ආරැඹෙන විට, එහි වාර්ථාකරණය සිදුකරන මහාවංසය කුවේණිය ගේ දරුදෙදෙනා ගෙන් වැදි ජනයා පැවතෙන බවට වූ වෑහිවාරී තහංචිය බිඳීම ද ඇතුළත් කළ ප්‍රවාදයක් ඔස්සේ ගොඩ නගයි. ලිබිත බසක් නොපවතින ජන කොටසක ඉතිහාසය ලිබිත ඉතිහාසයක් ගොඩ නඟු අධිපති ඇස ඔස්සේ සිදුකරන හඳුනා-ගැනීම මේ ආකාර වේ. ඒ තුළ ගම්‍ය වන මූලික අදහස් කිහිපයක් ඇත. ගණනාත් ඔබේසේකර (2007) දක්වන ආකාරයට ඒ තුළ වැදි ජනයා හා සිංහලයන් අතර බන්ධුත්වයක් ද-වෙන් කිරීමක් ද එක විට හඟවයි. බෞද්ධ වීමට අවශ්‍ය මාංස අනුභවයෙන් තොරවීමේ "පාපයෙන්" ගැලවිගත නොහැකි වූ වැද්දන්, වඩා කෘෂිකාර්මික සහයාත්ත්වයකට සංක්‍රමණය වෙමින් සිටි, බෞද්ධ වීමට අවශ්‍ය "නිර්ණායක" සපුරාලමින් සිටි ජනයා විසින් "අනෙකා" ලෙස නිර්මාණය කිරීම මේ ආකාරයෙන් සිදු විය. පුරාවිද්‍යාත්මක ක්ෂේත්‍රයේ අද වන විට සිදු කෙරෙමින් පවතින පර්යේෂණ හා අනාවරණය කර පවතින දත්ත අනුව ලංකාව විජයාවතරණ පුරාවෘත්තයට වඩා ගැඹුරට යන මිනිස් වාසය පිළිබඳ අතීතයකට හිමිකම් කියන බව විවාදාපන්න නො වේ. විජයාවතරණ පුරාවෘත්තය ම ඉඟි කරන්නේ ඉන්දියානු සංක්‍රමණයන්ට පෙර සිට ම ආදිවාසී ජන කොටස් ලංකාවේ විසූ බව යි. එසේ ම එකී මානවයන් හා වැදි ජනයා අතර සබැඳියාවක් පැවතීමේ ඉඩකඩ අනිවාර්ය කාරණයකි.

බංග්ලාදේශ ගෝත්‍රික ප්‍රජාවන් ආශ්‍රිත ව සිදු කළ සිය අධ්‍යයනයන් ඔස්සේ Sumon (2005) අවධාරණය කරන්නේ ගෝත්‍රික ප්‍රජාවන් ප්‍රාදේශීය වෙළඳ ජාලයන්ට සම්බන්ධ වීම හෝ ආර්ථික හා පාරිසරික කොන්දේසිවලට අනුවර්තනය වීම සිදු ව ඇති බව යි. ලංකාව ගත් විට ද වැදි ජනයා කුල වැඩවසම් ක්‍රමය තුළ ඒ හා සම්බන්ධ ආර්ථික කාර්යයන්ට සම්බන්ධ වී සිටි බව ප්‍රකට කාරණයකි. ඒ අනුව උඩරට රාජධානිය සමයේ දී ඔවුහු රජු ගේ හමුදාවේ අත්‍යවශ්‍ය "රෙජ්මේන්තුවක්" ලෙස කටයුතු කළහ. මෙම පත්‍රිකාව මගින් අවධාරණයට උත්සාහ කරන කාරණය වන්නේ වැදි ජනයා ඓතිහාසික සිංහල ඇස තුළ ඒකාබද්ධතාවක් මෙන් ම විභේදනයක් ද දක්වන නමුත්, ඔවුන් අස්පර්ශනීය හෝ පහත් ස්ථානයක හැඳින නොගත් බව යි. අද ද "වැද්දා" යන භාෂිතය තුළ සිංහල ජනවාර්ගිකත්වය වෙත සන්නිවේදනය කරන හැඟවුම වන්නේ "ප්‍රාථමික"-"වනගත" යන අර්ථ මිස පහත් යන්න නො වේ. "වැද්දෙක් වගේ" යනුවෙන් සිංහල සමාජය තුළ නූතනයේ ව්‍යවහාර වන්නේ අපිළිවෙළ හෝ නොදියුණු බව මිස "පහත් බව" නො වේ. Rayan (1953) දක්වන ආකාරයට සිංහලයන්, ඕනෑ ම අයකු සිය කුල ධුරාවලිය තුළ යම් කිසි ස්ථානයක තබා සිංහල සමාජය තුළට වැද්ද ගැනීම සිදු කරයි. මේ අනුව වැදි ජනයා ඔවුන් සිය කුල ධුරාවලියේ ඉහළ ම තලය ලෙස හැඳින-ගන්නා ගොවිගම කුලය හා සමාන්තර තලයක හැඳින-ගන්නා බව රයන් සඳහන් කරයි. නූතනයේ මුල් කාලීන වකවානුවල දී දකුණු ඉන්දියාවෙන් ලංකාවේ වෙරළ බඩ තීරයට සංක්‍රමණිත ජනයා සමාග්‍රහණය කර ගැන්ම ද (බෙෂ්ර්ටි 2007, Roberts 1979) "සිහලකරණය" පිළිබඳ තවත් උදාහරණ වේ. වැදි ජනයා මහියංගන පෙරහර අවස්ථාවට සහභාගි වන අතර වැදි පෙරහර එම පෙරහැරේ සාම්ප්‍රදායික අංගයක් ලෙස අද දක්වා පවතියි. එසේ ම වැදි නායකයා ඇතුළ පිරිස දළදා මාලිගාව වෙත සිදු කරන අභිචාරාත්මක අංගයන් ද ප්‍රකට ය. මෙම අභිචාරාත්මක අංග රජු, ආගම හා සිංහල අධිපති සංස්කෘතිය සමග වැදි ජනයා ගේ අන්තර් ක්‍රියාවන් සංකේතාත්මක දිශානතියකින් දක්වයි.

රොඩී ප්‍රජාව

රොඩී ප්‍රජාව ලංකාවේ අස්පර්ශනීය සමාජ කණ්ඩායමකි. අස්පර්ශනීයත්වය පිළිබඳ එතරම් සඳහනක් මුල් කාලීන දේශීය ලේඛනවල හමු නො වේ. රොඩී ප්‍රජාව කුල කණ්ඩායමක් ද, එසේත් නැතිනම් ගෝත්‍රික ජන කොටසක්ද යන්න ගැටලුවක් ලෙස හමුවන්නකි. ජනවංශය හා නීති නිසණ්ඩුව (1998 - හරිශ්චන්ද්‍ර විජයතුංග සංස්කරණය) යන මෑත ඉතිහාසයට අයත් ඓතිහාසික ලේඛනවල රොඩී ප්‍රජාව පිළිබඳ ව සඳහන් වන අතර එම ලේඛන ඔස්සේ මෙම ප්‍රජාවෝ කුල ධුරාවලිය තුළ ස්ථාපිත ය. නැවතත් රයන් වෙත (1953) යොමු වීමට මෙහි දී සිදු වේ. එනම්, සිංහල සමාජය ඕනෑ ම ප්‍රජාවක් හඳුනාගත්තේ කුල ධුරාවලිය තුළ යම් ස්ථානයක ස්ථාපිත කිරීමෙන් බව යි. එසේම සමාජීය සංජානනය සිංහල කුලයක් ලෙස හැඳින-ගැනීමක් නම් වඩා වැදගත් වන්නේ එය යි. තවත් වැදගත් කාරණයක් වන්නේ ලංකාව තුළ හැඳිනගත හැකි එක ම අස්පර්ශනීය කුලය රොඩී ප්‍රජාව බව යි. එසේ ම ලංකාව තුළ කුල සවිඥානකත්වය හා අස්පර්ශනීයත්වය පිළිබඳ අදහස් වර්ධනය සඳහා ඉන්දියානු මහා සම්ප්‍රදායේ බලපෑම ප්‍රබල ය. මේ අනුව අස්පර්ශනීයත්වය පිළිබඳව වඩා තියුණු හැඳින-ගැනීමකට නම් ඉන්දියානු මහා සම්ප්‍රදාය තුළ ක්‍රියාත්මක අස්පර්ශනීයත්වය පිළිබඳ තත්ත්වය විමසා බැලිය යුතු වේ. අස්පර්ශනීයත්වයේ චූල සම්ප්‍රදායක් ලෙස හැඳින ගත හැකි ලංකාවේ අස්පර්ශනීයත්වය පිළිබඳ අදහස ග්‍රහණය

කරගත හැකි වන්නේ ඒ ඔස්සේ ය. ඉන්දියාවේ Dalits පමණක් නොව ජපානයේ Burakumin, නයිජීරියාවේ ඩීම සහ Igbo, සෙනගලයේ Wolofyd තවත් අප්‍රිකානු ගෝත්‍ර යසක් රොඩී ප්‍රජාව හා සමාන සමාජීය කොන් කිරීමකට, ගැරහුමකට මුහුණ දෙති. මිලියන 150 ක් පමණ ජනතාවක් අදත් ඉන්දියාවේ අස්පර්ශනියත්වයේ සෙවණැල්ල යට දිවි ගෙවයි (Mendelsoh 1998). ක්‍රිස්තු පූර්ව දසවන සියවසේ දී රචිත ව්‍රාසන සංහිතාවේ වර්ණෝලා හා පවුල්කස යන වචන හමු වන නමුත් එහි ඔවුන් අස්පර්ශනීය බව හැඳින ගත නොහැක. ක්‍රි.පූ අටවන සියවසේ රචිත චාන්දෝග්‍ය උපනිෂදය ඔවුන් අස්පර්ශනීයයන් බව පැහැදිලිව සඳහන් කරයි. ගෞතම බුදුන් දක්වන්නේ ඔවුන් ආගමක් රහිත හෝ ධර්මහීන පුද්ගලයන් බව යි. ක්‍රි.පූ දෙවන සියවස හා ක්‍රි.ව දෙවන සියවස අතර රචනා වූ මනුස්මෘතිය ඔවුන් ගම්මානයෙන් පිටත විසිය යුතු බව දක්වයි. අස්පර්ශනීයයන් හැඳින්වීමට යොදන "ඩැලිට්" යන්න (මෙහි තේරුම පීඩිත යන්න යි) යටත් විජිත සමයේ දී භාවිතයට ආවකි. දෙවියන් ගේ-මිනිසුන් යන අර්ථ දරන "හරිජන්" යන වදන මහත්මා ගාන්ධි ගේ හඳුන්වා දීමකි.

ඉන්දියානු මහා සංස්කෘතියේ පර්යන්තයේ පැවති ලංකාව මෙම මහා සම්ප්‍රදායේ අනුභාවය ලත් බව නිසැකය. ඉන්දියානු සබඳතා වඩාත් කිට්ටුතර ව පැවති උඩරට රාජධානි සමයේ දී රොඩී ජනයා ගේ අස්පර්ශනීය භාවය වර්ධනය වී ඇත. ඒ අනුව විශාල ඉඩම් රජු සන්තකයට ගැනීම, වෙළඳාම් කටයුතු, ලිංවලින් ජලය ලබා ගැනීම, කාන්තාවන්ට උඩුකය ආවරණය තහනම් කිරීම, බෞද්ධාගමික වන නමුත් ආගමිකස්ථානයන්ට ඇතුළු වීම තහනම් වීම ආදී තහංචි රැසක් ඒ තුළ වර්ධනය විය. රොබර්ට් නොක්ස් සඳහන් කරන මොවුන් ගේ ජන වර්ධනය පාලනය සඳහා රජු ඔවුන් කොටසක් වෙඩි තබා ඝාතනයට නියෝග දුන් අවස්ථාවන් ඔස්සේ ගම්‍ය වන්නේ මොවුන් අනවශ්‍ය ජන කණ්ඩායමක් ලෙස සැලකුණු බවයි. එසේ ම මෙම කුලය වෙත පිටමං කිරීම මරණීය දණ්ඩනයටත් වඩා පීඩිත දණ්ඩනයක් ලෙස සමාජය පිළිගත් බව පෙනේ. මන්ද මෙම ප්‍රජාවට නියමිත "කුල සේවාව" වූයේ පූජා විධිගත සිඟමන වූ බැවිනි. ඉහළ කුල ඉතිරි කරන ආහාර වැළඳීම ද තවෙකකි.
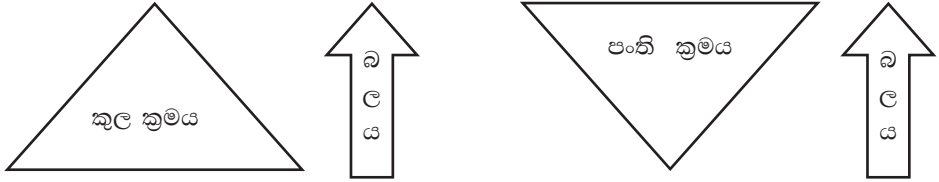
අනන්‍යතාව රැකගැනීම හා අනන්‍යතාහරණය

කෙසේ නමුත් පැහැදිලි කර ගැනීමට අපහසු කාරණය වන්නේ වැදි ප්‍රජාව හා රොඩී ප්‍රජාව සිංහල සමාජයේ අන්ත ද්වයක ස්ථාපිත වූයේ ඇයි ද යන්න යි. කුල ක්‍රමය පාදක වන්නේ කුඩා කණ්ඩායම් වෙත අඩු බලය ද, විශාල ප්‍රජාව වෙත වැඩි බලය හා ආධිපත්‍ය ද හිමි කරදෙමිනි. එය නිෂ්පාදන බලවේගයන් ගේ වර්ධනයට සාපේක්ෂ මෙන් ම ආසියානු නිෂ්පාදන ප්‍රකාරය හා ද සම්බන්ධ වේ. මෙම සමාජයන් ගේ නිෂ්පාදන බලවේගයන් ගේ වර්ධනයට සාපේක්ෂ ව ගොඩ නැගිය හැකි ව තුබූ සමාජය කුල වැඩවසම් එකක් වූ අතර ඒ තුළ කුල අසමානතාව නඩත්තුව සඳහා රොඩී ජනයා භාවිත වූ බව පෙනේ. රජු සම්ප්‍රදායන් හඳුන්වා දුන් අතර, ඒකී සම්ප්‍රදාය කුල ක්‍රමයේ අඛණ්ඩ පැවැත්ම හා තදින් බද්ධ විය. මේ

අනුව කුල විභේදනයන් වඩා තීව්‍ර කිරීමට රොඩී ජනයා භාවිත වීම නිරීක්ෂණය කළ හැක. ඔවුන් වෙත පනවා තුබූ තහංචි තුළ ඔවුන් ඉතා කුඩා තීරුවක් බවත්, නාස්තිකාරී ලෙස වැය කළ හැකි සැලකිය යුතු අතිරික්තයක් නිර්මාණය නොවන සමාජයකට බරක් නොවූ තීරුවක් බවත් පෙනී-යයි. මේ අනුව සිඟාකෑම වෘත්තිය ලෙස නියම වූ ජන තීරුවක් රජු, ප්‍රභුන් හා ආගමික පූජක පක්ෂයට අමතර ව නඩත්තු කිරීමට මහජනයාට සම්ප්‍රදාය විසින් නියම කර තිබිණි. කෙසේ නමුත් මෙම විස්තරාත්මක නිරීක්ෂණයන් මගින් වැදි ජනයා හා රොඩී ප්‍රජාව අන්තයන් ද්වයක ස්ථාපිත වීම සොයාගත නොහැක. මන්ද මෑත යුගවල දකිනුයේ වැදි ජනයා ද පරිවාරයේ වෙසෙන සංඛ්‍යාත්මක ව සුළුතර ජනතාවක් බවයි. එසේ නම් වැදි ජනයා කුල ධුරාවලියේ ඉහළ මට්ටමක තබා හඳුනා-ගැනීම සිදු විය නොහැක. එහෙත් සමාජ සංජානනය එසේ විය. එසේ නම් පහළ මට්ටමේ පිරිස් බලයක් පවතින කණ්ඩායම් දෙකකින් එකක් කුල නිර්මිතයේ ඉහළ එසවී තිබීම සඳහා හේතු පැවතිය යුතු වේ. අනෙක් කාරණය මෙය කුල ක්‍රමයේ සාමාන්‍ය මූලධර්මයන්ට එකඟ නොවන්නක් වීම යි. මෙයට ඇති කරගත හැකි උපන්‍යාසය වන්නේ වැදි ජනයා එක් කලකදී ඉතා විශාල පිරිස් බලයක් ඇති ව සිටි කණ්ඩායමක් බව යි. ඔවුන් පසු ව සිංහල සමාජයට අවශෝෂිත බව ඔබේසේකර දක්වයි (2007). රොඩී ජන ප්‍රභවය පිළිබඳ පුරාවෘත්තයන්හි දැක්වෙන්නේ ඔවුන් මිනිස් මාංස ලෝල් වූ රත්නවල්ලි නැමැති සිංහල රජකුගේ දියණියකුන් බවත් රජු විසින් මිනිස් මාංස අනුභවය මත එයට දඬුවමක් ලෙස ඇය කසළ ශෝධකයකුට සරණ පාවා දී සාමාන්‍ය සමාජයෙන් පලවා හරිනු ලැබූ අතර, ඔවුන් ගෙන් මෙම කුලය සම්භවය වූ බවත් ය. මෙම සම්භවයට අදාළ ජන කවි ද රොඩී ජන සාහිත්‍යයෙහි අන්තර්ගත ය.

