



**Parliamentary  
Research  
Journal**

**Democracy and  
Development**

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**2012**

Volume : I

Number : 02

ISSN 2235 - 9036

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## ***Editorial Note***

The Research Division of Parliament of Sri Lanka commenced publishing an annual research journal in 2011. It is expected to focus on many vital issues that are relevant to legislation and public policy formulation.

The theme of the second issue of the Journal is 'Democracy and Development'. Various aspects of development and democracy are examined by several contributors.

All nations pursue development goals in their own ways. Different strategies are adopted by them. The level of success differs from country to country. The unequal distribution of wealth, sharp disparities between different categories of the society, and gender imbalance stand as stumbling blocks.

Developments and democracy is not an unusual phenomenon. Under authoritarian regimes many East Asian countries had thrived and achieved economic prosperity. Their development strategies and the governing systems are discussed here.

Moreover, in achieving real development the environmental factors cannot be overlooked. Environmental protection and economic development are inseparable.

The issues pertaining to postwar development too are addressed. Attention is paid to the criticism that only infrastructure development is highlighted while political solutions are neglected.

In parliamentary democracies backbenchers have a significant role. Being close to the grassroots level they play a key role in and out of parliament. His role is examined by one of the writers.

It is fervently hoped that the Journal would provide food for thought. We would welcome suggestions from our readers for its further improvement.

*December, 2012*

*Editor*

*The views expressed in the journal are the contributors' own and do not necessarily represent the opinions of the editorial board.*

# Rebuilding Postwar Sri Lanka and Issues of Development and Reconciliation: Choosing between the Eelam Demand and the Eelam Project

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## Introduction

The military victory over the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in 2009, a group that was then considered as one of the most ruthless terrorist outfits in the world credited for introducing a number of innovations<sup>1</sup> into sub-state warfare, is widely welcomed in the country by all sections including a majority in the Tamil community. Since the end of the military conflict the government has the democratic process in the North and East revived by holding elections. The rule of

law and administration which was under the writ of the Militants with the LTTE running a de facto state<sup>2</sup> has now been re-established. The country is peaceful with no incidents of terrorist activity. Economic growth has picked up again and Sri Lanka has the second highest growth rate in South Asia.

The end of the war also saw the government embarking on an ambitious postwar rebuilding programme to get the war torn regions back to normal. The programme though making an impact on the reconstruction and development front is facing criticism coming from some quarters for its heavy emphasis on infra-structure building and large scale development projects. In defending the focus on infrastructure and large scale economic development the government of Sri Lanka argues that its immediate concern is bringing the war affected regions that had no opportunity to

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- 1 Suicide bombing to attack enemy targets, which included the suicide belt and suicide vest, was introduced into sub-state warfare by the LTTE. Their suicide bombers were often young women. In addition to military targets that included a former commander of the navy and an attempt on the army commander who was in charge of Eelam War IV they also killed one Sri Lankan President, a Presidential candidate and a Prime Minister of India. They also nearly killed another President and dozens of top Tamil and Sinhala politicians. LTTE suicide bombers also targeted innocent civilians indiscriminately.
  - 2 From about the late 1990s the liberation tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) ran what analysts called de facto state in these parts of the country, which had some recognition even of international actors. See Stokke (2006) and Sarvanathan (2007) for a detailed analysis.



receive benefits of development during the last three decades to be part of the mainstream development process. Those who criticize the work claim that the government has failed to recognize the political issues involved in the formulation of its postwar strategy. For the critics addressing the core political issue, namely, the ethnic problem and war related rights abuses and postwar reconciliation are the most crucial. The argument of the critics is that by focusing on development work only and not addressing wider political issues the government has got its priorities wrong.

While accepting that Sri Lanka's conflict is an ethno-political conflict and addressing the ethnic issue is essential in the long run to achieve lasting peace the author argues that that Sri Lanka's conflict is not a black and white case of ethnic discrimination and injustice where a victimized minority was fighting for its rights. He maintains that though the conflict began as a struggle against the problems the Tamil community faced especially the limited and contracting socio-economic opportunities, limited access to political decision making and general discrimination in social life it was later taken over by "a project" sponsored by vested interests to build a nation in the modern political sense. The latter became the major dynamic that powered the struggle in the final stage of the conflict. The attempt of this article is to provide a critique of the postwar rebuilding work of the government with a focus on this crucial feature of the ethnic conflict of Sri Lanka.

## Post Conflict Reconstruction and Rebuilding

Systematic response to postwar contexts has its formal origins in the post World War II action plans by the Allied Powers led by the United States of America to rebuild Europe (Marshall plan) and Japan (Japan Economic Recovery Programme), the two major economies destroyed by the War. Since then the major conflict situations affecting the humanity have shifted from inter-state wars to intra-state conflicts involving sub-state actors in the form of civil wars driven by identity based politics. This shift and the changes that accompanied it, both qualitative and quantitative, make the modern-day conflicts fundamentally different from the conflicts of the old world. Further, these conflicts with their post modern dynamics have required planners and policy makers involved in post conflict recovery work to adopt new approaches and develop new strategies. As a result post conflict recovery and rebuilding is discussed today using different yet closely related conceptual and policy frameworks by different agencies and actors who are involved. Post conflict rebuilding today is considered a holistic exercise of *social revival* than a mere programme of action to restart economic activities (economic revival) and rebuild physical infra structure (World Bank 1998).

The 1997 World Bank document entitled *A Framework for World Bank Involvement in Post Conflict Reconstruction* (World Bank 1998) is considered one of the key documents



that provide the conceptual basis and strategic directions of contemporary post conflict rebuilding approaches. Since then the new experiences in different parts of the world with their context specific issues and problems have resulted in some important conceptual and policy reformulations. The addition of governance and human rights related concerns, good practices, reconciliation and peace building are some examples of these new additions that have become integral part of post conflict rebuilding work. These developments also have brought in new actors who have started to challenge the state hegemony that was the hall mark of post conflict rebuilding in the early days. The entry of Non Governmental Organizations into postwar/ conflict rebuilding and establishing their legitimacy as moral leaders and protectors of the rights of masses and also guarantors of just distribution of development is one major development in this respect. The emergence of the private sector as a partner of post conflict reconstruction is another. Though their value as partners of post conflict reconstruction activities is not disputed there still is debate on their role and contribution in the post conflict rebuilding process. Though the state is generally willing to accept assistance from non-state actors there is often ambivalence, even resistance, on the part of the state when it comes to partnerships with the International Community (IC) and Non Governmental Sector agencies. In the case of Sri Lanka this resistance has recently developed into hostility with

the two parties openly critical of each other. The present discourse on rebuilding postwar Sri Lanka on the whole is characterized by this and another confrontational relationship, namely, the one between the Sri Lanka government and the leadership of the Tamil community both local and in the Diaspora.

### **The Discourse on Rebuilding Postwar Sri Lanka**

The discourse on rebuilding postwar Sri Lanka is dominated by two views dividing the main stakeholders into two opposing camps. In one camp there is the Sri Lankan state pursuing a strategy where development work and security concerns are closely interlinked. The Tamil leadership who leads the other camp argue that an acceptable political solution to the ethnic problem and reconciliation between the two adversaries, namely, the majority Sinhalese and the minority Tamils accompanied by development should be the basis of rebuilding. This latter view is supported by the International Community, both states and International Non Governmental Organizations, that advocate a similar approach. The present postwar rebuilding work in the country is being carried out on the basis of the first and is criticized from the point of view of the second.

The argument of the critics of the postwar rebuilding work of the government is founded on three related premises. The first is that the



conflict in Sri Lanka is primarily an identity conflict<sup>3</sup>. Though emphasis may differ among the proponents of this argument there is also implicit premise shared by all in this camp that the responsibility for the ethnic conflict lies in the hands of the Sinhalese leadership. In short the Sinhalese majority is the perpetrators and Tamils are the victims. The second premise is that the goal of postwar rebuilding is sustainable peace and for that priority should be given to addressing political issues. The third which is perhaps the one that is vigorously pursued is that during the war the two parties<sup>4</sup> committed war crimes and there should be a reconciliation process conforming to international standards and norms. The government on the other hand is of the view that the root causes of the ethnic conflict are economic and therefore a problem of access to resources and distribution of resources. It therefore contends that economic development and recovery are priorities and when the material needs of the people are satisfied the other things including justice would follow leading to sustainable peace. One could therefore argue that for the

government peace is a by product rather than the main objective. Though the situation is not that simple there is validity in this argument too as in reality the satisfaction of material needs and social justice in their broad sense cannot be separated. The problem here comes not because the two are opposites but because of our inability to understand the complementarities that are naturally there between the two.

Both contextual factors and immediate issues affecting them determine the opposition of the Tamil leadership to the development first approach of the government. While recognizing the fact that the conflict in Sri Lanka is a deep rooted one<sup>5</sup> they stress that the conflict was a national struggle and not an ethnic struggle. The Tamil leadership in addition highlights the war caused suffering their community was subjected to and the need to address those as well as part of postwar rebuilding programmes. Therefore it is not just a political solution they demand but a political solution that can effectively address the national question and one that can provide justice for a community that

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<sup>3</sup> Sri Lanka government while recognizing that there is an ethnic element to the conflict insists that the conflict in Sri Lanka was a terrorist problem.

<sup>4</sup> On the issue of war crimes committed during the conflict in Sri Lanka the International Community believes that while both parties to the conflict, namely, the LTTE and the government of Sri Lanka (GOSL) are responsible for human rights abuses it is the government that has the responsibility of taking action now. However, the Tamil leaders when they argue for reconciliation accuse only the government for committing war crimes not the LTTE. Further, the views of the human rights organizations and some countries like Canada are very critical of the government while the nations like US, Japan and India advocate a more pragmatic approach without directly blaming the Sri Lanka government.