මෙම ආඛ්‍යානයන් විවිධාකාර ව වැහැරෙන නමුත් මේවායේ මූලික අන්තර්ගතය ඒකමතික වේ. මෙකී ප්‍රබන්ධවල කාරණා කිහිපයකට අදාළ ඉඟි අන්තර්ගත ය. එනම්, ඉතා ප්‍රාථමික ගෝත්‍රික නැමියාවක් වූ ස්ව-මාංසානුභවය හා "අශුද්ධ" මිනිසකු සමග ශුද්ධ ගැහැණියක ගේ එක්තුව වඩාත් අශුද්ධ යන්න යි. මෙම ප්‍රජාවේ මුල් අවස්ථාවන් වැදි ජනයා මෙන් ගෝත්‍රික වූ බවට දක්වන අර්ථ කථනයන් මෙම සම්භවය පිළිබඳ කතා මත තදින් ම එල්බගෙන ඇත. මෙම ආඛ්‍යානයන් මූලික ලෙස අධිපති සංස්කෘතියේ නිර්මාණයන් වීමේ ඉඩකඩ වඩාත් ඉහළ ය. ඒවායේ එන සමහර නිර්මාණාත්මක හා අභිමානයන් අන්තර්ගත (තමන් රත්නවල්ලි කුමරිය ගෙන් පැවතෙන බව වඩාත් විස්තරාත්මකව ඉදිරිපත් කිරීම ආදී) අතුරු විස්තර රොඩී ජනයා අතින් නිර්මාණය වන්නට ඇත. ඒවා තුළ ද වැදි සමාජයේ දී මෙන් ප්‍රධාන ධාරාවට සම්බන්ධ කරගැනීම හා බැහැර කිරීම එක විට ස්ථාපිත ව ඇත. එය ස්ථාපිත වන්නේ වැදි සමාජයට ප්‍රතිමුඛ ව රොඩී ප්‍රජාවට සමාජ ස්තරායනයේ පහළ ම මට්ටම ද හිමිකර දෙමිනි. මෙම ආඛ්‍යානවල විස්තර කෙරෙන කාල වකවානුව වැදි ජනයා ගේ සම්භවය පිළිබඳ ව ඉදිරිපත් කෙරෙන ආඛ්‍යානයන්ට වඩා මෑතකාලීන වේ. වැදි ජනයා මහාවංසය විසින් ආරම්භයේ දී ම සිංහල සමාජය හා සම්බන්ධ කිරීම එකල වැදි ජනයා ප්‍රමාණාත්මක විශාල හා සිංහල සමාජයට මුහුණට මුහුණලා සිටීමට ශක්තියක් සහිත ව සිටි සමාජයක් බවට සාක්ෂි වේ. එහෙත් රොඩී ජනයා එම මහා ආඛ්‍යාන මගින් විස්තර නොකෙරෙන අතර සමහර විටෙක ඒකී ජනයා වෙත මූල්කාලීන ව පසුකාලීන ව මෙන් පීඩනයන් නොතිබුණා වන්නට ද ඇත. මස් බුදින්නන් බෞද්ධ-කෘෂිකාර්මික පරිසරයට අන්තර්ග්‍රහණය වීම අභිචාරයන් හා ඓතිහාසික ආඛ්‍යාන ඔස්සේ වක්‍ර ව සිදු වන විට මිනී මස් බුදින්නන් පෝරිසාද ආඛ්‍යාන ඔස්සේ සමාජීය පතුල වෙත ස්ථාපිත

කරනු ලැබිණි. ඔවුන් ගේ නම්-ගම්වල සිට අනෙකුත් සංස්කෘතික අංග බොහෝවක් පොදු සමාජයෙන් බොහෝ දුරට වෙනස් විය. ඔවුන් විසූ ගම්මානය කුප්පායම[3] වූ අතර එය හුදකලා ජනපදයක් විය. ගෙය වෙනුවට දුමන යනුවෙන් ද, නායකයා හුලවාලී ලෙස ද ව්‍යාවහාරිත ය. මොවුහු බහිර්ජන විවාහ ආකෘතියක් අනුගමනය කළහ. මෙය රාසවන් දක්වන්නේ ඔවුන් ගෝත්‍රිකයන් ලෙස දිවිගෙවූ කාලයේ පැවති සාම්ප්‍රදායික සංස්ථාවක ශේෂයක් ලෙසිනි. වැදි ජනයා අතර ද මෙවැනි නායකත්වයක් වඩා "ප්‍රෞඩ" ආමන්ත්‍රණ සහිත ව ව්‍යාවහාරයේ පවතී. එසේ ම රොඩී ජනයා සිංහල බසෙහි ම උපවර්ගයක් ලෙස සැලකිය හැකි භාෂාවක් ව්‍යාවහාර කරති. මෙම තත්ත්වය අධිපති සංස්කෘතීන් තුළ මිරිකී දිවි ගෙවන නූතන ප්‍රජාවන් අතර ද නිරීක්ෂිත ය. උදාහරණ ලෙස බ්‍රිතාන්‍යයේ වෙසෙන කලු ජාතිකයන් ගේ ගැටවර පරම්පරාව කථන ඉංග්‍රීසි භාෂාවේ විවිධත්වයක් නිපදවා ගෙන පැවතීම පෙන්වා-දිය හැක.

ලංකාව වැනි කුඩා බිම් පෙදෙසක් තුළ මෙවැනි ජන විවිධත්වයක් නිර්මාණය විය හැකි ද යන්නද පැන-නැගිය හැකි ගැටලුවකි. ලංකාව කුඩා රටක්, එක් දිනකින් එක් අන්තයක සිට අනෙක් අන්තයට ගමන් කළ හැකි රටක් ලෙස සංජානනය වන්නේ නූතනයට සාපේක්ෂ ව යි. අප නූතන සිතීම ඉවත ලා සිතීම ආරම්භ කළ හොත් පුරාණ ලංකාව විවිධත්වයකින් යුත් භූගෝලීය ස්කන්ධයකි. එය තරණයට අපහසු කඳුකරයකින් හා සන වනාන්තර සහිත තැනිතලා භූමි ප්‍රදේශයකින් ද, අඩ තැන්නකින් ද යුතු විය. මේ අනුව භූගෝලීය වෙන් කිරීම මත වැදි ජනයා හා රොඩී ජනයා ලෙස ගෝත්‍රික අනන්‍යතාවන් හා ප්‍රාදේශීය අනන්‍යතාවන් වර්ධනය වීමේ හැකියාව බැහැර කළ නොහැක. ඒ කෙසේ වෙතත් රොඩී ජනයා ගේ පැවැත්ම පිළිබඳ ඉඟි අප වෙත ලැබෙන්නේ මෑත සියවස් වල දී ය. එය ඉන්දියාවේ අස්පර්ශනීයත්වය පිළිබඳ අදහස තීව්තර වන මෑත ඉතිහාසයට සමාන්තර ය. මේ අනුව සිංහල සමාජයේ දුරස්ථර අන්තයක දිවි ගෙවූ ජනතාවකට ඉන්දියානු අස්පර්ශනීයත්වය පිළිබඳ සම්ප්‍රදායන් ආදේශ කොට සිංහල සමාජය සමග ඔවුන් ගේ ඒකාබද්ධතාවය අධිපති සම්ප්‍රදාය විසින් නිර්මාණය කරන ලද්දා යි යන උපන්‍යාසය ද මේ අනුව බැහැර කළ නොහැක.

ලංකාවේ දී කුල පීඩනයට එරෙහි ව යම් මැදිහත් වීමක් සිදු කරන්නේ ධනේශ්වර ප්‍රගුප්තය නො ව වාමාංශික ව්‍යාපාරය යි. සංවිධිත ධනේශ්වර දේශපාලනයට පෙර ම ලංකාව තුළ සංවිහිත වාමාංශය ලංකා සම සමාජ පක්ෂය ලෙස බිහි විය. ලංකාවේ ධනේශ්වර පන්තිය අරක්කු ව්‍යාපාර මතින් ඉදිරියට පැමිණි, යුරෝපිය රටවල දී මෙන් ප්‍රගතිශීලි කාර්ය භාරයක් සිය ආරම්භයේ සිට ම ඉටු නොකළ පන්තියකි. එය කුල ක්‍රමයේ මානසික නටබුන් ආරක්ෂා කළා මෙන් ම ඒ මත තම දේශපාලනය ද පිහිටුවා-ගත්තේ ය. ඔවුන් "නිදහස" ඔස්සේ බලයට පැමිණි විට කළේ සිය ප්‍රතිවාදි "ජනවාර්ගික" අනෙකා බැහැර කිරීම යි. මේ අනුව දෙමළ "අනෙකා" බැහැර කළ අතර ඒ සඳහා සමාජගත ව පැවතී කුලවාදී අසමානතාවන් පිළිබඳ හුරු පුරුදු ද භාවිත වූ බව පෙනේ. සංඛ්‍යාත්මක ව කුඩා අනෙකා බැහැර කිරීම පිණිස සිංහල ධනේශ්වරය සිංහල භාෂාව, සිංහල ලෙස ජනවාර්ගිකත්වයක් ඒකාබද්ධ කිරීමට භාවිත කරන විට දෙමළ ධනේශ්වරය එයට නොදෙවැනි ලෙස "දෙමළ" බස සිය වාර්ගික අනන්‍යතා සාධනයේ හා වාර්ගික විශේෂණ සඳහා භාවිත කළේ ය. බහුවිධ බෙදීම් මත (ජනවාර්ගිකත්වය, පන්තිය හා කුලය ආදී) සමාජය සංවිධානයට මිස

_____
3   කුප්පායම යන්න පහළ කුලවල ජනාවාසයන්ට තමිල්නාඩුවේ ද ව්‍යාවහාර වන පදයයි.

මිනිසුන් අතර ඒකාබද්ධතාවක් ගොඩ නැගීමට මොවුන් මැදහත් වූයේ නැත. මේ නිසා පොදු සතුරා වූ අධිරාජ්‍යවාදියාට එරෙහි ව ඉන්දියාවේ දී සිදුවූ ගාන්ධි පන්නයේ අරගලයක් හා සමාජය සංවිධානගත කිරීමක් ලංකාවේදී සිදු නොවුණි. ධනේශ්වර ප්‍රභූත්වය ඉටු නොකළ මෙම කාරණය සඳහා යම් මට්ටමකින් හෝ දායක වූයේ සම සමාජ පක්ෂය යි. ඔවුහු කුල පදනම සඳහා යම් අභියෝගාත්මක කාර්යයන් ඉටු කළහ. මේ අනුව කුල පදනම මත පමණක් දේශපාලන බලය සඳහා ප්‍රවේශ විය හැකි ව තුබූ සමහර ස්ථානවල කුල පදනම රහිත අපේක්ෂකයින් බලයට පැමිණීම දැකගත හැක. එසේ වුවත් සමසමාජ පක්ෂය ද කුල සාධකය පිළිබඳ ව හා එහි පවතී පීඩනමය සාධකය පිළිබඳව එතරම් දැ�ත්තර තැකීමක් නොකළ බව පෙනේ. ඔවුන් සැලකුවේ සමාජීය වර්ධනය හා සමාජ විපර්යාස මත සංකල්පීය තලයේ පමණක් ජීවත් වූ කුල ස්ථරායනය විනැකී යනු ඇති බව යි. ඔවුන් ගේ සටන්පාඨවලට ප්‍රබල ලෙස මෙම පීඩනය ආරෝපණය නොවීමට මෙය හේතු විය. පන්තිමය සමාජ වෙනස්කම් පිළිබඳව ගැඹුරින් විග්‍රහ කළ ඔවුන් කුලමය පීඩනය දෙස යොමු කළේ අඩු අවධානයකි. එහෙත් ඒ වන විටත් කුල පීඩනය සමාජය තුළ විශාල ලෙස පැවතිණි. අද වන විට වයස හැට ගණන්වල පසුවන පරම්පරාව සිය මතකයන් අවදි කරන්නේ නම් ඔවුන් ගේ තරුණ වියේදී සමහර පීඩිත කුලවලට තමන් කැමති නාමයක් තම දරුවන්ට තැබීමට බිම් මට්ටමට සම්බන්ධ වන ඇතැම් ප්‍රධාන රාජ්‍ය නිලධාරීහු අවසර නොදුන් බව මතකයට නැගෙනු ඇත. දරුවන් සඳහා තමන් සාදාගෙන යන නම් වෙනුවට ඔවුහු ඉතා අවලස්සන හා අවමන් සහගත නම් තැබුමට යොමු වූහ.

මේ අනුව සමහර කුල කණ්ඩායම්වල වැඩිහිටි පරම්පරාවල අද ද මෙම නාමයන් පවතිනු නිරීක්ෂණය කළ හැක. අස්පර්ශනීය නොවූ කුල සඳහා පැවතී පීඩනය මේසේ නම් අස්පර්ශනීය ලෙස සැලකෙන රොඩී ප්‍රජාව අත්දුටු පීඩනය කෙතරම් වන්නට ඇත්ද? ඔවුන් බොහෝ මිනිස් අයිතීන් ගෙන් වියෝ කරනු ලැබ පැවතී අතර එම පීඩනයන් විනැකී යමින් තිබෙනුයේ ඉතා සෙමින් ය. මෙම තත්ත්වයට එරෙහි ප්‍රතිචාර ඉන්දියාවේදී මෙන් ලංකාවේ මෙම ප්‍රජාව අතරින් ද පැන නොනැගීමට එක හේතුවක් ලෙස ඔවුන් සුළු ජනගහනයක් සහිත ප්‍රජාවක් වීම හැදිනගත හැක. ඉන්දියාවේ දී මෙම ප්‍රජාව සැහෙන පිරිස් බලයක් සහිත වන අතර ගාන්ධි ඇතුළු ඉන්දියානු පුරෝගාමීන් ගේ දාර්ශනික පිටුබලය ද, ඉන්දියානු වාමාංශික ව්‍යාපාරයේ මැදහත්වීම් ද මෙම ව්‍යාපාර සඳහා ඓතිහාසික පදනම් සපයා ඇත. මේ නිසා ඉන්දියාවේ දී අනන්‍යතාව ඔස්සේ සටන් කිරීම අස්පර්ශනීය ප්‍රජාවන් තුළ දැල්වෙන විට ලංකාවේ දී අනන්‍යතාහරණය දැකගත හැක. අනන්‍යතාහරණයේ එක් මාදිලියක් වන්නේ පෙළපත් නාමය වෙනස් කිරීම යි. පුවත් පත් දැන්වීම් ඔස්සේ මෙසේ පෙළපත් නාම වෙනස් කිරීම සුලභ දසුනකි. මෙම තත්ත්වය "පහත්" ය යි සම්මත කුල කණ්ඩායම් අතර සුලභ සංසිද්ධියකි. මේ අනුව මෙම පත්‍රිකාවට පාදක වන අධ්‍යයනය සඳහා වැදි ප්‍රජාව වෙත අවධානය යොමු කරන විට ඔවුන් තමන් වැද්දන් බව සගවන්නේ නැත. එය ආදිවාසිකත්වය, අධිපති ජන කණ්ඩායම්වලට වඩා ඇති ඓතිහාසික අබණ්ඩතාව, සංචාරක කර්මාන්තය හා පාරිසරික සංරක්ෂණය ආදී නව සංකල්ප සමග පවතින බැඳීම, පුරාවිද්‍යාත්මක හා සමාජ හා මානවවිද්‍යාත්මක ගවේෂණයන්ට නිරාවරණය වීමේ මතු නො ව වෛද්‍යවිද්‍යාත්මක හා අනෙකුත් ස්වාභාවික විද්‍යාවන් ගේ ඇස යොමු වීම තුළ ලැබී ඇති සංකේතීය වටිනාකම, මේ සියල්ලට මත් වඩා සිංහල කුල නිර්මිතය තුළ ඉහළ තලයක එසවී පැවතීම යන සාධක මත පාදක වී ඇත. සාපේක්ෂ ව බලන විට විශාල සාහිත්‍යයක් හා පුරාවිද්‍යාත්මක අවධානයක් වැද්දන් සඳහා පවතී. එය මුද්‍රිත මාධ්‍යයේ සිට

අන්තර්ජාලය දක්වා විහිදි සංරක්ෂිත ය. ඔවුන් ගේ සංස්කෘතිකාංග ශ්‍රව්‍ය දෘශ්‍ය මාධ්‍යයෙන් සංරක්ෂිත ය. කෞතුකාගාර තුළ ප්‍රධාන ස්ථානයක් වැද්දන් අත්පත් කරගෙන ඇත. ඔවුන් පිළිබඳ අධ්‍යයනයන් විශ්වවිද්‍යාලවල සමාජවිද්‍යා පාඨමාලා හා පර්යේෂණ මධ්‍යස්ථාන වල සිදු වේ. ඔවුන් ඔවුන් ගේ සංස්කෘතිය පිළිබඳ විධිමත් සංවිධාන පද්ධතීන් ද ගොඩනඟා තිබේ. දඹානේ පිහිටි ආදිවාසී ජන උරුම කේන්ද්‍රය මෙයට උදාහරණයකි. මේ සියල්ල මත වැදි ජනයා ගේ සවිඥානකත්වය අනන්‍යතා සංරක්ෂණය සමඟ සමපාතිත ය.