<sup>5</sup> The Tamil leadership carefully avoids the term ethnic problem these days and use national problem as the preferred one to describe Sri Lanka's conflict.



suffered. When the opposition of the Tamil community to the government's postwar rebuilding is examined it is also evident that there are two ideologies dominating the current discourse. In one the emphasis is on a struggle to correct socio-economic and political injustice while in the other the focus is on building of a nation that contains the demand of separation on the premise that nations have the right of self determination. Correct understanding of the role of these two ideologies is crucial to understand the current discourse and the direction the postwar rebuilding work in Sri Lanka is taking.

The fact that Sri Lanka conflict was ended by military means against the wishes of the International Community and the expectations of the Tamil community is also important to understand the current discourse. The International Community, which for all practical purposes is the West, has all along been advocating a negotiated settlement to the conflict in Sri Lanka. Though the direct impact of not heeding the advice of the West is often financial as potential Western donors are slow to come supporting rebuilding work when their advice is not accepted, it has also other important repercussions on the above

ideological confrontation between the state and the NGO sector in the ongoing discourse. There is tacit support extended by the West at the state level for the critics of the government approach to postwar rebuilding as seen in their pronouncements and acts at various forums. These began with the West sponsored resolution to sanction Sri Lanka at the UN Human Rights Council in 2009 and continues to date with the Panel of Experts (POE) Report of the United Nations Secretary General and the US sponsored and EU backed resolution at the recently concluded sessions of the UNHRC. The open and the most vociferous support for the critics of the government in the discourse however comes from non state actors among whom the Tamil Diaspora and human rights groups are the most active. This has on the one hand created a sense of belligerence on the part of the state which sees that it has been besieged<sup>6</sup> by hostile forces and on the other has emboldened the critics of the government thus resulting in a vicious circle of confrontation.

This sense of belligerence has far reaching repercussion on the discourse postwar programme in Sri Lanka. The Sri Lankan state on its part sees an

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<sup>6</sup> When UN Secretary General appointed a Panel of Experts in 2010 to advise him on postwar Sri Lanka there was so much hostility created in the country and in the government. A very influential Minister of the government went to the extent of staging a fast unto death demanding the UNSG to withdraw the Panel of Experts. Though nothing happened and the fast was abandoned a few days later when the President intervened, it created wide support in the Sinhala community strengthening the view that the IC is out to destroy Sri Lanka.



international conspiracy in everything the International Community does. The seemingly anti Sri Lankan attitude of the International Community and the NGO sector has also created a sense of belligerence in the civil society of the majority community which believes that the Tamil militancy is not only alive in the Diaspora but also is still being promoted by the West. The government also is effectively manipulating the fears of the majority both to promote its postwar agenda and also for its political advantage in general. A large portion of the national media too is supportive of the anti International Community stand of the government<sup>7</sup>. This has put the government in a very strong position in its hard-line and uncompromising stand on its postwar programme of action. A unity of the discourses through compromise resulting in a more inclusive approach to the current strategies is thus not a possibility in the short run.

### **The Postwar Rebuilding Strategy of the Sri Lanka Government**

Postwar rebuilding work in Sri Lanka is being carried out under two major programmes called the Eastern Awakening and the Northern Spring. Government's rebuilding work commenced first with the capture of

the East in 2007. Within days of capturing the East the government announced a development plan called Nagenahira Navodaya (Eastern Awakening) under Mr. Basil Rajapaksa who is a brother and also then a Senior Advisor to the President. The Eastern Awakening project estimated to cost Rs. 1.8 billion<sup>8</sup> over 4 years (ICG 2009) consists of four components, namely village development and rehabilitation, essential rehabilitation and improvement to selected major irrigation schemes, cluster level livelihood support activities and Institutional capacity building and project implementation support (Sri Lanka Permanent Mission to the UN 2008). Similarly, immediately after the victory over the LTTE in 2009 the government announced a another plan for the North with three main components, namely, relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction under the 'Presidential Task Force on Northern Development' (PTF) chaired again by Mr. Basil Rajapakse who then was also the Minister of Economic development. Though the title is different the objectives are similar to those of the Eastern Awakening programme (see Joint Plan for Assistance 2011). Northern Spring is estimated to cost around Rs. 2 billion to complete (Manoharan 2009).

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<sup>7</sup> Even the news papers in the so called liberal press when they publish cartoons of western leaders and UNSG on their perceived support of the Tamil militancy invariably draw a tiger tail.

<sup>8</sup> US\$= Rs. 125 approx.





The comprehensiveness of the victory that eliminated the entire top leadership and almost all middle level leaders and removed other operatives and combatants from effective engagement has given the government a free hand in deciding the agenda of post conflict rebuilding<sup>9</sup>. The belligerence of the civil society in the South which is the majority dominated part of the country as mentioned earlier has strengthened the hand of the government. The political opposition is both in disarray and cannot go against the feelings of the majority community which is also their vote base. The absence of an effective opposition in the majority community and the Tamil community not having a representative leadership as all their leaders have either been made ineffective with the elimination of the LTTE or having been eliminated by the LTTE during their time has certain clear advantages in the implementation of the work plan of the government. However, this also has reduced the chances of participatory engagement in the post conflict rebuilding process and democratic decision making.

It is not only the comprehensiveness of the victory and the lack of effective opposition that has given a free hand

to the government in the implementation of its post conflict programmes. There are other political dynamics operating also have worked to the advantage of the government in this respect. The ruling party is in total control of the government with an Executive President in full control of the party coupled with far reaching power given to him by the constitution. He also through sheer political acumen and dexterity has built a parliamentary coalition giving him 2/3 majority in parliament and also formed a Cabinet of loyals. The President's hand is further strengthened by the presence of three siblings in three key positions in the government, namely, Secretary to the Ministry of Defense, the Speaker of the Parliament and the Minister of Economic Development.

While the government has total control over the affairs of postwar work programme in the country security concerns are a deciding factor limiting the ability of the government even if it wishes to adopt an inclusive approach as demanded by the opposite camp. Though In negotiated settlements security is not a major issue determining postwar work in Sri Lanka security is a major concern as

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<sup>9</sup> Those who argue that negotiated settlements are better than total military defeat of one party are not always correct. Roy Licklider (1995), says that for identity wars, negotiated settlements are somewhat less likely to "stick" than military victories. Barbara Walter reports that between 1940 and 1992, only 18% of civil wars ended in negotiations, 49% never experienced any negotiations, 19% negotiated but never reached agreement, and 14% negotiated and agreed but never implemented (Walter n.d.), however recent evidence presented by a report by Wallenstein and Sollenberg (1999) shows that of the 75 of conflicts that have ended by 1998, 21 ended by peace agreements, 24 by victory by one of the sides and 30 had other outcomes such as ceasefire agreements. Walter (2004) show that wars ending with partition are disproportionately likely to experiencing war recurrence.



there is still a party (the LTTE) that has not accepted that the conflict has ended. The military and security concerns are reflected not only in government's postwar rebuilding plan but also in the civil administration of the regions. The Presidential Task Force (PTF) in charge of postwar development work for example consists of 19 members of whom five are top-ranking military officers including the commanders of the army, navy and air force. In addition, the Secretary of Defense and the Inspector General of Police are also members of this Agency. The others include the Secretary to the President, secretaries of relevant ministries and the Commissioner of Essential Services. The composition of the Presidential Task Force is often criticized for its domination by the military and also Colombo based bureaucrats and lack of representation for the Tamils. The security first rebuilding approach is criticized by the Tamil community as not only fundamentally flawed and unsuitable to create confidence and achieve reconciliation (Narapalasingam 2010) but also has given rise to accusations that the government is exploiting the resources in the name of development (Sultana 2011)<sup>10</sup>.

The criticism therefore is that the government is pursuing a programme of action that is top down, highly controlled and centralized and also focused on military control in approach and implementation. There is little participation of the actors outside of the governing party let alone the Tamil parties. The non-inclusiveness and lack of attention to, or even outright rejection of, participatory approach is often pointed out by its critic as a major weakness of the government's postwar rebuilding work. This does not however mean that the approach of the government is totally outside of the reality in the political context of Sri Lanka. The government's postwar rebuilding approach is in congruence with the major political dynamics of the Tamil nationalist struggle of the country and can be therefore effective in the long run if these dynamics are correctly understood and linked with the strategy that is being followed. To do this we need to understand two principal dynamics that have been driving forward the Tamil liberation movement in Sri Lanka. In the following I shall examine these dynamics and the way in which they complement the government's postwar rebuilding approach and strategy.

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<sup>10</sup> The tamilnet.com which is one of the strongest supporters of Tamil militancy (some say it is a proxy of the LTTE) quoting a Tamil academic says "for any meaningful development the prerequisites are demilitarization first and then a political solution". According to the same critic "...the development in the North and East is not part of the solution, it is part of the problem," (Tamilnet 2010c)



## From Eelam Demand to Eelam Project

Though much has been written about the conflict in Sri Lanka there is little agreement on the causes and dynamics of the problem. One crucial issue the analysts of Sri Lankan conflict fail to understand is that the causes that led to the conflict in the beginning and the dynamics that moved it forward in its later stages are fundamentally different. Run up to the independence and during the period immediately after the independence it was only the elites in the Tamil community who were politically active and their main demand was equal participation in the Sri Lanka polity at the centre. Gradually with increasing political mobilization of the Tamil masses and the shortsighted reaction to that by the Sinhala leadership the dynamics of the struggle changed to fighting discrimination and correcting socio-economic imbalances. This phase of Tamil politics can be broadly described as grievance based minority politics. Though the traditional Tamil leadership, under pressure from the militant youth, resolved in mid 1970s to take forward their struggle on a new platform of Tamil nation<sup>11</sup> the issue that provided the basis of Tamil

politics still were immediate socio-economic ones, namely, lack of educational opportunities, jobs and general discrimination in social life. What is important is that the separatist politics and Eelam ideology when it emerged in the mid 1970s was based on grievances, namely, lack of economic and social justice for the Tamils in the country.