එහෙත් රොඩී ප්‍රජාව ගත හොත්, මෙම අධ්‍යයනයේ දී අවධානය යොමු කළ බලංගොඩ ප්‍රදේශය ආශ්‍රිත ව ජීවත් වන මෙම ප්‍රජාවන් තුළට රොඩී අනන්‍යතාව හැඳෑරීම යන ප්‍රවේශයෙන් පිවිසීම අතිශය දුෂ්කර වේ. වැඩිහිටි පරම්පරාව තමන් රත්නවල්ලි ගේ පරපුරෙන් පැවතෙන බව ආඩම්බරයෙන් කියන විට තරුණ පරම්පරාව සිය මූලයන් පිළිබඳ ආඛ්‍යාන සම්බන්ධයෙන් නිහඬ ය. සිය කුල පසුබිම සම්බන්ධයෙන් නිහඬ ය. කුල පසුබිම ලාංකික සමාජයේ නිහඬ ප්‍රපඤ්චයක් බවට, කුල සංවරකයේ ඓතිහාසික ආකෘතිය කුලය පිළිබඳ උද්ධුතලයේ කතිකාවක් රහිත වීම බවට මෙහි දී තර්ක කළ හැකි නමුත් මෙම නිහඬ බව අනන්‍යතාහරණයේ නිහඬතාව බව පැහැදිලි ය. මෙම ජනපදයන්හි අන්තඃකුල මෙන් ම අන්තර් ජනවාර්ගික මිශ්‍රණයන් ද යම් මට්ටමකින් දැකගත හැක. එසේ ම තිරස් චලනය ද යම් ප්‍රමාණයන් ගෙන් සිදුවී ඇත. ගුරු වෘත්තිකයන් හා වෙනත් රාජ්‍ය සේවකයෝ ද කලාතුරකින් හමුවෙති. එහෙත් පොදුවේ මෙම සමාජ දරිද්‍රතාවෙහි ගිලී ඇත. ඔවුන් සිය දරුවන් ඇතුළත් කර ඇත්තේ තෝරාගත් පාසල්වලට ය. වෙනත් පාසල් සඳහා දරුවන් යොමු කිරීමට ඔවුහු මැලි වෙති. මන්ද, සමාජීය කොන් කිරීම තව මත් පවතින හෙයිනි. මේ නිසා මෙම ප්‍රජාවන් ක්ෂය වෙමින් පවතින අතර එය අනන්‍යතාහරණයේ තවත් ආකාරයකි. එනම්, සිය අනන්‍යතාවට සම්බන්ධ භූගෝලීය කලාපයෙන් ඉවත් වීම ය. එහෙත් මෙම ප්‍රජාවේ හඳුනාගත හැකි අනන්‍යතා සංකේතයක් ඔවුහු පවත්වාගෙන යති. එනම් නායකත්වය ය. සාම්ප්‍රදායික නායකත්වය පිළිබඳ හැඟීම ඔවුහු අද ද ඉවත් කොට නැති අතර වයෝවෘද්ධ වැඩිහිටියකු සිය හුලවාලිය ලෙස පත්කරගෙන සිටිති. මෙය අනන්‍යතාහරණය හා අනන්‍යතාව පවත්වා-ගැනීම යන ප්‍රපඤ්ච ද්වයෙන් අයත් වන්නේ අනන්‍යතාව පවත්වා-ග නීම යන දිශානතියට ය. කෙසේ වෙතත්, මෙය හඳුනාගත හැකි වන්නේ බාහිර සමාජ පීඩනයන් මත එක් තැනකට කේන්ද්‍රගත ප්‍රජාවක් ලෙස දිවි ගෙවන ජන කණ්ඩායමක් තම ප්‍රජා සංසක්තිය/ඒකාබද්ධතාව උදෙසා සාම්ප්‍රදායික කේන්ද්‍රයක් භාවිත කිරීමක් ලෙසිනි. මෙම තත්ත්වය ම සිංහල ජනවාර්ගිකයන් අතර පවතින කුඩා කුල කණ්ඩායම් අතර ද දැකිය හැක. උදාහරණ ලෙස ගාල්ල දිස්ත්‍රික්කය තුළ කුඩා ජනපදයක් ලෙස සංවිධානිත නවන්දන්නා කුල කණ්ඩායමේ සාමාජිකයන් එම ගම්මානයේ පිහිටි ආගමික කේන්ද්‍රයක දී අවුරුද්ද අවසානයේ පවත්වන දේව පූජාව ඔවුන් ගේ සමාජ ඒකාබද්ධතාව ප්‍රතිනිර්මාණයට භාවිත කරනු නිරීක්ෂණය කළ හැක. මෙම උත්සව අවස්ථාවට විවිධ ප්‍රදේශවලට සංක්‍රමණිත මෙම ප්‍රජාවේ සාමාජිකයන් සහභාගි වනු නිරීක්ෂණය කළ හැක. මේ අනුව කුඩා පරිමාණ ප්‍රජාවන් සිය සමාජ ඒකාබද්ධතාව සඳහා ජීවමාන අංග මෙන් ම අවස්ථා ද (events) යොදාගන්නා බව පෙනේ.

රොඩී ප්‍රජාව ගත හොත් ඔවුන් අතර ද සංරක්ෂණයට බඳුන් කළ යුතු කර්මාන්ත අංග හමු වේ. බටකුඩ, පැදුරු, විවිධ විසිතුරු භාණ්ඩ නිපැයුම ඇතුළ දැ මෙකී පාරම්පරික අංග වේ. එහෙත් වැදි ප්‍රජාවට සාපේක්ෂ ව සිදු වන මෙම අංග පිළිබඳ අවධානය නොගිණිය

හැකි තරම් ය. ඒ තුළ ද ඔවුන්ගේ අනන්‍යතා මූලාශ්‍රය දියවීමට නියමිත ය. ප්‍රජාවක් සිය අනන්‍යතාව ගොඩ නගන්නේ එක ම මූලයකින් පැවතෙන බවට වන පාරම්පරික ආබාහන, අභිචාරවිධි, විවිධ සංස්කෘතිකාංග හා භාෂාව මුසු වීමෙනි. රොඩී ප්‍රජාව මෙම අනන්‍යතා සාධක මග හරිමින් සිටින අතර ඔවුන් වෙත පවතින පීඩනය ඔවුන් අසංස්කෘතිකරණයට බඳුන් කරමින් පවතින බව ද පෙනීයයි. මන්ද මෙම ප්‍රජාව මත් ද්‍රව්‍යවලට වන ඇබ්බැහිවීම හා විවිධ විෂමාචාර ක්‍රියාවන්ට බහුල ව යොමු වීම දක්නට ඇති හෙයිනි.

රොඩී ප්‍රජාව පිළිබඳව කතා කරන විට ජනප්‍රිය සමාජීය සංජානනය වන්නේ ඔවුන්ගේ ස්ත්‍රීන් වෙත උඩුකය ආවරණය තහනම් ව පැවති බව ය. මෙය ඔවුන් වෙත පැවති තහංචිවලින් එකක් පමණක් වුවත් නූතන ඇස තුළ උද්දීපනය වීමට නියමිත වන්නේ මෙම කාරණය ය. එය අධිරාජ්‍යවාදී හුරුවක් වන වික්ටෝරියානු ප්‍රතිපත්තීන් ද, හැඳියාවන් ද සමග වෙළී ඇත. කෙසේ නමුත් උඩුකය නිරාවරණය රොඩී ප්‍රජාව පමණක් නො ව වැදි ජන ස්ත්‍රීන් විෂයයෙහි ද දැකගත හැක. උඩුකය ආවරණය ප්‍රභූත්වයේ මෙවලමක් මිස සාමාන්‍ය ජනයා ගේ අත්‍යවශ්‍ය මෙවලමක් ව පැවත නැත. මේ අනුව පසුගිය සියවසේ ආරම්භය තුළ ද වැදි ප්‍රජාව හා රොඩී ප්‍රජාව යන දෙපිරිස ම උඩුකය නිරුවත්ව ජීවත් ව ඇත. එහෙත් වෙනස පවතින්නේ රොඩී කාන්තාව උඩුකය නිරුවත් ව සිටිය යුතු බවට අධිපති සම්ප්‍රදාය නියෝග කර පැවතීම ය. ඒ කුල වැඩවසම් ක්‍රමයේ විවිධ කුල අරඹයා පැවති තහංචි අතර එක් තහංචියක් වන්නා සේ ම ප්‍රභූත්වයේ මෙවලමක් වන ඇඳවත පිළිබඳ සාධකය අස්පර්ශනීයත්වය ගැඹුරට හුවා දැක්වීමට භාවිත කිරීමකි.

නිගමන

මෙම අධ්‍යයනයට බඳුන් වී ඇති ජනපදවල ප්‍රතිවර්තමාන තත්ත්වය පිළිබඳ ව අවධානය යොමු කරන විට රොඩී ප්‍රජාව සිය අනන්‍යතාව සඟවන බවත් වැදි ප්‍රජාව අනන්‍යතාහරණය වෙනුවට අනන්‍යතා සංරක්ෂණය සිදු කරන බවත් පැහැදිලි ව පෙනී-යයි. රොඩී ප්‍රජාව සිය අනන්‍යතා සාධක බොහෝවක් බැහැර කරද්දී සිය සාම්ප්‍රදායික නායකත්වය තව මත් පවත්වාගෙන යාම විග්‍රහ කිරීම "අසිරු" සංසිද්ධියක් බව පෙනී-යාමට ඉඩ ඇතත්, කුඩා භූමි ප්‍රදේශයකට කේන්ද්‍රගත ව දිවි ගෙවන ප්‍රජාවක් ලෙස සිය සාම්ප්‍රදායික නායකත්වය තව මත් පවත්වාගෙන යාම නිගමනය කළ හැක්කේ අනන්‍යතාව රැක-ගැනීමට වඩා බාහිර සමාජීය පීඩනයට එරෙහි ව සමාජ සංසක්තිය පවත්වා-ග රිණීමට භාවිත කළ උපක්‍රමයක් ලෙසිනි. එනම්, එය ද බාහිර සමාජීය පීඩනයට දැක්වූ ප්‍රතිචාරයකි. කෙසේ වෙතත්, නූතන ඉතිහාසය තුළ සමාන මට්ටමේ ගති ලක්ෂණ දක්වන (එනම්, අඩු ජනගහනය, ගෝත්‍රික මූලයන් පිළිබඳ ඉඟි යනාදී දෑ) සමාජ කොටස් ද්වයක් සමාජ ස්ථරායනයේ අන්ත දෙකක ස්ථාපිත වීමට මෙම ජන කොටස් සිංහල සමාජයේ පර්යන්තය වෙත අන්තර්ග්‍රහණය වූ ඓතිහාසික ආකාරය අනිවාර්යයෙන් ම බලපාන්නට ඇති බව පැහැදිලි ය. විශේෂයෙන් ම කුල ධූරාවලිය තුළ රොඩී ප්‍රජාව පහළ ම මට්ටමක් හිමි කරගැනීමට ඔවුන් අන් කුල කණ්ඩායම්වලට වඩා සංඛ්‍යාත්මක සුළුතරයක් වීම ප්‍රධාන සාධකයක් වශයෙන් බලපාන්නට ඇත. එසේ ම ඔවුන් ගෝත්‍රික සමහවයක් සහිත කොටසක් වුවා නම් වැදි ප්‍රජාවට සාපේක්ෂ ව අවම පිරිස් බලයක් පැවති ජන කොටසක් වන්නට ඇත. මේ අනුව "සිංහලකරණය" හමුවේ සිංහල සමාජය ආන්තික ව ස්පර්ශ කිරීමට මොවුන්ට බල කෙරෙන්නට ඇත. එසේ ම ඔවුන් සංක්‍රමණික ජන කොටසක් වුවා නම් සිංහල සමාජයේ නූතන ඉතිහාසය තුළ සිංහල බවට පත් වූ, කුල

ස්තරායනයේ මධ්‍යම මට්ටමක් හිමි කරගත් වෙරළ, බඩ දකුණු ඉන්දියානු සංක්‍රමණික ජන කොටස්වලට සාපේක්ෂ ව අවම පිරිස් බලයක් ද, අවර්ධිත ශිෂ්ටාචාර පසුබිමකට ද හිමිකම් කියන්නට ඇත. මේ අනුව රොඩී ප්‍රජාව කුල ස්තරායනයේ පහළ ම තලයේ ස්ථාපිත වීම සඳහා අවම පිරිස් බලයක් සහිත වීම, සිංහල සමාජය වෙත පසුකාලීන ව අවශෝෂණය, අධිපති සංස්කෘතියට සාපේක්ෂ පහළ මට්ටමක සංස්කෘතික වර්ධනයක් හිමි කරගෙන සිටීම යන කාරණා පොදු සාධක ලෙස හමු වන බව පෙනේ. කෙසේ වෙතත් රොඩී ජනයා ගේ අස්පර්ශනීයභාවය වර්ධනයට උඩරට රාජධානි සමයේ දකුණු ඉන්දියානු මහා සම්ප්‍රදායේ බලපෑම අනිවාර්යයෙන් හේතු වන්නට ඇත. මන්ද, ලංකාවේ වඩා අතීත ඓතිහාසික ආඛ්‍යාන තුළ අස්පර්ශනීයත්වය පිළිබඳ පඨිතයන් මුණ නොගැසෙන බැවිනි. මේ අනුව අන්ත ද්විත්වයක ස්ථාපිත වීම මත වැදි ජනයා ගේ අනන්‍යතාව විද්‍යුත්, මුද්‍රිත, දෘශ්‍ය, කෞතුකාගාර, අධ්‍යාපනය ආදි මාධ්‍යයන් ද, නිරන්තර සමාජ අවධානය ද ඔස්සේ සංරක්ෂණය හා අඛණ්ඩ පැවැත්මක දිශානතියකට යොමු වන හා අධිපති සංස්කෘතිය විසින් යොමු කරන විට රොඩී ප්‍රජාවට සිය අනන්‍යතාව අත් හැරීම සිදු වෙමින් පවතින බව නිගමනය කළ හැකි වේ.

මෙම හැදෑරීම තුළින් මතු වන අතිරේක නිරීක්ෂණයක් ලෙස දැක්විය හැක්කේ වැඩවසම් සම්ප්‍රදාය තුළ වර්ධිත ව පැවති මෙම පීඩන හුරුපුරුදු පසුකාලීන ව සෙසු ජනවාර්ගික කණ්ඩායම් බැහැර කරලීමේ හුරු පුරුදු දක්වා පරිවර්තනයට අවශ්‍ය "න්‍යායික පිටුබලය" සැපයූ ආකාරයකි. මෙහි දී සිදු වූයේ වෙනස් ජනවාර්ගික අනන්‍යතා තුළ ශක්තිමත් ජාතික රාජ්‍යයක් ගොඩ නැගෙනු වෙනුවට එකිනෙක ජන වර්ගය විසින් අනෙකා බැහැර කරන විකෘති ජාතික රාජ්‍යයක් නිර්මාණය වීම යි.

ආශ්‍රේය ග්‍රන්ථ නාමාවලිය

මුද්‍රිත ග්‍රන්ථ - ඉංග්‍රීසි

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වෙනත් මූලාශ්‍රය
දඹාන ආදිවාසී ජන උරුම කේන්ද්‍රයේ පවතින ආදිවාසීන් පිළිබඳ ලිඛිත හා දෘශ්‍ය ඉදිරිපත් කිරීම්.

යටත් විජීතකරණය සහ බෞද්ධ සැරසිලි කලාව (ක්‍රි.ව.1750-1900)
(Colonization and Decorative Motifs of Buddhist Art -1750-1900 A.D.)