The events that followed since the adoption of the Vaddukkodai Resolution in 1976 which for the first time formally declared the intention of the Tamil community to establish a separate state based on Tamil nationhood are well documented history. By the end of 1980s Tamil militancy had developed from a ragtag insurgency to a well organized military machine and a political movement<sup>12</sup> that perhaps has no parallels in the history of ethnic struggles<sup>13</sup>. What is important however not the developments that took place in the military front but those that were emerging in the ideological front. In parallel with the military developments there was a more significant transformation in the Tamil militancy in ideological terms that resulted in the mundane issues of

<sup>11</sup> This phase formally began with the adoption of Vaddukkodai Resolution at the First National Convention of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) held on May 14, 1976. The Vaddukkodai Resolution for the first time formally declared that Tamil in Sri Lanka are a nation and they after having exhausted all other means to achieve their rights are now ready to and work towards separation from Sri Lanka.

<sup>12</sup> LTTE which was the main player in the Tamil militancy was not a political movement in the traditional sense. Except for a few short periods it did not have even a political wing. However, they were a very effective transnational political force with a well organized Diaspora.

<sup>13</sup> The Tamil militancy in Sri Lanka was the only such movement to have a regular army that could fight a conventional war. It also had a naval force of very substantial strength that could successfully challenge the navy of the Sri Lanka state and during the latter stage of fighting even a rudimentary air wing.



social justice and political rights of minority groups taking a back seat and the ideology of national rights coming to be the driving force. Tamil militancy started to talk exclusively about national right and self determination as the basis of their struggle and this transformation began in the 90s and coincided largely with the increasing involvement of the Diaspora leadership as the main funder and, more importantly, the mentor of Tamil Eelam struggle. The rise of Anton Balasingham as the leader of Diaspora Tamils and the ideologue of the Eelam struggle marked the elevation of the Tamil Eelam struggle into this new level. It also must be noted that in addition to the involvement and the leadership of the Tamil Diaspora the changing world realities which were beginning to be supportive of newly emerging national rights movements also helped in this transformation.

LTTE in the last stages of the struggle therefore was driven by the ideology of national self determination and was not fighting for the original causes (grievances) that gave rise to the demand for Eelam. By that time the struggle had been transformed and was driven by a project of nation building by the Diaspora founded on a nation's right to self determination and not political rights and grievances. The Eelam that Balasingham wanted was not the Eelam that Amirthalingam and Chelvanayakam had in mind. It was

not what the Tamil voter endorsed in 1977 elections either. The militants in the 70s talked of a Tamil nation as a rallying point and as a means to an end, not the end itself. What was defeated in 2009, was this "Nation Building Project" which had its origins overseas though the actual fighting for it took place in the country. The Eelam the LTTE was fighting for and defeated in 2009 was therefore this Diaspora Project. When this simple truth, Eelam as the end (Diaspora Eelam Project) v. Eelam as a means to an end (Eelam of the local Tamils), is understood the issues debated in the current discourse become less problematic.

#### **The Need to Address the Eelam Demand not the Eelam Project**

The moderates among the Tamil leadership still subscribe to the original grievances based Eelam demand though they were forced to abandon this stand when LTTE was in total control of Tamil majority areas. The political struggle as promoted by the Diaspora Eelam Project is losing the grip it once had on the local Tamil community and is not in touch with the ground realities, both political and military, since the end of the war in 2009. Therefore the Eelam Project will be of little relevance to a solution on the ground. With the defeat in 2009 not only the LTTE is no more a force in the country but also cracks have begun to appear in the seemingly monolithic support of the Diaspora



and the control of the Diaspora of the local Tamil politics is gradually declining<sup>14</sup>.

The demand for Eelam during the early days of separatist struggle and militancy, as it was only a demand to address socio-economic and political injustices experienced by the Tamil community, unlike the Eelam Project, is not in conflict with the current political approach of the government to the ethnic problem in substance. The disagreements between the two parties are more about strategies and emphasis. The following diagram compares the approach to postwar development by the three stakeholders, namely, the Sri Lanka state, those who subscribe to the Eelam Demand of the original Tamil militancy and the Eelam Project of the

Diaspora (Diagram 1). As the above Diagram shows there are no serious disagreements between the approach and work plan of the government and the expectations of the original Eelam movement (Eelam Demand) with regard to postwar rebuilding work. Both parties agree that development is a priority but they disagree on the way the development work is carried out. While the government is implementing a top-down development model giving priority to security concerns those who subscribe to the original Eelam Demand want the development work to be people centered and participatory. The proponents of the Eelam Project on the other hand reject the government's development programme totally. For them development work done by the government in the former war areas

Diagram 1:

**The Principal Stakeholders and their Approaches to Postwar Rebuilding**

	<i>The Government of Sri Lanka</i>	<i>Tamils supporting the Eelam Demand</i>	<i>Tamils promoting the Eelam Project</i>
<b>Development</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Top Down and large scale.</li> <li>2. Security concerns come first</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Participatory</li> <li>2. Priority to immediate welfare and developmental needs</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Development is exploitation in disguise</li> <li>2. Development is an obstacle to the goal of Eelam</li> </ol>
<b>Reconciliation</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Will follow from development</li> <li>2. Do not open old wounds</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Restorative Justice</li> <li>2. Prosecute those responsible and give justice to individual victims</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Justice for the nation of Eelam</li> <li>2. Tribunals to prosecute national leaders</li> </ol>

<sup>14</sup> There is no doubt that majority in the Diaspora supported the struggle when the LTTE was in control both local and international political mobilization of the militancy. Some of the support also was also due to threats and intimidation (ICG 2009). Today with the defeat of the LTTE four factions have emerged in the Diaspora supporting the Eelam Project. Of these Europe based Perimpanyagam Sivaparan's (Nediyavan) group is the most militant and is continuation of the original LTTE Diaspora. It is in conflict with the faction headed Rudrakumaran Visvanathan in the US and Canada. The third group headed by Father Immanuel and is based in Europe but has only a small following. The last and the latest to emerge is called Vinayagam group which is a breakaway faction from Nediyavan's group.



are planned programmes to subjugate Tamils and is a conspiracy to colonize the Tamil homeland by the Sinhalese and is a form of genocide (Tamilnet 2010a, Tamilnet 2010b)<sup>15</sup>. In the area of reconciliation too there is less conflict between what the Eelam Demand wants and the government would be willing to concede. While the government expects reconciliation to follow when the socio-economic needs are addressed those who subscribe to the Eelam Demand wants justice to accompany development but the justice they demand is individual justice, like compensations for individuals who suffered and accountability for individual actions by the military during the conflict. The Eelam Project of the Diaspora on the other hand insists that there should be justice at national level for what they alleged as genocide carried out by the government and the national leadership including the President of the country who they see as the main perpetrator of the suffering of Tamils in Sri Lanka<sup>16</sup>. The expectations of the former group can be accommodated without much difficulty in the government's postwar work while the demands of the latter will certainly be not.

The security centered development approach that is being followed at present though flawed for its disregard for political and justice issues, if refocused and correctly managed, has space to initiate a dialogue. It is addressing the core socio-economic

issues of the Tamil struggle, namely, those of the Eelam Demand but in the implementation it has got its priorities wrong. One major flaw in the government's postwar rebuilding is that the government's overall approach does not include a clear agenda for a political solution to the ethnic problem. Another is that the government's handling of the issues of rights abuses and reconciliation which on the whole is re-active. This latter weakness was clearly demonstrated in the government's handling of the healing process which is reactive. The Lessons Learnt Commission (LLRC) for example is a re-action to external pressure and is a body appointed in a hurry and to preempt the UN. There is no proactive strategy to bring postwar rebuilding and reconciliation into one coordinated plan of action.

### **Justice and Development: The Way forward**

The struggle for Eelam in Sri Lanka began as a means to end the problems of the Tamil community in a polity dominated by Sinhalese. The Eelam struggle in its early phase was only a demand for equal rights and justice articulated in the language of separatism. The vast majority of Tamils supported this separatist platform as proven by the fact that TULF was able to capture all but one electorate in the North and East of the Country at the 1977 parliamentary election which was held within one year of the adoption of the separatist Vaddukodai Resolution. The Eelam

<sup>15</sup> There appears to be a strong fear among the pro LTTE Diaspora that any success achieved by the government would result in the local masses drawing away from the LTTE's Eelam Nation Project. Another reason for their objection to development programmes may be because they feel any cooperation with the government would amount to betrayal of the "Tamil cause".

<sup>16</sup> The Diaspora leadership up to now have made two failed attempts to bring war crimes charges against the President. The first was when he was in New York to attend the Annual Sessions of the United Nations. The second was when he was in Australia to attend the meeting of the Commonwealth Heads of Government (CHOGM).



struggle that was defeated in the Eelam War IV on the other hand was driven by an elite designed and implemented nation building Project (Eelam Project) that rejected the Sri Lanka polity altogether. Reconciliation and participatory rebuilding as demanded by the International Community is not only not possible within the parameters of the Eelam Project as the very foundation of the Eelam Project is based on the rejection of Sri Lanka polity but also is not something the leaders of this Project want. The Sri Lankan state cannot be expected to engage in any form of constructive dialogue leading to peace and reconciliation with a party that rejects the Sri Lanka polity.

What is needed in postwar Sri Lanka is to find a mutually agreeable solution to the ethnic problem and also eliminate the sense of alienation and experience of discrimination and injustice in the Tamil community. Giving a separate state to Tamils as demanded by the Eelam Project will get rid of Tamils from Sri Lanka polity and give what a section of the Diaspora wants but will not solve the problem of average Tamil citizens of Sri Lanka. Furthermore, the Eelam as demanded by the Eelam Project will never be acceptable to the majority community and any government that will accept a solution based on the Eelam Project will certainly be committing political suicide. Therefore no sensible government will contemplate such an option.