ජේ.ඒ.වී.එන්. ජයතිලක

ඉතිහාස සහ කලා සිද්ධාන්ත අධ්‍යනාංශය

දෘශ්‍ය කලා පීඨය, සෞන්දර්ය කලා විශ්වවිද්‍යාලය

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ශ්‍රී ලංකාව යුරෝපීය යටත්විජිතකාරක ග්‍රහණයට නතු වීමේ ප්‍රතිඵලයක් ලෙස බෞද්ධ සැරසිලි කලාවේ වැදගත් වෙනස්කම් රැසක් සිදු විය. විශේෂයෙන් ම ලන්දේසි හා ඉංග්‍රීසි කාල පරිච්ඡේදයන්හි පහතරට වෙරළබඩ තීරයේ ඉදි වූ විහාරස්ථානවලින් මෙම ලක්ෂණය හොඳින් ප්‍රකට වේ. සාම්ප්‍රදායික මධ්‍යම මහනුවර ගුරුකුලයේ (උඩරට බෞද්ධ කලාවේ) ප්‍රචලිත ලියවැල්, නෙළුම් මල්, පලා-පෙති, සපුමල්, කඩුපුල් මල් ආදී මෝස්තරාංග වෙනුවට මිදිවැල්, මිදි-පොකුරු, රෝස-මල්, සහ බැරොක-රොකෝකෝ වැනි අපරදිග මූලයන් සහිත සැරසිලි රසක් පහතරට බෞද්ධ කලාවට එක් විය. එසේ ම නව සැරසිලිමය රූප වන කඟවේණා, සමනලයින්, කෑම්-සතුන්, අනංග රූප, ස්වාභාවිකරූපී පක්ෂීන් හා සතුන් ආදීන් බෞද්ධ සැරසිලි කලාවට පැමිණ තිබේ. වා-කවුළු මෙන් ම සිතුවම්වල පසුබිම්-අවකාශ පිරවීමට බැරොක-රොකෝකෝ සම්ප්‍රදායේ පත්‍රටා මෝස්තර යෙදීම, යුරෝපීය රාජ්‍ය ලාඤ්ඡන දොරටු සැරසිල්ලක් ලෙස යෙදීම, රංජිත-වීදුරු අලංකරණය, පිඟන් ගඩොල් සහ මොසෙක් සැරසිලි කලාව, ඉංග්‍රීසි පාඨ සැරසිලිමය අරුතින් භාවිතය ආදිය බෞද්ධ සැරසිලිකරණයට පිවිසිණි. බෞද්ධ සැරසිලි කලාවේ ස්වරූපය වෙනස් වීමට ස්වදේශීය ශිල්පීය පුහුණුව වෙනස් වීම, සිංහල රාජ්‍ය අනුග්‍රහය අහිමිවීම, කොට්ටල්බද්ද බිඳවැටීම, කොම්ප්‍රදෝරු-පාන්තික අනුග්‍රාහකත්වය, අපරදිග දැනුම පැතිරයාම, යටත්විජිතකාරකයන් දේශීය සැරසිලි නොසලකා හැරීම, අපරදිග සැරසිලි සහිත ගොඩනැගිලි තැනීම, විදේශීය සිත්තරුන් පැමිණීම සහ අපරදිග ව්‍යවහාරික කලා පැතිරීයාම ආදිය හේතු වූ බව හඳුනා- ගත හැකිය.

මූල පද: දෘශ්‍ය කලාව/ යටත්විජිත සමය/ පහතරට විහාරස්ථාන/බෞද්ධ කලාව/ සැරසිලි කලාව

Colonization and Decorative Motifs of Buddhist Art (1750-1900)

Abstract

Western colonization has resulted in a considerable change in decorative motifs of Buddhist art, particularly in the late Dutch and British colonial periods. A large number of Western inspired decorative motifs such as grapevine designs, roses, foliage motifs inspired by Baroque or Rococo styles have been predominantly used in the Low country temples instead of traditional motifs of Kandyan School such as lotus, *liyawela, supu, palāpethi* etc. In addition, new decorative figures like unicorns, butterflies, humming birds, cherubs, insects, etc., were found in Buddhist art. Furthermore, colonial coat of arms decorations, mosaic techniques, tinted glass, Latin typography styles have become a practice in Buddhist temples. It is possible to notice that the changes of traditional training of native artisans, losing of Kandyan patronage, collapsing of *kottalbadda*, emergence of new group of patrons from compradore class, Euro-centric knowledge, ignorance of traditional designs, expansion of Western applied arts and promoting Western values by colonizer, etc., have influenced the making of such changes in Buddhist art.

Keywords: Visual Art, Colonial Period, Low-country temples, Buddhist Art, Decorative motifs

ක්‍රි. ව. 1750-1900 ත් අතර කාල පරිච්ඡේදය ශ්‍රී ලාංකේය ඉතිහාසයේ අපරදිග යටත් විජිතකාරක බලපෑම දේශපාලනික සහ සමාජීය වශයෙන් ප්‍රබල ව සිදු වූ සංකීර්ණ මෙන් ම තීරණාත්මක කාල පරිච්ඡේදයකි. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ වෙරළබඩ කලාපය පෘතුගීසි (1505-1658), ලන්දේසි (1658-1796), සහ ඉංග්‍රීසි (1796-1948) යන අපරදිග යටත් විජිතකාරක ග්‍රහණයට නතු වීමේ ප්‍රතිඵලයක් ලෙස බෞද්ධ සැරසිලි කලාවේ වැදගත් වෙනස්කම් රැසක් එම ප්‍රදේශවල සිදු වූ අතර, එයින් ද ලන්දේසි සහ ඉංග්‍රීසි කාල පරිච්ඡේද ඉතා වැදගත් වේ. ආගමික සහ දේශපාලනික වශයෙන් අපරදිග යටත් විජිතකරණය සනිටුහන් කරනුයේ බෞද්ධාගමට ප්‍රතිවිරුද්ධ පිහිටීමකි (Abeysinghe 1995: 124-133; de Silva 1995 : 87,93; Kotalawala 1995: 240, බෞද්ධ තොරතුරු පරීක්ෂක වාර්තාවඃ (1956). මේ නිසා යටත් විජිතකරණය විසින් ස්ථාපිත කළ සැරසිලි මූලයන් බෞද්ධ කලාවේ ජනප්‍රිය භාවිතයක් බවට පත් වූයේ ඇයි ද යන්න සුවිශේෂ ගැටලුවක් ලෙස හඳුනාගත හැකි ය. එබැවින් මෙම පර්යේෂණ පත්‍රිකාවේ අරමුණ වන්නේ යටත් විජිතකරණය නිසා බෞද්ධ සැරසිලි කලාවේ සිදු වූ වෙනස්කම් හඳුනා-ගැනීම සහ එම වෙනස්කම් ඇති වීමට බල පෑ හේතු සාධක අවබෝධ කරගැනීම යි.

මෙම අධ්‍යයනය සඳහා බස්නාහිර සහ දකුණු ප්‍රදේශ කේන්ද්‍රීය ව බෞද්ධ විහාරස්ථාන 25 ක පර්යේෂණ නියැදියක් තෝරාගන්නා ලදි. ස්ථානීය ගවේෂණ, පන්සල් වාර්තා පිරික්සීම, යටත්විජිත කාල සීමාවට අයත් ලේඛන-වාර්තා සටහන් අධ්‍යයනය සහ ප්‍රස්තුත කාරණාවට අදාල ශාස්ත්‍රීය පර්යේෂණ ඇසුරෙන් දත්ත රැස් කිරීම සිදු විය. උඩරට බෞද්ධ කලාවේ නැතහොත් මධ්‍යම මහනුවර ගුරුකුලයේ ප්‍රචලිත ව තුබූ සැරසිලි මෝස්තර සමග තෝරාගත් නියැදියේ සැරසිලි මොස්තර සංසන්දනාත්මක දෘශ්‍ය-විශ්ලේෂණයකට බඳුන් කරන ලදි.

මෙහි දී පැහැදිලිව හඳුනාගත හැකි කරුණක් වූයේ සාම්ප්‍රදායික උඩරට බෞද්ධ කලාවේ නැතහොත් මධ්‍යම මහනුවර ගුරුකුලයේ ප්‍රචලිත ව තුබූ සැරසිලි මෝස්තර රටාවන්හි කැපී පෙනෙන වෙනස්කම් ගණනාවක් යටත් විජිතකරණය හේතු කොටගෙන පහතරට ප්‍රදේශයන්හි දී සිදු ව ඇති බව යි. නෙලුම්මල්, පලාපෙති, සපුමල්, ලියවැල්, කඩුපුල් මල් ආදි සාම්ප්‍රදායික මෝස්තර රටා යටපත් කර මිදි පොකුරු, රෝස මල්, මිදිවැල්, සහ වෙනත් රොකෝකෝ සහ බැරොක ආදි අපරදිග ආභාසය ලැබූ මෝස්තර රටා රැසක් බෞද්ධ සැරසිලි කලාවේ අධිකාරීත්වය තහවුරු කරගත් ආකාරය වෙරළබඩ තීරයේ විහාර සැරසිලි මොස්තරවලින් පැහැදිලි ව පෙනේ. උදාහරණ ලෙස, මිදිවැල් සහ රෝස මල් පහතරට කෙතරම් ජනප්‍රිය වී ද යත් කතලුව පූර්වාරාමයේ සාම්ප්‍රදායික මකර තොරණෙහි පවා යොදා ඇත්තේ මිදි පොකුරු සහ රෝස මල් මෝස්තරයකි. කරගම්පිටිය සුබෝධාරාමයේ ද පිළිම ගෙයට ඇතුළ වන දොරටු වටා මිදිවැල් සහ මිදි පොකුරු මෝස්තරයක් යොදා තිබේ. සාම්ප්‍රදායික නෙලුම් මල් සිවිලිම වෙනුවට සම්පූර්ණයෙන් ම රෝසමල් මොස්තරයකින් සැරසූ සිවිලිමක් දොඩම්දුව කුමාර කන්ද විහාරයේ දැකිය හැකි ය. පානදුර රන්කොත් විහාරය, සපුගොඩ ශ්‍රී මහා විහාරය, දොඩම්දුව ශෛලබිම්බාරාමය, සමුදුගිරි විහාරය, කරගම්පිටිය සුබෝධාරාමය, කතලුව පූර්වාරාමය, දොඩම්දුව කුමාර කන්ද විහාරය, තෙල්වත්ත විහාරය, තොටගමුව සුහදාරාමය ආදි පහතරට විහාරස්ථාන රැසයක සිතුවම්වල පසුබිම් පිරවීමේ මොස්තර සහ තීරු සැරසිලි ලෙස රෝසමල්, මිදි වැල් සහ රොකෝකෝ ශෛලියේ පතු රටා යොදා තිබේ.

බුද්ධ ප්‍රතිමා වටා සැරසිලිකරණය සඳහා ද යුරෝපීය සැරසිලි භාවිත වූ අවස්ථා රැසක් පහතරට බෞද්ධ විහාරස්ථානවලින් හමු වේ. එබඳු ඉතා වැදගත් අවස්ථාවක් ලෙස කොටහේන දීපදුත්තරාමයේ හිඳි බුදු පිළිමය වටා ඇති විශාල යුරෝපීය සැරසිලිමය කැටයම දැක්විය හැකි ය. මෙය යුරෝපීය කුණ්ඩු රටා, පෙඩිමන්ට් ආකෘති, රොකෝකෝ සහ බැරොක ආකෘතිවලින් බිඳී ආ සැරසිලි මෝස්තර සහිත යුරෝපීය පන්නයේ වාදකයින් සහ සිංහ-කඟවේණ රූකමින් සමන්විත සංකීර්ණ සැරසිලි ආකෘතියකි. බුදු පිළිමය මෙන් කිහිප ගුණයක් විශාල මෙමගින් මහේශාඛ්‍ය පෙනුමක් ප්‍රතිමා අවකාශයට ලැබී තිබේ.

මීට අමතර ව බෞද්ධ විහාරස්ථාන විශාල සංඛ්‍යාවක ජනේල සහ දොරවල් සැරසීමට අපරදිග ශාක පත්‍ර සහ මල් සැරසිලිවලින් සකස් වූ මෝස්තර රටා සුලභ ව යේදී තිබේ. අඟහපිටිය මූල මහ විහාරය, කරගම්පිටිය සුබෝධාරාමය, පානදුර රන්කොත් විහාරය ආදී විහාරස්ථානවල ජනේල සහ දොරවල් වා-කවුළු කැටයම් මෙයට නිදසුන් වේ. එසේ ම ද්වාරමණ්ඩය සැරසිලිවල ද අපරදිග ජ්‍යාමිතික රූපි රටා හමු වන අතර, අලුත්ගම කන්දේ විහාරයේ සහ පානදුර රන්කොත් විහාරයේ ද්වාරමණ්ඩපයන්හි අර්ධ උන්නත සැරසිලි කැටයම් මෙයට සාක්ෂි සපයයි.

නව සත්ත්ව රූප බෞද්ධ සැරසිලි කලාවේ ස්ථාපිත වීම සහ එතෙක් ශෛලීගත ව භාවිත වූ සත්ත්ව රූප වික්ටෝරියානු ස්වාභාවිකත්වයට අනුරූපී ව වෙනස් වීම යටත්විජිතකරණය නිසා බෞද්ධ සැරසිලි කලාවේ සිදු වූ තවත් වැදගත් වෙනසකි. පූර්ව-යටත්විජිත අවධියේ හමු නොවූ කඟවේණාගේ රූව යටත් විජිත බෞද්ධ සැරසිලි කලාවේ ජනප්‍රිය රූපයක් බවට පත් විය. මෙම සත්ත්වයා බ්‍රිතාන්‍ය රාජ්‍ය ලාඤ්ඡනයේ නිල රූවක් වීම එහි ජනප්‍රියත්වයට බල පෑ ප්‍රධාන කරුණුවලින් එකක් බව පෙනේ. කොටහේන දීපදුත්තරාමයේ සැතපෙන පිළිමගෙයට ඇති පිවිසුම් ද්වාරයේ විශාල මූර්ති යුගලය සහ කෝට්ටේ රජමහා විහාරයේ ද දොරටු දෙපස කඟවේණ රූප එය සැරසිලිමය අරුතින් භාවිත වූ අවස්ථාවන්ට නිදසුන් වේ.

කඟවේණා ගේ රූව මෙන් ම සාම්ප්‍රදායික සිංහ රූපය ද පහතරට විහාරස්ථානවල සැරසිලිවල යේදී ඇත්තේ එහි උඩරට භාවිත ශෛලීගත සම්ප්‍රදායෙන් මිදී වික්ටෝරියානු ස්වාභාවිකවාදී විනyසයන් අනුගමනය කරමිනි. පානදුර රන්කොත් විහාරයේ පිටත බිත්තිවල මෙබඳු සිංහරූප සහිත සැරසිලි අංග දැකිය හැකි ය. සිංහරූපයේ තුබූ නරසිංහ, ගජසිංහ වැනි ශෛලීගත විභේදනයෝ පහතරට විහාරස්ථානවලින් අතුරුදහන් වුහ. එසේ ම මධ්‍යම මහනුවර කලාවේ තුබූ හංසයා, කිඳුරා, සරපෙන්දිය, හේරුණ්ඩ පක්ෂියා, ගුරුළා වැනි සත්ත්ව රූප පහතරට සැරසිලිවලින් ගිලිහිණි. 19 වන සියවසෙහි අග භාගයේ දී කරන ලද විහාර වූ පානදුර රන්කොත් විහාරය, සපුගොඩ ශ්‍රී මහා විහාරය ආදියෙහි අභ්‍යන්තර බිත්තිවල අවකාශය පිරවීම සඳහා ස්වාභාවිකරූපි ව අදින ලද සමනලයින්, ලේනුන්, පැණි කුරුල්ලන් ආදී නව සත්ත්ව හා පක්ෂි රූප භාවිතා කර තිබේ. ලන්දේසි සහ බ්‍රිතාන්‍ය සිත්තරුන් විසින් අදින ලද සත්ත්ව රූපවල ලක්ෂණ අනුගමනය කිරීමට බොහෝ විහාර සිත්තරුන් ද උත්සාහ ගත් ආකාරය මෙම සිතුවම්වල දැකිය හැකි වේ.

සැරසිලි අංගයක් ලෙස යුරෝපීය ලාඤ්ඡන යෙදීම පහත රට බෞද්ධ විහාරස්ථානවල දක්නට ලැබෙන තවත් බෙහෙවින් ජනප්‍රිය ලක්ෂණයකි. සැරසිලිමය භාවිතයට අමතර ව

මේවායේ යටත්විජිත පාලනයට විරුද්ධ නොවන බව හැඟවීමේ දේශපාලනික අර්ථයක් ද විය. මෙම ලාඤ්ඡන බොහොවක් යොදා ඇත්තේ විහාරස්ථානයන්හි ප්‍රධාන දොරටු, ද්වාර මණ්ඩප, ප්‍රවේශ මණ්ඩප ආදී වඩාත් හොඳින් ඒවායේ අලංකාරත්වය අවධාරණය වී පෙනෙන ස්ථානවල වීම විශේෂත්වයකි. කතලුව පූර්වාරාමය, කරගම්පිටිය සුබෝධාරාමය, කෝට්ටේ රජමහා විහාරය, සපුගොඩ ශ්‍රී මහා විහාරය, දොඩම්දූව ශෛලබිම්බාරාමය, අලුත්ගම කන්දේ විහාරය, තොටගමුව සුනදාරාමය, සපුගස්කන්ද පුරාණ විහාරය ආදිය බ්‍රිතාන්‍ය ලාඤ්ඡනවලින් සරසන ලද පහතරට විහාරස්ථානවලින් කිහිපයකි. විහාරස්ථානවල ද්වාරමණ්ඩපයන්හි අර්ධ-උන්නත මූර්තිමය සැරසිලි ලෙස නෙළන ලද බ්‍රිතාන්‍ය ලාඤ්ඡන කිහිපයක් ම අලුත්ගම කන්දේ විහාරයේ, දොඩම්දූව ශෛලබිම්බාරාමයේ සහ දේවපතිරාජ පිරිවෙනෙහි දැක්නට ලැබේ. මෙයට අමතර ව යුරෝපීය ආභාසය සහිත ව කළ සිංහරූප සහිත ද්වාර මණ්ඩප සැරසිලි පානදුර රන්කොත් විහාරයේ සහ අමරපුර වූලගණ්ඩී නිකායේ මූලස්ථාන විහාරයේ පැරණි බුදු මැදුරේ දැක්නට ලැබේ. මේවා යටත්විජිත ලාඤ්ඡන නොවුව ද එහි ආකෘතිය සැකසී ඇත්තේ යටත්විජිත ලාඤ්ඡන ඇසුරෙන් බව පෙනේ.