The government alone cannot be blamed for not having presented a clear strategy to bring about a political solution to the ethnic problem and political reconciliation between the communities. The Tamil leadership, especially the Diaspora leadership, is also partly responsible for the situation. The Tamil Diaspora leadership that took the sole ownership of the Eelam struggle<sup>17</sup> after the defeat of the LTTE also does not seem to be interested in reconciliation. Though they claim that they are for reconciliation the reconciliation they demand is conditional. The pro-LTTE Diaspora on their part demand retributive justice alleging that there have been genocide and crimes against humanity and demanding that the national leadership be brought before international tribunals<sup>18</sup>. Further, they refuse even to acknowledge that there were human rights abuses committed by the LTTE leadership. Even the sections that accept reluctantly that the LTTE committed war crimes argue that the leaders are now dead therefore there is no need to investigate their role in the war. In that context it is only the section of the Tamil community that is still with the Eelam Demand, the grievance based separatist ideology of the original Eelam struggle, can join in a constructive dialogue with the government. Though they also demand justice theirs is not a demand

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<sup>17</sup> Even during the latter part of the Eelam struggle it was the Diaspora that controlled the militancy though the LTTE did the actual fighting. Diaspora provided fund and logistical support including public relations/propaganda work in the west which was crucial. Anton Balasingham was the ideologue of the LTTE until his death and even after the death the role of the ideologue remained overseas with Rudrakimaran playing the de facto ideologue.

<sup>18</sup> In the past the victors of war never allowed themselves to be prosecuted while they are in power and it may be a pipe dream on the part of the Diaspora leadership to expect that would happen in Sri Lanka.



for genocide/war crimes investigations and for prosecution of the national leadership. They demand justice for individual victims not for a victimized nation. As in the case of their demand for equal opportunities and access to benefits of development there is space for accommodation in their demand for justice too.

Thus the way forward for both the government and the Tamil leadership is to continue in the path to find a formula that could accommodate the concerns of both the proponents of the Eelam Demand and the government of Sri Lanka, within the framework of the demands that originally led to the Eelam struggle. The Eelam movement in its early phase demanded separation as a means to an end, namely, economic and social justice, and focus on these two issues provides sufficient space for a dialogue. It also will enable the government to continue its development first approach within an inclusive programme of postwar rebuilding. If the government is flexible enough to accommodate the demand for justice there is every possibility that a common framework will emerge for the future. What is needed is for both the government and the Tamil leadership in the country to be flexible in their respective stands. This will enable the government to pursue development first approach and its security agenda while the Tamils will get their demand for justice for rights abuses accommodated in the programme of work of the government.

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# Parliamentary Democracy and Role of Backbenchers

*It is possible to argue, Aristotle says, that in the making of the law the collective wisdom of a people is superior to that of even the wisest lawgiver<sup>1</sup>.*

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## 1. Democracy

The simple definition of democracy as the government of the people, by the people and for the people however appealing valuable and it may be for demagogues does not carry us far. Outside the ancient Greek City states direct government by whole population has never been a practical proposition, certainly not in modern countries with enormous aggregates of population. The referendum and the initiative resorted to by a few states do not vitiate this statement. Their very rarity and their infrequent use is evident to the contrary. Democracy as we conceive of today is indirect or representative democracy; that is government of the people by and with the consent of the people by a few chosen representatives. This consent must be of the whole people and not of mere part, otherwise it will cease to be democracy, however excellent the intention of such restriction may be. The secret of democracy therefore lies in the responsibility of the governors to the governed; no matter how many steps this responsibility is removed through indirect elections. For this responsibility to be real and effective, there are two conditions<sup>ii</sup> : firstly, the Executive must be subject to the control of the



Legislature even if not actually responsible to it as not being of it; secondly, the Legislature must be directly and fully representative of the people, which necessarily implies universal franchise.

### 1.1 The Sovereignty of the People and Parliament

In the Republic of Sri Lanka, sovereignty is in the people and is inalienable. Sovereignty includes the power of government, fundamental rights and the franchise <sup>iii</sup>.

The Sovereignty of the People shall be exercised and enjoyed in the following manner:-

*(a) the legislative power of the People shall be exercised by Parliament, consisting of elected representatives of the People and by the People at a Referendum;*

*(b) the executive power of the People including the defence of Sri Lanka, shall be exercised by the President of the Republic elected by the People;*

*(c) the judicial power of the People shall be exercised by Parliament through courts, tribunals and institutions created and established, or recognized, by the Constitution, or created and established by law, except in regard to matters relating to the privileges, immunities and powers of Parliament and of its Members, wherein the judicial power of the People may be exercised directly by Parliament according to law;*

*(d) the fundamental rights which are by the Constitution declared and recognized shall be respected, secured and advanced by all the organs of government, and shall not be abridged, restricted or denied, save in the manner and to the extent hereinafter provided; and*

*(e) the franchise shall be exercisable at the election of the President of the Republic and of the Members of Parliament, and at every Referendum by every citizen who has attained the age of eighteen years, and who being qualified to be an elector as hereinafter provided, has his name entered in the register of electors <sup>iv</sup>.*

Parliament is at the heart of our system of governance<sup>1</sup>. It is sovereign.