යුරෝපීය අනංග රූපයේ ආභාසය සහිත ළදරු රූප සැරසිලි අංගයක් ලෙස භාවිතයට පැමිණීම යටත්විජිතකරණය නිසා බෞද්ධ සැරසිලි කලාවේ ඇති වූ තවත් ප්‍රතිඵලයකි. පානදුර රන්කොත් විහාරයේ ඉදිරිපස දකුණු ප්‍රවේශයේ ඉහළ සිංහයන් කැටුව සිටින එබඳු රූවක් ඇත. මීට අමතර ව සපුගොඩ ශ්‍රී මහා විහාරයේ සහ මූල්ගිරිගල රජමහා විහාරයේ සිතුවම්වල අවකාශ පිරවීමේ රූපයක් ලෙස එබඳු ළදරු ස්වරූපයේ රූප යෙදී තිබේ. එහෙත් යුරෝපීය කලාවේ අනංග රූවට භාවිත වූ නග්නත්වය සහ පියාපත් දේශීය ශිල්පීන් භාවිත කර නැත.

පිඟන් ගඩොල් සහ මොසෙක් සැරසිලි කලාව ජනප්‍රිය වීම ද යටත්විජිත කාලයේ දී සිදු වූ තවත් ලක්ෂණයකි. කරගම්පිටිය සුබෝධාරාමයේ පිළිමගෙයි බිමෙහි මෙසේ පිඟන් කැබලි අල්ලා කරන ලද අලංකාර සැරසිලි මෝස්තර ගණනාවක් හඳුනාගත හැකි ය. මෙහි දී කුඩා ප්‍රමාණයේ පිඟන් කැබලි විවිධ හැඩතල සහ රටා මැවෙන පරිදි පොළොවට ඔබ්බවනු ලැබේ. පානදුර රන්කොත් විහාරයේ සණ්ටාර කුළුණෙහි ද මෙබඳු පිඟන් කැබලිවලින් කළ සැරසිල්ලක් දැකිය හැකි ය.

ලතින් අක්ෂර සහිත පාඨයන් සැරසිලිමය අරුතින් අන්තර්ගත වීම ද යටත් විජිත සමයේ බෞද්ධ විහාරස්ථානයන්හි දැක්නට ලැබෙන තවත් විශේෂ ලක්ෂණයකි. මෙම පාඨයන් ගෙන් බහුතරයක් ගොඩනැගිලි හැඳින්වීම වෙනුවෙන් කරන ලද නාම පුවරුමය සැරසිල්ලක ස්වරූපයක් දරයි. නිදසුනක් ලෙස කෝට්ටේ රජමහා විහාරයේ බුදු මැදුරට පිවිසෙන දොරටුවට ඉහළින් JAYAWARDHANAKOTTE MAHAVIHARE යන විහාර නාමය ඉංග්‍රීසි බසින් යොදා තිබීම දැක්විය හැකි ය. අල්තගම කන්දේ විහාරයේ ද මෙබඳු වැකියක් වන TILOKANATHA DHATUNIHTAI යන්න යොදා තිබේ. මීට අමතරව බෞද්ධ බිතු සිතුවම්හි ද ඉංග්‍රීසි පාඨයන් යෙදූ අවස්ථා ගණනාවක් ම හමු වේ. නිදසුනක් ලෙස සපුගොඩ ශ්‍රී මහා විහාරයේ බුද්ධ චරිතයට අදාළ සිතුවම් අතර මාලිගයක සැරසිල්ලක් ලෙස එහි පෙඩිමන්ට් කොටස මත A KING HOUSE යන්න ලියා තිබේ. අම්බලන්ගොඩ සුනන්දාරාමයේ ඇති බ්‍රිතාන්‍ය ලාඤ්ඡන මධ්‍යයේ ඇති BUDDHIST ERA 2430 නමැති පාඨය දැකිය හැක.

වර්ණ ගැන්වූ වීදුරු සැරසිලි අංගයක් ලෙස විහාර සැරසිලිකරණට පැමිණියේ යටත් විජිතකරණය හේතු කොටගෙන ය. ක්‍රිස්තියානි දේව මැදුරු තරම් සංකීර්ණ ස්වරූපයකින් භාවිත නොවුණ ද සරල හැඩ රටා මතු වන පරිදි රංජිත වීදුරු කැබලි පහතරට විහාරවල ජනෙල්වලට ඔබ්බවා තිබේ. දොඩම්දුව ශෛලබිම්බාරාමය, වෑවුරුකන්නල විහාරය, දොඩම්දුව කුමාර කන්ද විහාරය ආදි ස්ථානයන්හි මෙම භාවිතයන් හඳුනාගත හැකි ය.

ගෘහ නිර්මාණාත්මක වශයෙන් විහාරස්ථාන සැලසුම් සහ අලංකරණවල අපරදිග ලක්ෂණ ප්‍රකටවීම යටත් විජිත සමයේ විහාරවල තවත් කැපි පෙනෙන ලක්ෂණයකි. පහතරට විහාරස්ථාන බහුතරය ටස්කන් ආදි අපරදිග කුළුණු, රෝමානු ආරුක්කු, තුඩු ආරුක්කු, ගේබල, පෙඩිමන්ට්, ආලින්ද, පෝට්කෝ, ද්වාර මණ්ඩප, බටහිර ක්‍රමයේ පැනල්-දොරවල් සහ ජනෙල ආදි අංගයන්ගෙන් සකස් වූ ආකෘති වේ. මෙම විහාරවල බදාමයෙන් කළ බාහිර සැරසිලි රටා ද බොහෝවක් ලන්දේසින් සහ ඉංග්‍රීසින් නිසා වෙරළබඩ තීරයේ පැතිරී ගිය නිර්මාණාංගවලින් සකස් වූ බව පෙනේ. අලුත්ගම කන්දේ විහාරය, අමරපුර චූලගණ්ඨී නිකායේ මූලස්ථාන විහාරය, පානදුර රන්කොත් විහාරය, දොඩම්දුව කුමාර කන්ද විහාරය, වස්කඩුව ධර්මශාලා විහාරය ආදියෙහි ආකෘති සහ බාහිර සැරසිලි රටා පැහැදිලි ව ම අපරදිග ආභාසය පෙන්නුම් කරයි.

ඉහතින් විස්තර කෙරුණු අපරදිග ආභාසය සහිත සැරසිලි හමු වන විහාරස්ථාන බහුතරය පහතරට ප්‍රදේශයන්හි ඉදි වූයේ 19 වන සියවසෙහි දී ය. මෙම අවධිය යුරෝපීය යටත් විජිතකරණයත්, අපරදිග දැනුමත් ශ්‍රී ලාංකේය සමාජ අවකාශයෙහි ප්‍රබල බලපෑමක් ඇති කර තිබූ කාල වකවානුවක් විය. මෙකල විහාර කර්මාන්ත සඳහා දායක වූ පහතරට සිත්තරුන් පිළිබඳ විමසීමේ දී ඔවුන් බහුතරයක ගේ ශිල්පීය කුල ක්‍රමය බිඳ වැටී සාම්ප්‍රදායික ශිල්ප ධර්ම පුහුණුව ද අහෝසි වී තිබිණි (Jayathilaka 2008: 217-232). මධ්‍යම මහනුවර ශෛලියේ උඩරට සිත්තරුන් ගේ මූලික අධ්‍යයනයන් වූ වකදෙක-තිරිඟිතලය කේන්ද්‍රීය සාම්ප්‍රදායික පුහුණුව පහතරට දී ඒ අයුරින්ම ක්‍රියාත්මක නො වී ය. යටත්විජිතකරණය නිසා පහතරට සිත්තරුන් දුටුවේ උඩරට සිත්තරුන් දුටු සාම්ප්‍රදායික සැරසිලි සහිත සමාජ අවකාශය නො ව යුරෝපීය පාලක රුචිකත්ව අනුව සැකසුණ සැරසිලි මොස්තර, ඇඳුම් විලාසිතා, ගොඩනැගිලි ආදිය සහිත සමාජ අවකාශයකි. මෙම යටත්විජිතකරණය නිසා ගොඩනැගුණු සමාජ අවකාශය බෞද්ධ සිතුවම් කලාවට පමණක් නොව ගෘහනිර්මාණ කලාවට ද ප්‍රබල බලපෑමක් සිදු කළේ ය.

19 වන සියවසේ දී සිංහල රාජ්‍ය අනුග්‍රහය පහතරට සිත්තරුන්ට නොලැබීම හේතු කොටගෙන සිත්තරුන් සම්බන්ධීකරණය වූ කොට්ටල්බද්ද නම් පාලන ව්‍යූහය අක්‍රිය විය. මේ නිසා ඇතැම් සිත්තරුන් ක්‍රීඩාගාර ලාක්ෂන ඇඳීම වැනි ආගමික නොවූ සැරසිලිමය කාර්යයන්හි ද නියැලී බව හඳුනාගත හැකි ය (බ්‍රෝහියර් 1999: 251,252; Bandaranayake 1986: 20; හපුආරච්චි 1981: 84-85). එසේ ම යටත්විජිත කාල පරිච්ඡේදයේ දී බටහිර සිත්තරුන් ගණනාවක් ම ලංකාවේ විවිධ නිර්මාණ කටයුතුවල යෙදී සිටි අතර, ඔවුන් නිසා ප්‍රචලිත වූ කලා ව්‍යාපාර සහ සැරසිලි ද පහතරට සිත්තරුන්ට බල පා ඇති බව පෙනේ (Dharmasiri : 1990).

උඩරට රාජ්‍ය අනුග්‍රහය පහතරට පන්සල්වලට නොලැබී යාමට සමගාමී ව උඩරට ප්‍රභූ අනුග්‍රාහකත්වයට වඩා වෙනස් වූ නව අනුග්‍රාහක පන්තියක් පහතරට ප්‍රදේශවලින් බිහි විය. කොම්ප්‍රදෝරු පාන්තිකයන් ලෙස හඳුන්වන මෙම අනුග්‍රාහක පන්තියේ බහුතරය ක්‍රිස්තියාන ලබ්ධික මිෂනාරි අධ්‍යාපනය ලැබූ යුරෝපයි රුචිකත්වයට නැඹුරු කණ්ඩායමක් විය (Gunawardena 1958 :87,88, de Silva 1981: 335, 336, Malalgoda 1976: 31-45). ඔවුහු බොහෝ දෙනෙක් යටත්විජිත රජයේ මුදලි, මුහන්දිරම් වැනි තනතුරු දැරූහ. කොම්ප්‍රදෝරු පාන්තිකයන් පන්සල්වලට අනුග්‍රාහකත්වය දැක්වීමෙන් අපේක්ෂා කරන ලද්දේ පහතරට ප්‍රදේශවල සාමාන්‍ය ජනයා අතර සමාජය වශයෙන් පිළිගැනීමක් ඇති කරගැනීම, තම බලය පැතිරවීම සහ හික්ෂුන් දිනාගැනීම ය. මෙසේ අපරදිග රුචිකත්ව සහිත නව අනුග්‍රාහක පිරිස නිසා යුරෝපීය සැරසිලි මෝස්තර භාවිතයට විහාර සිත්තරුන් තුළ පෙළඹීමක් ඇති කෙරිණි (Jayathilaka 2009: 281-291).

යටත්විජිත අධ්‍යාපනය හේතු කොටගෙන ක්‍රිස්තියානි ආගම, යුරෝපීය භාෂාවන් මෙන් ම අපරදිග කලාවන් ඇතුළු බටහිර හර පද්ධතීන් පහතරට ව්‍යාප්ත වූ අතර එමගින් විශාල සමාජ විපර්යාසයක් ද සිදු විය (දොන් පීටර් 1969: 269). අධ්‍යාපනය මගින් බටහිර සංකල්ප හා අදහස් අගය කිරීමට, අනුකරණය කිරීමට ස්වදේශිකයන් පෙළඹවූ බැව් පෙනේ. යටත්විජිත පරිපාලනයේ තනතුරු දැරීම සඳහා ස්වදේශිකයන්ට යුරෝපීය භාෂා හැකියාව අත්‍යවශ්‍ය සාධකයක් විය. පහතරට නායක හික්ෂුන් අතර පවා මිෂනාරි අධ්‍යාපනය ලබා සිටි ක්‍රියාකාරී හික්ෂුහු වූහ. (ධර්මබන්ධු 1949: 1-97). මෙකරුණ ද පහතරට විහාරස්ථානවල අපරදිග මෝස්තර සැරසිලි භාවිත කිරීමට නිර්මාණ ශිල්පීන්ට ආධාරක පරිසරයක් බිහි කිරීමට උපකාරී විය.

යටත්විජිත භූමි සීමාවන්හි සමාජ-දේශපාලනික බලය යුරෝපීයනට හිමි ව තුබූ බැවින් එම අවකාශයෙහි සිටි සියලු ම කොටස් කෙරෙහි අපරදිග දැනුම බල පැවැත්වීණි. යුරෝපීය පරිපාලන නීති රීති, ඉංග්‍රීසි අධ්‍යාපනය, ක්‍රිස්තියානි ආගම ආදියෙන් සැකසි යටත් විජිත පාලන ව්‍යුහයට ස්වදේශිකයින් අවශ්‍යයෙන් ම අවනත විය යුතු විය. එබඳු පරිසරයක අනුභාවය පැවැත්වූ යුරෝ-කේන්ද්‍රීය දැනුම මගින් යුරෝපීය අනන්‍යතාවන් උත්කෘෂ්ටත්වයට නැංවූ අතර ස්වදේශීය අනන්‍යතාවන් නොසලකා හැරීමක් ද සිදු විය.

පහතරට නව නිකායන්හි පැන නැගීම ද බෞද්ධ සැරසිලි කලාවේ ස්වරූපය සකස් වීමට හේතු වූ කරුණක් විය. එය උඩරට බෞද්ධ සම්ප්‍රදායන් ගෙන් මිදී ගත් නව ආගමික අවකාශයක් පහතරට ප්‍රදේශයන්හි බිහි කිරීමට හේතු විය. උඩරට බෞද්ධ අධිකාරිය පහතරට උපසම්පදාව 1768 දී ප්‍රතික්ෂේප කිරීමෙන් පසු අමරපුර, කල්‍යාණවංශ, රාමසඤ්ඤ ආදී නව නිකාය පහත රට පැන නැගුණි (Malalgoda 1976). එමගින් තව දුරටත් උඩරට බෞද්ධ අධිකාරිත්වය මත රඳා නොපවතින නව බෞද්ධ ආකෘතියක් පහතරට ප්‍රදේශවල ඇති වීම ඉතා වැදගත් කරුණකි. මෙම නව නිකායික පන්සල්වල ආකෘතීන් උඩරට සාම්ප්‍රදායික විහාරවලින් වෙනස් වූ අතර යටත්විජිත ගොඩනැගිලිවලින් ගත් ලක්ෂණ විශාල ප්‍රමාණයක් ඒවායේ විය. මෙය ද බෞද්ධ සැරසිලි කලාවේ ස්වරූපය කෙරෙහි බල පෑ තීරණාත්මක කරුණක් විය.

යටත්විජිතකරණය බෞද්ධාගමට එදිරි ව පිහිටි ක්‍රියාදාමයක් වූ නමුත් තීරණාත්මක අවස්ථා කිහිපයක දී ලන්දේසිහු හා ඉංග්‍රීසිහු බෞද්ධාගම විෂයෙහි මිත්‍රශීලී ව කටයුතු කළෝ ය. නිදසුනක් ලෙස, 1753 දී සියම් උපසම්පදාව පිහිටුවීමට උඩරට රජුට ලන්දේසීන් නැව් සහ නවාතැන් පහසුකම් සැලසීම එබඳු එක් කටයුත්තකි (Malalgoda 1976: 61). එසේ ම පහතරට වැසියා ගේ පාක්ෂිකත්වය දිනාගැනීමේ අරමුණින් ලන්දේසීන් මුල්ගිරිගල, කැලණිය, රිදී විහාරය ආදී ස්ථාන කිහිපයකට ම ද්‍රව්‍යමය අනුග්‍රහ දක්වා ඇත (Malalgaoa, 1976:83; ද සිල්වා 2000: 71). ඇතැම් බ්‍රිතාන්‍ය ආණ්ඩුකාරයින් පහතරට විහාරස්ථානයන්ට හා භික්ෂුන්ට දීමනා හා උපකාර කළ අවස්ථා හමු වන අතර පහතරට සංස්නායක කරනොට හිමියන් එබඳු එක් භික්ෂුවකි (පඤ්ඤාලෝක 2002 : 354, වීරසූරිය 1972: 43, ධර්මබන්ධු 1949: 17-18). මෙබඳු කටයුතු පහතරට බෞද්ධ අධිකාරිය ඇතැම් අවස්ථාවල දී යුරෝපීයයන් කෙරෙහි යහපත් ආකල්පයක් දැක්වීමට හේතු වූ බව සිතිය හැකි ය. පහතරට විහාරස්ථානවල බ්‍රිතාන්‍ය ලාක්ෂණය ආදිය අලංකරණ අංග ලෙස එක් වීම මෙබඳු දේශපාලනික පසුබිමක සිදු වූවක් බව පෙනේ.

ඉහත සාකච්ඡා කළ කරුණු අනුව යටත්විජිතකරණය නිසා සැලකිය යුතු බලපෑමක් බෞද්ධ සැරසිලි කලාවේ සිදු වූ බව හඳුනාගත හැකි ය. මේ අතුරින් වැඩි ම බලපෑමකට ලක් වූවේ සෘජු ව ම යුරෝපීය පාලනයට දිගු කලක් නිරාවරණය වී තුබූ පහතරට නැතහොත් වෙරළබඳ කලාපයේ විහාරස්ථානවල සැරසිලි මෝස්තරයන් ය. දකුණු ගුරුකුලයේ ව්‍යාප්ත වීම හේතු කොටගෙන මෙම අපරදිග සැරසිලි ලක්ෂණ උඩරට ප්‍රදේශයේ විහාරස්ථානවලට ද පැතිරුණු අතර හිදගල, මාලගම්මන ආදී විහාරස්ථානවල 19 වන සියවසට අයත් සිතුවම් සහ සැරසිලි මෙයට නිදසුන් ය.

බෞද්ධ සැරසිලි කලාවේ ස්වරූපය වෙනස් වීමට හේතු වූ කරුණු ගණනාවක් ඉහතින් අවධාරණය කෙරිණි. පහතරට විහාර සැලසුම්කරුවන් සහ කලා ශිල්පීන් ජීවත් වූවේ යුරෝපීයයනට සමාජ-දේශපාලනික අධිකාරීත්වය හිමි වූ සමාජ අවකාශයක වීම නිසා උඩරට දී ක්‍රියාත්මක වූ ශිල්ප ධර්ම පද්ධති සහ භාවිතයන් පහතරට දී ක්‍රියාත්මක නොවීම එයින් වැදගත් කරුණකි. යටත් විජිතකාරකයන් අපරදිග රුචිකත්ව සහිත කලාවන් සහ සැරසිලි අංග හැම විට ම උත්කෘෂ්ටත්වයෙන් සැලකූ අතර එහි ප්‍රතිඵලයක් ලෙස දේශීය සැරසිලි අංග නොසලකා හැරීම ද සිදු විය. එසේ ම උඩරට රාජධානිය බිඳවැටී කොට්ටල්බද්ද නමැති ශිල්පීන් විෂයෙහි ක්‍රියාත්මක වූ ආයතනය අත්‍රිය විය. එයට සමගාමී ව විහාරාරාම ඉදිකිරීම සඳහා සිංහල රාජ්‍ය අනුග්‍රහය වෙනුවට යටත් විජිත පාලනයේ තනතුරු දැරූ කොම්ප්‍රදෝරු පාන්තික නව අනුග්‍රාහක පන්තියක් ඉදිරිපත් වූ අතර කොම්ප්‍රදෝරු පාන්තිකයන් ගෙන් බහුතරය මිෂනාරි අධ්‍යාපනය ලැබූ යුරෝපීය හර පද්ධතීන් ප්‍රිය කළ පිරිසක් වූ බව ඔවුන් ගේ නිවාස සහ නිවාස සැරසිලිවලින් තහවුරු වේ. පහත රට ඇතැම් විහාර ශිල්පීන් ද යටත් විජිත ගොඩනැගිලි ආදිය තැනීමට මෙන් ම විවිධ සැරසිලි කටයුතුවලට වක්‍ර ව සම්බන්ධ වූ බවට සාධක හමු වේ. යටත්විජිතකරණය නිසා අපරදිග සැරසිලි සහිත ගොඩනැගිලි බහුල ව ඉදිවීම, විදේශීය සිත්තරුන් පැමිණීම, විවිධ අපරදිග ව්‍යවහාරික කලා පැතිරී යාම ආදිය ද ස්වදේශීය සැරසිලි විෂයෙහි ප්‍රබල බලපෑමක් ඇති කෙරිණි. යටත්විජිත අවකාශය තුළ සිදු වූ මෙම වෙනස්කම් බෞද්ධ සැරසිලි කලාවේ ස්වරූපය වෙනස් වීමට හේතු වූ බව හඳුනාගත හැකි ය.

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The (De) Construction of Gender Identity in Children's Literature Written in English by Sri Lankan Authors

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Abstract

This research paper is an exploration of the social constructions of gender identities portrayed in selected texts written in English for children by Sri Lankan authors. It draws from *Mythil's Secret* by Prashani Rambukwella (2009), *Paduma Meets the Sunbird* by Nihal de Silva (2006) and *Mona's Mission Impossible* by Razana Sameem (2009). The study is based on the premise that children's literature produced in Sri Lanka by Sri Lankan authors would seek to explore the nuances of gender identities that are constructed within Sri Lanka.

The goal of this paper is to deconstruct the social constructions of gender identities that are portrayed in the selected texts in an attempt to analyze the specific gender roles that are socially acquired by children. This study addresses the question of how gender identities of children, within a Sri Lankan society, are depicted in the selected texts, and evaluates the assignment and acquisition of gender roles therein. It limits itself to deconstructing the portrayal of gender identities, and also seeks to unearth the different forces of socialization that influence the molding of a child's gender identity, while examining the process of socialization and other contributing factors relevant to the construction of gender identities within Sri Lanka. This paper addresses a gap in research in children's literature produced in Sri Lanka in English, and takes an interdisciplinary approach utilizing feminist, psychoanalytic and sociological theories.

Keywords: Gender identity, Social construction, Gender roles, Socialization

Children's Literature

In the introduction to *Children's Literature: An Anthology 1801 – 1902*, Peter Hunt (2001: 15) quotes Karin Lesnik-Oberstein, a renowned children's literature critic, who aptly states that "the definition of 'children's literature' lies at the heart of its endeavour; it is a category of books the existence of which absolutely depends on supposed relationships with a particular reading audience; children." Therefore, children's literature strives to communicate something of infinite importance to its child reader in order to establish a connection with its audience. Literature is viewed as "an integral part of the process by which nation-states create themselves and distinguish themselves from other nations" and national literature is defined as "consciously constructed pieces of the national culture," (Corse 1997: 9). Therefore, children's literature is able to create a vital link with the child reader through developing an indigenous form of literature that portrays the distinctive identities that are constructed within that particular community or nation.

In this light it is essential to probe the content of texts produced in Sri Lanka for children, to comprehend the different social constructions of identities that are reflected in these novels. Thus the overall goal of this research paper is to unearth the preconceived notions and existing constructions of identities, particularly gender identities, portrayed in children's literature produced in Sri Lanka in English. This research find its significance in the above mentioned goal and thus bases itself on the premise that Sri Lankan authors who contextualize their texts in a Sri Lankan setting would seek to portray the nuances of gender identities that are constructed within Sri Lanka.

Childhood and Identity Formation

Kimberley Reynolds (1994: 18), who explores the historical development of childhood, defines childhood as a "social construct". Likewise, Lisa Paul (1996: 109), a feminist children's literature critic, negates the concept of a stable identity through investigating the manner in which identity is "constructed by the socializing forces" encountered daily. As a result of the impact of numerous socializing forces, identity becomes a "socio cultural process" which is "constantly under construction" (Singer & Singer 2001: 310). In *Language and Gender* Judith Butler presents a clear definition of gender as "something we do" as opposed to something we are born with (as cited in, Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003, pp. 10-13), and socialization is "a life-long process", particularly critical in the formative years of childhood, (Pilcher & Whelehan 2004: 160).

Therefore, it could be concluded that gender identity is a social construct that is continuously subject to change and is acquired through the process of socialization. Thus the objective of this research is to deconstruct the gender identities of children that are constructed by the socializing forces that are represented in the selected texts, and thereby to comprehend the assignment and acquisition of gender roles. This research

utilizes feminist and psychoanalytic theories and Charles Cooley's (1902) looking-glass self concept, as relevant to the analysis of identity formation, in addressing the question as to how the selected texts portray the constructions of gender identities of children within a Sri Lankan context.

Methodology

This paper seeks to deconstruct socially constructed gender identities that are reflected in *Mythil's Secret* by Prashani Rambukwella (2009), *Paduma Meets the Sunbird* by Nihal de Silva (2006), and *Mona's Mission Impossible* by Razana Sameem (2009). These novels were published by the Perera Hussein Publishing House[4] and are available at book stores in Sri Lanka and, more importantly, are included in libraries and used as prescriptive texts in the syllabi of schools[5], thereby indicating that while a culture of reading Sri Lankan books in English is promoted within these schools, educationists are also convinced that these texts are of a high standard.

Personal interviews were carried out with approximately 30 children from different schools[6] and the goal of the discussions was to gauge if children were receptive to the books that were included in the research, and also to determine their understanding of the texts. Interviews were also carried out with Sri Lankans who have published stories/novels for children (Sybil Wettasinghe, Neluka Silva, Lal Medawattegedara), the authors of the texts included in the study (Prashani Rambukwella and Razana Sameem) and the publisher (Ameena Hussein)[7], and their valuable input enhanced the progression of this study.

While in discussion with the children's writers, it was evident that there was a vacuum in children's writing in English in Sri Lanka particularly for pre and early teenagers as Prashani Rambukwella shared, "I wanted to write a book for Sri Lankan children because when I was growing up there seemed to be a sad dearth of books written in English for Sri Lankan kids"[8]. Therefore, this study which recognizes the efforts of the authors and publisher[9] to address a void in English literature in Sri Lanka for pre and early teenagers, also attempts to address the gap in research conducted in this particular field.

Primary Sources and Gender Identity

Prashani Rambukwella (2009) won the Gratiaen award in 2009 for her *Mythil's Secret*[10], a story which primarily consists of Sri Lankan myths and folklore and focuses on a family from an Anglicized background[11] where the child protagonist encounters various adventures during his stay with his grandmother. In MS, Mythil, the child protagonist, reveals definite signs of heroism as he rescues Asiri, the feeble demon, from the evil demon, Bhishani. Mythil seems to have come a long way from being a timid, introverted boy[12] to standing up for what he believes irrespective of the consequences[13]. Thus Mythil is provided adequate space within the context of the story to grow and mature as a character who is eventually viewed as a hero.

Bagchi (2009: 172) defines the "rite of passage" as the development of the child protagonist in the novel who comes to terms with "the strangeness and magic of life". The depiction of the hero and the heroine in children's literature is explored by Butts (1996: 332) as he unearths the origins of adventure stories and discusses the importance of gender divisions particularly in the nineteenth century, which was dominated by male values where girls were often either excluded or assigned minor roles in adventure stories. In MS, when Mythil is introduced to a girl called Ianthi, he is initially impressed by her as "she was different from other girls" (p. 64). Unconsciously, Mythil is stereotyping "other" girls, who unlike Ianthi, wouldn't enter musty sheds or would cry when they were hurt (p. 65). However, he identifies Ianthi as the girl who wore "posh clothes for the house" since "girls did that" and thus before long Ianthi is pushed into the category of "other girls", as "she was on the side of the adults" (p. 57). Therefore, in an instance, within the childlike framework of his mind, Mythil defines himself in opposition to Ianthi and perceives her as the "other".

Simone de Beauvoir while agreeing with psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan's perspective on identity formation; that just as we see individuals as "the other" we ourselves are seen by them as "the other" since relationships are marked by a fundamental contradiction as "the subject can be posed only in being opposed", also adds that in the binary of men/women, this "reciprocity of Otherness is not recognized" (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004: 14). Therefore, it is clear that Mythil defines himself based on his understanding of Ianthi as the "other" and thus is provided the opportunity of starring as the sole hero of the story.

Razana Sameem's (2009) *Mona's Mission Impossible*[14], is set in the coastal areas of Sri Lanka, and is woven around the adventures of a young girl, who comes from a middle-class background[15], and faces numerous challenges in her determined efforts to save her father. In MMI, Mona proves herself to be both adventurous and daring and is accompanied by the alien Jo-aag in her journey, as Butts (1996: 331) asserts "the hero often acquires a faithful companion". However, as the story progresses Jo-aag's masculinity is established "nothing to beat a man taking charge, thought Mona,

impressed with Jo-aag and trusting him" (p. 88). Similarly, before they step into the submarine, Jo-aag establishes himself as the leader by posing the question, "alright Mona, are you ready for the adventure of your life?" while his "deep masculine voice" emphasizes his authoritative role (p. 97).

Ms. Sameem, the author of *MMI*, is convinced that the bond between Mona and Jo-aag emphasizes the strength of their relationship. However, the evidence in the text may prove that his presence overshadows Mona as she is impressed by "what a hero Jo-aag was" (p. 128). Thus Mona in *MMI*, due to the presence of Jo-aag, is to a great extent denied the progression and positive character development that Mythil in *MS* experiences. This highlights what Paul (1996: 102) identifies as "male-order heroism", where the male is portrayed undeniably as the hero, which is an influence of the Victorian period in which young boys were encouraged to carry on the imperial project.

According to *Reading Children–Essays on Children's Literature*, children's literature becomes "obsessed with defining appropriate gender roles for its young citizens" with boys' adventure stories attempting to imprint upon young minds the "image of the dashing, intrepid hero", while girls are presented with idealized "domestic, caring and nurturing roles" (Chaterjee & Gupta, 2009: 04). Therefore, the portrayals of the hero and the heroine in the stories are also implications of the gender roles the children are expected to perform at a larger level in society.

In the different stories selected for this research, the child protagonists represent diverse social backgrounds, and their understanding of heroism is based on the context from which they emerge. While Mythil in *MS* defines bravery based on the stories he has heard about Saradiel, a legendary figure who was considered the Robin Hood of Sri Lanka, and Mona in *MMI* attempts to prove her heroism by rescuing her father, the child protagonist in *Paduma Meets the Sunbird* unassumingly and unintentionally, repeatedly comes off as the hero in the daily activities in which he is involved.[16] Nihal de Silva (2006)[17], centers his *Paduma Meets the Sunbird*[18], on a mischievous young boy from a Sri Lankan village milieu.

In *PMtS* Paduma is generally elected as the leader by his friends[19], in *MS* Mythil outshines Ianthi and Asiri and in *MMI* Mona is overshadowed by Jo-aag, thereby clearly indicating that "masculinities are understood as a form of power relation, both among men themselves and between men and women" within the gender hierarchy, (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004: 82). Thus the heroes and heroines in the texts thrive on the gender hierarchies that exist in the social and cultural dynamics of society through which gender roles are defined and thereby the gender identities of the children are constructed.

Gender Roles

Socialization "features in explanations of gender difference, where emphasis is given to the process of how individuals learn to become masculine or feminine" and thus "socially acquire their gender identity" (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004: 160) is relevant to this analysis. In *MS*, Mythil is anxious that his ability to recognize yakas (demons) might intensify the strained relationship between his parents, as "he didn't want Thaththi to tell Ammi that she had brought Mythil up badly" nor did he want his mother accusing his father of "setting a bad example" (p. 78). This reveals that Mythil is aware of the distinctively different roles his parents play in their family which contributes to his own understanding of gender difference and thereby gender roles. This is further emphasized in the seemingly insignificant incident where his grandmother's rationale behind teaching Mythil to choose a pumpkin is so that his wife would be proud of him someday when he buys vegetables for the house (p. 24). Unconsciously or otherwise, Mythil's masculine role in the future is being defined by the ideologies that are upheld and promoted by society and the culture in which he lives.

According to Charles Cooley's looking-glass self theory, persons get feedback from others across situations and this feedback becomes a mirror or "looking glass", a reflection of themselves through which their identities are constructed (Burke & Stats 2009: 185). This is vividly demonstrated in *PMtS*, in an incident which takes place in the school, where Paduma is penalized and publicly humiliated when he is forced to sweep the class, an act he has often seen Prema, his sister, doing at home[20]. The insults hurled at him are proof that his classmates derive humour from an action which is perhaps associated with females. Therefore, the taunts "very pretty" "just like a girl" and references to the "dress" and "earrings" reveal that children instinctively associate the act of sweeping with a female (p. 14). These incidents extracted from *MS* and *PMtS* shed light on a process of socialization which focuses on role learning theory with its acquisition of social roles as "children themselves begin to internalise appropriate behavioural norms and characteristics, and thereby unconsciously regulate their own behaviour, in line with the masculine or feminine roles into which they are socialized" (Pilcher & Wheleman, 2004: 161). Therefore, it is evident that irrespective of the social background of the individuals, be it urban or rural, children absorb the masculine and feminine roles that are endorsed by diverse socializing forces that influence the construction of gender identities. In Simone de Beauvoir's words, 'women are not born, they are made' and 'the same is true of men' and 'the making of a man or a woman is a never-ending process that begins before birth' (cited in Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003: 13).

MacLeod (1994: 04) explores the roles played by women and utilizes the historical novel for children, *Caddie Woodlawn* by Carol Brink (1935), to depict the manner in which young girls were restrained and groomed for what is referred to as "women's

work" within a mid-nineteenth century concept of what is known as a "woman's sphere". Malathi de Alwis (1994: 86) draws attention to the Sri Lankan context and its historical significance in formulating the notion of "domesticating the Sinhala woman". Drawing from Partha Chatterjee's argument on Indian nationalism during the colonial period, on the "ideologically powerful dichotomy of the feminized interior (home) and the masculinized exterior (world)", de Alwis links women with domesticity and the "private" world (p. 87).

This dichotomy of the private and the public is woven into the texts as the children function based on their understanding of the roles performed by adults. As sweeping isn't considered "masculine" for Paduma in *PMtS* and cooking is a necessity for Mythil only in the absence of a wife in *MS*, it is evident that the male child protagonists in the texts are aware of the domesticated roles that they should refrain from performing. In *PMtS*, while Seeta, Preethi and Saro, Paduma's classmates, have equal access to education, Kumari, Paduma's older sister, who is probably educated like the other girls in the village, does not engage in any form of income-earning activity and the future of her family depends on the prospect of marrying her into a wealthy family (p. 267).

de Alwis (1994), follows the traces of colonialism, where women received education through following courses on domestic science which homogenized the notion of "domesticity" in Sri Lanka and finally culminated into what de Alwis defines as a construction of a "domestic identity" which is a result of the demarcated space of the feminized interior that is often viewed as the private space to which a woman is confined.

However, interestingly, the women who play significant roles in the texts included in the study are often depicted as females who face trying circumstances, and yet possess the strength to sustain their families, albeit within the confines of their homes. In *MS*, Mythil is deeply attached to his grandmother whose husband "had died of a heart attack when Mythil's mother was still a young girl and Archchi had brought up her children on her own" (p. 21)[21]. Likewise, towards the latter part of the story, Mythil's mother is prepared to take on the role of looking after Mythil on her own once his father leaves for Hong Kong (p. 128). In *PMtS*, Paduma's mother, is "forced to pawn her gold bangles when Paduma's father Sediris was arrested" (p. 84), and despite being economically backward, ensures that her children are well educated[22] and does everything in her power to find her daughter a wealthy groom[23]. The role played by Manika in *PMtS* and Archchi and Mythil's mother in *MS* are perhaps a subversion of seemingly restrictive roles in society, and the authors cleverly depict the manner in which these females, who represent diversified Sri Lankan backgrounds, manipulate their "feminized interiors" in their efforts to ensure the well-being of their families.

While highlighting the importance of depicting divorced and single-parent families, Wilma Pyle (1976: 118) also emphasizes the need for girls to be exposed to women in their literature who have earned the right to be identified through accomplishments of their own. In *MMI*, Mona, witnesses her mother's determined efforts and repeated attempts to ensure the stability of the family, despite her step-father's distasteful attitude towards Mona (p. 13). Thus, it is clear that an attempt is made to portray strong female characters from diverse Sri Lankan social strata that act as positive influences on children whose gender identities are constantly under construction as they assimilate the roles played by independent, self- sufficient women.

Socially Constructed Gender Identities

Thus the deconstruction of the social constructions of gender identities portrayed within the texts clearly depicts the manner in which gender identities of children are constantly subject to change due to the socializing forces that are active within a particular community. Though perhaps only a limited audience appreciates literature written in English in Sri Lanka, this research recognizes the importance and value of relating to this particular readership and appreciates the development of an indigenous form of literature that represents the social diversity of communities in terms of the construction of gender identities of children within Sri Lanka.

Thus, through focusing on the process of socialization and thereby the portrayal of the hero and heroine, the demarcations of the private and the public, the concepts of masculinity and femininity and the influence of autonomous adults in *Mythil's Secret, Mona's Mission Impossible and Paduma Meets the Sunbird*, it has been made clear that the respective authors reflect the acquisition and performance of gender roles and thereby the socially constructed gender identities that are constantly molded and defined within a Sri Lankan context.

End Notes

4   A publishing house founded in 2003 by Ameena Hussein and Sam Perera. The children's stories are published under 'Popsicle Books' and 'Bay Owl Press' which are imprints of the Perera Hussein Publishing House.

5   St. Thomas' College Mount Lavinia, Alethea International School, Harrow international etc.

6   Logos College, St. Thomas' Mount Lavinia, St. Thomas' Preparatory school, Methodist College, Royal College, British School, Asian International and Harrow International (From grades 7 – 11).

7   Ameena Hussein's book *Zillij* won the State Literary Prize in 2005.

8   Personal communication, August 2, 2010.

9   "Books by Sri Lankan authors that are not contextualized in Sri Lanka and are about places with which are unfamiliar to our children irritate me" (A. Hussein, personal communication, August 11, 2010).

10 Hereafter, *Mythil's* Secret will be referred to as MS.

11 P. Rambukwella, personal communication, August 2, 2010.

12 When Mythil first encounters Bhishani in the antique shop with 'intricately carved ornaments' he is terrified of her (p. 27).

13 When he saw how Bhishani was torturing Asiri, "Something like anger stirred inside him.. No one deserves to be bullied and frightened just because they are small or weak. It is time to stand up and fight" (p. 137).

14 Hereafter, *Mona's Mission Impossible* will be referred to as *MMI*.

15 R. Sameem, personal communication, August 20, 2010.

16 This is evident in the way he exposes Josa's (the shop keeper's) gambling party to the police (p. 166), discovers the truth behind the camel jockeys (p. 154) and paves the way for his sister's marriage (p. 270).

17 Winner of the Gratiaen award in 2003 for his *The Road from Elephant Pass*.

18 Hereafter, *Paduma Meets the Sunbird* will be referred to as *PMtS*.

19 For example, when the children were lost in Sri Pada, Paduma's friends, Mahi Banda and Bothalay, seek refuge in him, "once again the boys look to Paduma for guidance and he doesn't let them down" (p. 132).

20 When they are at home Paduma is sent out to buy bread, while Prema "is sweeping the garden", and Kumari his other sister "is seated on the bench combing her hair" (p. 31).

21 The incident Archchi relates to Mythil regarding the robber she chased with a gun in the absence of her husband further demonstrates her ability to protect her family (p. 20).

22 Paduma's mother, is severely disappointed when the principal initially refuses to let him sit the exam (p. 279).

23 "Josa the shopkeeper lends Manika money to buy four plastic chairs" and "there is a new curtain across the main door" in preparation of the arrival of the groom (pp 267 -268).

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Facial Expression for Stage Reality:
A study based on novices

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Abstract

This study is an analysis of facial expression in stage performance. Gesture is crucial to drama, but it is on the face itself that emotion is first expressed. This is the reason why this research focuses on facial expression. Data collected from practical classes in which students studying drama participated have been analyzed. Problems confronted during this research were most often solved then and there. This research, having both observation and participation as method, possesses the characteristics of action research and practice-as-research (PAR). The problem identified from this research is that those acting on the stage during practical classes did not show as much facial expression as needed. The reason for this is sought, and the solution thereto is presented here. As part of the solution, techniques in training as an enhancement to acting were tried out. Overall, this research will help those in the acting sphere to express their real emotion through facial expression.

Keywords: Facial expression, Emotion, Gesture, Acting, Stage reality, Real life

Introduction

In terms of stage reality, it can be said that the 'Face is the index of the mind.' Facial expression (FE) and gesture are two of the most important aspects of theatre acting. These two combined together, express physical and psychological qualities of a character. They are inter-dependent. What should be looked into as an important aspect is that the face is the centre of expression. Paul Ekman states that "The study of facial expression has been central to the field of emotion," (Ekman 1999: 236).

Psychological aspects in acting are related to emotional expressions, such as facial and physical gesture, all over the world. "…world over produce same facial expressions for the six emotions: happiness, sadness, surprise, fear, anger, disgust."(Gill & Adams 2002: 74). Emotions emerge from the mind: In Sam Kogan's words: "..Emotion is the bio-physiological result of a thought," (Kogan 2010: 06).

Acting methods of stage drama are exaggerated from the nature of real life. Actors on stage express their acting as embellished nature which is gained through training and continuous involvement. When the actors meet members of the audience there should be a need to show the exaggerated nature of the stage. In contrast, it can be observed in non- actors (i.e. normal people) who use exaggerated nature in real life when they meet

many people or students for a different effect. For example, in an office or a class room at a school, a teacher or an officer might employ the same techniques as performers to create an impact.

On the other hand, there are some different media that communicate in different ways. During the recording process of a radio drama, the actors show Facial Expression (FE) and gesture when they deliver the dialogue in front of a microphone. Likewise, it also happens when actors hide their faces with masks in a performance. It can be noticed that even puppet artists, while handling the dolls, express emotins on their face.

The present researcher has chosen the exaggerated nature of stage acting because of lack of expression occurring during the training process and stage performances in the actors' faces. In real life face to face communication, FE is used to express, "55 percent of total feelings," (Dodd 1991: 220), but on the stage it requires more than the above mentioned percentage. The significance of this research is to emphasize the training required for using FE meaningfully.

Methodology

The field of acting in this research is considered to be practical in the teaching of Drama and Theatre Arts. The subjects (students) of this study were from the Special Degree program of Jaffna University, and students from schools. In this study, the practical aspect is given more importance than theory, and the data related to the problems found in practical classes was originally collected from 2000 to 2006. The data has been analyzed from 2006 till now from a research oriented perspective.

The names and other details of the students participating in practical classes are kept anonymous in conformity with research ethics. Data was also gathered from preliminary training in the first year, training in acting in the second year, and director training in the third year. As many as ten students participated in each class and forty or thirty percent of them were males and the rest were females. The majority of students involved in this study come from different walks of life: farming, fishing, carpentry, masonry and driving but not from the government sector. In order to collect data, at the end of every session the experiences gained by participants were discussed in detail. Very important information emerged when feedback was given. Data on problems relating to emotion, FE, gesture, ability to come forward to perform, and psychological aspects were collected on a daily basis through discussion, observation and participation.

In this research, the researcher had two roles: as teacher and as investigator or analyst; and this was in relation to personal practical experience. "The rise of practice-as- research in performance in recent decades has meant that many researchers are increasingly developing their own bodies in their research method," (Starbuck and Mock 2011: 223). Due to this situation, this research was done with a view to probing through action research and practice as research, which is a new approach used worldwide in the discipline of performing arts and visual media. This present trend in theatre research is accommodated in interdisciplinary research associated with sociology, anthropology, psychology, and neurology. When production and practical sessions open or turn into a forum, discussion, debate and conversation, issues arise and this is a feature in performance as research (PAR).

To reiterate, the face is the indicator and centre of emotion and reading material for expression. As Philip Auslander says "…physical text over the verbal text," (1997: 105). In this research, the researcher concentrates on how to increase expression in the face as readable material. The issue is that not everybody is expressive due to individual, cultural and psychological aspects. It was observed that the majority of problems that arose during the sessions were based on emotional FE. These problems are categorized as follows on the basis of their characteristics:

Hindrances of play productions and practices

1. Text on face
2. Mind and body coordination
3. Interfering personal emotion
4. Expressive response
5. Contradicting emotion
6. Lack of training

Methods of unraveling the hindrances

I. Retrieving the psychological balance
II. Event exercise for emotion
III. Real life techniques
IV. Mask techniques
V. *Yoga and branayama*
VI. *Viyabhi and Sthayi Bhavas in Natyasastra*

In this methodology, in addition to the data collected by casual discussion and feedback, observation too, has been included. Imagination, emotion, innovation and improvisation are creative practices. To subject them to critical analysis is very problematic as this research involves working with a massive team of performers and audience; it is difficult to meet everyone in person and collect relevant information: "... many contributors to establish imaginative uses of methods that trouble the boundaries, between creative practice and critical analysis, between epistemology and ontology," (Kershaw & Nicholson 2011: 01).

Issues Stemming from Research

In this section, three things are taken up for discussion:

1) Type of facial expression
2) Hindrances of play productions and practices
3) Unraveling the hindrance

Emotion is considered as an infectious aspect. To put it in other words, emotion gets infected by others in several cultures and it could vary from culture to culture. For example, in a Tamil funeral rite people who observe the funeral rite usually get emotional which might be the result of sympathy as well as empathy. In the same way, a performer's emotions are transferred from stage to the audience and the audience feels and reacts in various ways. Performers also feel the emotion connected to the play and reveal their responses in different ways. Issues related to emotions need to be studied scientifically and psychologically.

> ... Acting as a particular form of behavior: acting behavior. As such it implies the application of psycho physiological findings. This kind of approach brings the study of acting – up to now an almost exclusive domain of the arts- into the field of neuroscience. (Zarrilli 1998: 217)

Furthermore, in the use of proverbs, metaphors and literature, many talk about FE and it is essential to study how FE is portrayed in diverse situations.

In the West, comparative studies have already been done on theater, and researchers have arrived at many findings after an in-depth scientific study of diverse cultures: "The *Natyasastra* is not a scientific study but a compilation of the stage experience by many actors over a span of centuries."(Schechner 2009: 310).

In the case of Tamil theatre, FE is understood through culture and it is a feature of Tamil culture. However, it has a lot of characteristics common to many cultures across the world; "Culture, social groupings within cultures, and individual differences all produce large differences in facial expression of emotion." (Ekman 1999: 317).

Types of FE

The process of analyzing FE has led to the categorization of three types of FE:

Type I

    A. FE through interpersonal Communication
    B. FE through introspection
    C. FE through sense

Type II

    A. Positive emotion (Happiness, love, wonder, ecstasy)
    B. Negative emotion (Anger, fear, disgust)

Type III

    A. 'Approach' – love, happiness
    B. 'Avoidance' – fear, Anger. (Zarrilli 1998: 201)

The above classified expressions would be shown by way of FE and gestures. The facial expressions could be revealed through parts of the face connected to extrinsic expression: nose, mouth, tongue, teeth, lips, forehead, eyebrow, eye, eyelash, cheeks, skin, hair, ear, and nape. Internal parts of face are as follows: muscle, nervous system, blood circulation, brain, and skull. The following parts of the body could express emotions through gestures: hand gesture, thumbs and hands together, hands on face gestures, arm gestures, legs and feet.

FE and gestures might differ from person to person and one emotion could depend on another. FE comes out of performers while they are acting on the stage and at the same time, considerable amount of spontaneous FE would emerge from the audience. During a performance, children as audience bring out a lot of spontaneous expression when compared to adults.

Hindrances of Play Productions and Practices

During acting practices and play production, it was noticed that performer's face shows different expressions based on where the play is performed: in the plays performed at the University, school level and open stages outside. Hence the following difficulties were observed.

1) Text on face
2) Mind and body coordination
3) Interfering personal emotion
4) Cultural limitations for emotion
5) Expressive response
6) Contradicting emotion
7) Lack of Training

Text on Face

Performers used various forms of FE while delivering a dialogue. As a matter of fact after a dialogue was delivered orally simultaneous facial reaction should continue on the performer's face but they did not give any required impact of expression.

Mind and Body Coordination

The feeling of sorrow and anger was expressed through loud crying and weeping but not through the face and body. In practical classes, it could be seen in the exercise, when recalling an emotional memory, students usually showed the emotion of anger, sadness and fear very often and the other emotion like happiness, disgust and hatred. A character in a play does not always retain its attribute which is supposed to be with a character throughout the play. For example, a character like a cunning person was expected to laugh all the time but in actual stage performance he/she did not do it all the time. Some students who did not disclose any kind of feelings were considered to have been affected by some psychological factors. Some students were unable to recall their emotions or feelings on their faces, and such students were unable to convey their emotion verbally too. Some students tended to show some good effects of emotion and to show inner feelings, but could not bring it out effectively on their face. All in all, half the students in the practical classes very rarely showed FE, for whatever reason.

Interfering Personal Emotion

A character is assigned a role to be performed in a play and is supposed to give the only required emotion to that role but mostly some characters added their personal emotions to the role they performed. For example: when a character was asked to express the feeling of happiness of a drunkard the actor showed the feeling of sadness. Another example was when a performer was asked to act out a role of a short-tempered person he refused to act that role because he himself was short-tempered by nature. A third example was a situation where a performer had lost a family member, therefore he always expressed the emotion of sorrow only.

Cultural Limitation for Expressing Emotion

In Tamil culture, women are not supposed to laugh loudly because women need to be modest and humble in Tamil society. For example, the tobacco leaf is personified as a woman in Tamil society because when a tobacco leaf blooms its aura is gone. Similarly, if a woman laughs, her chastity is questioned. Another cultural factor is due to various divisions in the caste system, some people are bullied and as a result they are not very expressive or they fear to show FE.

Expressive Response

It was observed that student performers did not react to their co-performers because each performer gives reaction only when he/she is acting out his/her role.

Contradicting Emotion

It was witnessed that some characters showed contradictory emotion. For example, when a character was asked to cry; crying looked like laughing. This contradiction is found in funeral rites in real life too.

Lack of Training

Due to lack of training of the performers, they could not bring out the required emotion and their facial muscles were not trained for it.

Methods of Unraveling Hindrances

To solve the issues related to facial expression, some strategies were adapted and applied to those issues. These practices would reduce the limitations of facial muscle use.

1. Retrieving the psychological balance
2. Event exercise for emotion
3. Real life techniques
4. Mask techniques
5. *Yoga and Branayama*
6. *Viyabhi and Sthayi Bhavas in Natyasastra*

There are mainly two facts when using the above-mentioned solutions to unravel hindrances: when one feels a particular emotion, that emotion appears in the face spontaneously; when one tends to show an emotion in his/her face it touches his/her heart. Certain exercises are used to train the dancers. Likewise, exercises to improve FE in theatre arts need to be developed.

Retrieving the Psychological Balance

In order to bring out the performers' FE in an effective way, the performer's mind should be peaceful and neutral. Those who suffered from emotional disorders were unable to express their emotion very clearly. It was found in Tamil areas that because of the war situation and social discrimination many students were affected psychologically. To restore the normal state of mind of psychologically affected people, they should be sent for counseling and some drama therapy.

Event Exercise for Emotion

In this regard, exercises related to emotion should be promoted. The following needs to be practiced by the performers:

Shyness	*Body Pain*
• bending down their head	Stomachache,
• covering the face by hand	Headache
• squinting eyes	Injection
stealthy look	Intoxication
ridiculing	Care-free
teasing	
shock	
anxiety	

Real Life Techniques

- Identifying the techniques in day to day life and putting them in a systematic way.
- Stimulating the mind in a situation through thoughts
- Practicing FE in a huge open space. People in the villages have a big sense of FE and voice because of their real life practice in big open spaces.

Mask Techniques

Using face as a mask: in this practice, face should be stretched and nods used.

Yoga and Branayama

It helps one to stretch the whole body and the amount of breathing would help one to bring the intended emotion to the face:

- Eye exercise in *yoga* (Nath 2002: 88)
- *Branayama*

Type and nature of emotion are determined by amount of breathing.

Viyabhi and sthayi Bhavas in Natyasastra (Appa Rao 1967: 18)

S.no	Rasa	Sthayi Bhava	Meanings
01	Sringara	rathi	Love,amorous
02	hasya	hasa	humorous
04	raudra	krodha	Anger, furious
05	viira	utsaha	Vigor, valorous
06	bhayanaka	bhaya	Fear, horrific
07	bibhasta	jugupsra	Disgust, repugnant
08	adbhuta	vismaya	wondrous

A situation needs to be established to practice 33 *viyabichari bhava* and 8 *sthayi bhava* for facial expression. These are the clues to create the practice from the practitioner's point of view.

Conclusion

Emotion, beyond its existence within a person, must be expressed in interpersonal communication through face and gesture. But when it comes to the expression of mass audience, FE can be understood only through exaggerated nature of face and gesture. An actor is taught this exaggerated FE by means of two approaches. One is 'expression coming to emotion from face', another is 'expression going to face from emotion'. To do this successfully, students have to be given training in the movement of their facial muscles. Retrieving the psychological balance, event exercise for emotion, real life techniques, mask techniques, *yoga* and *branayama*, and *viyabhi* and *sthayi bhavas* are the remedies for the problems. With a help of these strategies; FE, reflection of emotional gestures and a balanced mental state could be achieved to a great extent. It is important to enhance the functional ability of the muscle power of the face. During the training course, students need to be taught how well they could catch the emotion, retain it, and show it in their face effectively. When endeavoring to bring actual expressions on to the face, performers should make use of these varying approaches.

Shortcomings

- This research should have been done objectively by adopting scientific methods in addition to subjective interplay of methods.

- It is assumed that emotion is brought out through the face. This assumption needs to be confirmed scientifically.

- In this research, done in classroom settings, there have been many external factors obstructing progress such as students' absenteeism, strikes, holidays, researcher's personal leave and time restriction in the semester system.

Implications for Further Research

- Generally, in workshops and practical classes, 50% of the students who participated confronted difficulty in showing FE.

- In this research, FE processes based on neurophysiology and face perception need to be proved practically.

- FE methods described in literature as images of words can be made use of when teaching acting. The cultural dimensions of teaching FE need to be explored further.

- Scientific research should be initiated to determine whether expression of catharsis and rasa has any harmful effect on both actors and audience.

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An integrated Approach to Develop Writing Skills of Final Year undergraduates of Law

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Abstract

For undergraduates of law, developing an ability to write fluently and confidently in English is a prerequisite for academic as well as professional advancement. The present study was conducted with the aim of designing an academic writing course for the final year undergraduates of law. For this purpose, the study investigated the effectiveness of pedagogy where the three major approaches to writing: product, process and genre-oriented approaches were combined with reading and study skills in English. A variety of research instruments was used in order to conduct a needs analysis and to test the effectiveness of a teaching programme to develop this ability. A combination of the main findings of the study as well as the insights gained in the literature review, are used to make suggestions for the design of an effective writing skills programme for undergraduates reading law.

Introduction

Writing is one of the four main skills of language learning, and is crucially important for second language (L2) learners. However, a large number of L2 learners cite writing as a difficult skill to acquire. This is partly due to the nature of writing itself. Writing is a complex process which proceeds through a series of episodes, such as thinking of what is going to be expressed, planning the text, transcribing, reviewing and revising. In fact, most of these operations will be taking place simultaneously, making the task of a writer even more complicated. Further, as it is meant to be communicated to an audience not immediately present and in some cases may not even be known to the writer, a writer has the added burden of ensuring that the written message is as explicit as possible. Hedge (1988) argues that effective writing requires

> … a high degree of organisation in the development of ideas and information; a high degree of accuracy so that there is no ambiguity of meaning; the use of complex grammatical devices for focus and emphasis; and a careful choice of vocabulary, grammatical patterns, and sentence structures to create a style which is appropriate to the subject matter and the eventual readers. (Hedge, 1988:6)

It is demands such as these which present particular problems to L2 learners. Therefore, the task of language teachers is "to find ways of helping [the] students to decide on their priorities and then agree on what the focus of a learning programme will be," (Tribble, 1996:5). Even though there are a number of theories on L2 writing, L2 practitioners are yet to discover a coherent, comprehensive theory to foster writing proficiency of students of limited English proficiency. The main purpose of this article is to propose a theory for such students by integrating the three major approaches to writing: i.e. product, process and genre approaches, as well as reading and study skills in English.

Methodology

In order to design an effective writing skills course for the final year undergraduates of law, firstly, a needs analysis was carried out to discover the perceived needs of the students. It should be mentioned here that there were several points of view to be considered in the process of examining needs: namely, the students, language teachers and subject specialists. This study used multiple techniques of data collection such as questionnaires, interviews, focus group discussions, observations, writing samples of students and tests. It was believed that the use of a variety of methods would facilitate validation and triangulation of the data collected. In this study, there were two types of tests: a pre-test and a post-test, and these tests were used as the primary research tool. Other research methods were used mainly as checking mechanisms to triangulate the data gathered from the primary research tool. It should be mentioned here that before

the research instruments were administered to research subjects, they were used with a pilot sample so as to assess their quality. The information obtained from the pilot study was then used to revise the data collection procedures.

This research took the form of experimental research which was analytic and deductive. All experimental approaches involve the control or manipulation of the three basic components of the experiment: *the population, the treatment and the measurement of the treatment*. The pre-test consisted of a number of testing techniques such as finding the main idea, identifying cohesive devices, discourse markers, essay writing etc. to gauge the current language ability of the sample population. Following the diagnosis, the participants were given the 'treatment', in the form of instruction on writing, reading and study skills. After that, the effects of the treatment were evaluated by means of an achievement test and a post-instruction interview with a sample of the student population.

Three different types of questionnaires were distributed among the final year undergraduates of law, subject specialists and language teachers. The questionnaires consisted of open-ended, closed, and scaled questions modelled on the Likert scale. It should be mentioned here that only the completed questionnaires were analysed due to the fact all the questionnaires distributed could not be retrieved, and some were returned incomplete.

The researcher selected the semi-structured format for data collection as it would allow for greater flexibility as described above. The interview data were supplemented with audio recordings as well. Two stages of interviews were conducted with ten members of the sample student population; before the writing instruction and then immediately after the teaching programme. The aim of the pre-instruction interview was to see students' expectations of the writing skills course and the post-instruction interview served to gather students' perceptions of the teaching programme and their suggestions to improve such a programme in the future.

A focus group discussion was conducted with five language teachers to gather information about their perceptions regarding students' abilities and limitations concerning L2 writing and the teaching methodologies that can be used to develop their writing proficiency. Here, the researcher acted as the facilitator. A limited number of questions which were open in nature were used to avoid provoking a set response. Audio recordings were used to record the discussion.

As mentioned earlier, in this study, tests were used as the main method of collecting data on subjects' abilities in and knowledge of areas such as writing, reading and study skills. Seliger and Shohamy (1989: 176) define a test as "a procedure to collect data on subjects' ability or knowledge of certain disciplines". A number of testing techniques such as finding the main idea, identifying cohesive devices, discourse markers, essay writing etc. were used to collect language data. As mentioned earlier, a pre-test and a post-test were used to collect data on the current language abilities of the research subjects and the change after instruction.

Findings

The research data gathered from the variety of research instruments that were detailed in the earlier section provided useful insights regarding the English language needs of the student population under discussion. Given here are some of the major findings of the survey:

- Essays lacked proper organisation

- In some cases, content generation seemed to be a problematic area

- On most occasions, question title was misinterpreted

- Citation skills were very poor

- None of the essays paid any attention to academic conventions

- With regard to reading and listening skills, students had difficulties distinguishing the main ideas and supporting details, guessing the meaning of unfamiliar words using contextual clues, identifying the cohesive devices and discourse markers.

A writing course module was designed after taking into consideration the feedback gathered from the research instruments mentioned earlier. Since the main focus was on developing writing skills of the student population in question, the three main approaches to writing, product, process and genre-oriented approaches were selected. As a brief examination of the strengths and weaknesses of each writing approach demonstrated that these three approaches complemented each other and that teaching the three approaches separately may have resulted in unbalanced L2 writing instruction and performance, the researcher believed that writing instruction should combine these three approaches.

In incorporating the three approaches in the writing class, firstly, students were asked to brainstorm on a given essay topic individually. After that, they had to draft the essay in pairs/groups using the structure of an essay given by the teacher. This approach helped students learn how to compose a piece of writing systematically by using the pattern-product techniques, use vocabulary and sentence structures for each type of rhetorical pattern appropriately and raise their L2 writing awareness, especially in grammatical structures. After the essay was written, the writers were asked to check whether all the components were included in the essay with the help of a checklist. Here, the students were encouraged to judge their own work because they

> … often submit work without a thought as to what is good or bad about it or how it could be improved. They often overlook obvious errors, perhaps because they have not even read their own work before submitting it. (Gibbs & Habeshaw, 1989: 94-95).

After each pair/group checked the success of the essay according to the guidelines given, the essays were re-drafted. Then, it had to be reviewed by another pair/group. The main aim of the peer review was to check whether the essay was written using the appropriate academic conventions. As an extension of this activity, the students had to evaluate a few essays which had gained a poor grade, with the help of an essay marking key. A range of skills including analysis of essay titles, brainstorming, mind mapping, etc. were included in the writing module. A great deal of attention was paid to the structure of the essay. The students were asked to write short essays from time to time; firstly in groups, then in pairs and then individually. A variety of student groupings were used because students are generally more confident when they work in pairs/groups.

As mentioned earlier in the article, the main aim of conducting this research was to find an efficient strategy to improve the writing skills of final year undergraduates of law. Although taught as separate subjects in academic settings, reading and writing are inherently linked. There is a plethora of research to affirm that reading and writing abilities are complementary and growth in one skill inevitably leads to growth in the other; i.e. students become better readers by strengthening their writing skills and vice-versa. According to Rose et al (2003: 42)

> … university students must be able to read complex academic texts with a high level of understanding, and be able to critically analyse such texts in order to present coherent analysis, argument or discussion in their own written work. They must also be able to structure their essays appropriately, using academic conventions and objective academic language, to demonstrate their mastery of a topic or inform and influence their readers.

The importance of integrating reading and writing is further emphasised by Smith (2001:1) when he states that "[f]or many years, reading and writing researchers …. have acknowledged the importance of the connection between the reading and writing processes".

The reading strategies in the module included identifying the main idea and supporting details, cohesive devices, discourse markers and using contextual clues to guess the meaning of unfamiliar vocabulary. Activities such as these greatly improved the reading skills of the students. Towards the end of the course, they could answer questions based on a reading comprehension passage with a lot of success. Therefore, the researcher is of the view that in view of the complementary nature of the reading and writing processes as demonstrated above, integrated reading-writing instruction should be implemented in the L2 writing classroom to improve the writing skills of law undergraduates.

The next crucial area is the development of study skills which includes "adjusting reading speeds according to the type of material being read, using the dictionary, guessing word meanings from context, … note-taking and summarising" (Jordan, 1997:6). Researchers have consistently reported a positive relationship between academic success and study skills. Waters and Waters (2001:375) draw attention to the fact that "effective study uses the successful use of techniques such as how to take notes, skim and scan, construct a bibliography and so on". Beard and Hartley (as cited in Jordan, 1997, p.8) conclude that "students need to develop effective study skills if they are to become effective independent learners". Even though study skills seem to be separate from language skills, Exhibit A (adapted from Jordan 1997:9) demonstrates the integrated relationship of the skills. This demonstrates that in order to devise an effective writing course, language skills and study skills should be integrated and that such training will not only equip students with the language skills needed in academic courses but also foster independent learning.

Exhibit A   **Integrated Relationships of Language Skills and Study Skills**

STUDY SKILLS				
RECEPTIVE SKILLS			**PRODUCTIVE SKILLS**	
LECTURE SEMINAR TUTORIAL	LISTENING (& NOTE-TAKING) 1. Differentiating: (a) main idea & supporting details (b) fact & opinion (c) idea & example 2. Use of abbreviations		*SEMINAR TUTORIAL*	SPEAKING 1. Initiating (e.g. presenting a paper) (a) introduce, conclude (b) define, classify, summarise, compare, contrast, etc. 2. Initiating & responding (e.g. taking part in a seminar discussion
PRIVATE STUDY	READING (& NOTE-TAKING) • Intensive reading, skimming, scanning 1. Differentiating: (a) main idea & supporting details (b) fact & opinion (c) idea & example 2. Use of abbreviations		*ESSAY REPORT DISSERTA-TION THESIS EXAM PRIVATE STUDY*	WRITING (other than note-taking) a. General, i.e. introduce, conclude, summarise b. Specific academic concepts/functions e.g. define, classify, summarise, compare, contrast, etc.

Adapted from Jordan, R.R. (1997). *English for Academic Purposes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

"In general, it is a good idea to get students' reactions to lessons and their aspirations about them, clearly stated" declares Harmer (1998:22). In order to check the effectiveness of the teaching material used, the students were asked to compile feedback notes in groups. After each session, they were also asked to do activities based on that particular session in order to revise the lesson. Further, student writing samples were collected for analysis regularly and these showed a marked improvement. "Use a diary to record personal feelings, reflections and observations about your teaching as near to the time of the events as possible," advises Gibbs and Habeshaw (1989:205). Hence, the researcher compiled observation notes, which focused on what was said and done by the students in the L2 writing class, immediately after each training session. These methods constituted the main source of information to gauge students' development with regard to L2 writing skills and other skills needed for effective writing, and ultimately, to check the effectiveness of the teaching programme.

Limitations

The research was not devoid of limitations. A major limitation was the fact that due to various personal and academic reasons, the students were unable to participate in the teaching programme for a longer period. Therefore, the teaching was limited to two hour blocks per week for eight weeks. Another limitation was the fact that the study involved the writer in studying and evaluating her own teaching which would have resulted in a potential loss of objectivity at specific stages of the research, in terms of data collection and analysis. For instance, in interviewing the students after the training course, where the researcher acted as the interviewer, there could have been potential for the students to try to please the researcher who was the teacher and the designer of the teaching modules. Further, the decision to interview only ten members of the student sample before and after writing instruction could have had some effect on the data collected.

However, certain strategies were employed to minimise these problems. Firstly, the study used multiple data collection techniques, which allowed for a triangulation of data. Attempts to address bias in each data collection procedure were also made. For example, classroom observation was conducted not only by the researcher; feedback from the regular teacher of the class was also obtained concerning student behaviour. Interviews were conducted in two stages, prior to and after the training. Further, the transcripts of the interviews were shown to the students to be checked and amended if necessary. The writing scripts were marked by a group of teachers who were not involved in the study. Moreover, the feedback from students regarding the effectiveness of the teaching programme that was collected bore no names and had to be compiled in groups. Taking the above into consideration, despite some of the limitations this project may still have, the researcher strongly believes that the results of the study will help in establishing a successful L2 writing pedagogy for the final year undergraduates of law.

Conclusion

This study probed the feasibility of synthesising the product, process, genre-oriented approaches to writing, reading, writing and study skills which would enable the final year undergraduates of law to handle writing assignments in other academic courses successfully. As emphasised throughout the study, teaching writing skills to non-native students is a challenging task for L2 teachers because there are a number of elements involved and also because the development of writing skills takes a long time. The researcher would like to stress the need to incorporate the insights of the above mentioned approaches, into the L2 writing class because the strengths of each approach can complement each other and help teachers to develop learners' writing competence by providing appropriate input of knowledge and skills in the writing procedure. The researcher is of the view that such a method has a lot of potential in the L2 writing classes as it takes into account almost all the aspects connected with the activity of writing. The researcher would like to conclude the discussion with the following quotation, which accurately sums up her teaching philosophy with regard to the integrated approach to writing:

> The goal of every course should be individual student progress in writing proficiency, and the goal of the total curriculum should be that student writers learn to become informed and independent readers of their own texts with the ability to create, revise and reshape papers to meet the needs of whatever writing tasks they are assigned (Kroll 2001: 223).

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University of Kelaniya, Faculty of Graduate Studies

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