It determines the Law and holds the Executive to account. Its legitimacy in the eyes of all citizens, and its natural authority depends on the representative, democratic chamber of the Members and its exclusive role in the raising of taxation and the granting of 'supply'—the public's money—to the Executive. Party balance in the House determines which party forms a government and it cannot govern without the consent and continued confidence of the House. Members of the House do not pass laws or hold the government to account in a vacuum; they do so in ways that they judge best meet the interests of their constituents, particular groups, and the nation as a whole. The effectiveness of the House

<sup>1</sup> There shall be a Parliament which shall consist of two hundred and twenty-five Members elected in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution [Article 62(1)]



as a whole in fulfilling its purpose depends on the efforts of individual Members.

## 2. Who is a Backbencher?

In Westminster parliamentary system, a backbencher is a Member of Parliament (MP) or a legislator who does not hold governmental office and is not a Front Bench spokesperson in the Opposition. A backbencher may be a new parliamentary member yet to receive high office, a senior figure dropped from government, or someone who, for whatever reason, is not chosen to sit either in the Ministry or the opposition Shadow Ministry.

In Sri Lankan context backbencher means a member whether he is a member of Government or Opposition, who gets elected to parliament for the first time and who is not holding any office in the Government (Ministers, State Ministers, Deputy Ministers) or in the Parliament (Speaker Deputy Speaker, Deputy Chairman of Committees, Leader of the House, Leader of the Opposition and two Whips).

### 2.1 Attributes of a Backbencher

According to a research done by an Australian agency<sup>v</sup>, the top ten attributes and skills perceived by backbenchers of Parliament were as follows:

- Communication skills
- Honesty and integrity
- Community representation skills

- Intelligence
- Being approachable
- Leadership skills
- Negotiation skills
- Confidence
- Intuitive political instinct
- Courage
- Stamina
- Research and analytical skills
- Caring and empathic nature

### 2.2 The Role of a Backbencher

“The *first* duty of a Member of Parliament is to do what he thinks in his faithful and disinterested judgment is right and necessary for the honour and safety of Great Britain. His *second* duty is to his constituents, of whom he is the representative but not the delegate. Burke’s famous declaration on this subject is well known. It is only in the *third* place that his duty to party organization or programme takes rank. All these three loyalties should be observed, but there is no doubt of the order in which they stand under any healthy manifestation of democracy”<sup>vi</sup>.

There is no neat job description for a Member of Parliament. The job comprises a number of different but interconnected roles; sometimes mutually reinforcing and sometimes conflicting. Balancing the roles can be difficult; the Chamber is more topical and relevant to the interests of Members and their constituents.

Members of Parliament fulfill a variety of roles, providing leadership in their communities for the Government or in



various aspects of the work of the Parliament. Their engagement is primarily influenced by their role, the Party to which they belong, the demands of the electorate, their skills and interests.

The role of a Backbench Member of Parliament can be varied and influenced by a range of factors, including their electoral margin, whether they are Members of the Government or Opposition and the nature of their electorate, be it urban or rural.

Generally their role can be briefly described as follows :-

- supporting their party in votes in Parliament (furnishing and maintaining the Government and Opposition);
- representing and furthering the interests of their constituency;
- representing individual constituents and taking up their problems and grievances;
- scrutinizing and holding the Government to account and monitoring, stimulating and challenging the Executive;
- initiating, reviewing and amending legislation; and
- contributing to the development of policy whether in the Chamber, Committees or party structures and promoting public understanding of party policies <sup>vii</sup>.

### 2.2.1 Within the Parliament

Members contribute to discussion and debate on issues of public importance, public policy and legislation before the Parliament. They contribute to the formulation of policy through participation in Committees, both within the Party Group and Parliamentary Committees. In addition to these formal Committees Members also participate in informal Committees, and friendship groups.

During sitting days of the House a Member of Parliament would be actively engaged in a diversity of issues for a minimum of six hours each day<sup>2</sup>. This would involve responding to urgent matters raised in the constituency, undertaking research in preparation for Question Time, preparing materials to contribute to debate on a Bill or matter of public importance in the Parliament or in Group meetings of the Party scheduled for the relevant sitting week .

Typically a Member also pursues areas of specific interest through Parliamentary Committees which relate to a personal interest, previous occupation or skill, constituent or Party priority. National List Members who do not have a specific electorate constituency devote a considerable part of their time engaged in Parliamentary debate on proposed Government policy and legislation

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<sup>2</sup>Parliament normally sits eight days a month 1.00 p.m. to 7.30 p.m.



and matters of national interest and contribute extensively to the conduct of enquiries which involve nationwide hearings through select or standing committees of the Parliament Backbenchers can use their ability within the Parliament in various methods namely;

### Participating in Debates

Debates in Parliament provide ample opportunities for the Members of Parliament to speak on a matter before the House whether it be a Bill, motion, resolution, regulation or otherwise. Every Member takes part in Parliamentary debates and all views, opinions, ideas, suggestions or complaints can be voiced in an orderly manner, provided they are not in un-parliamentary language. Subjects that can be taken up for discussion will be decided by the Committee on Parliamentary Business with allocation of time etc., subject to Speaker’s approval. In case of a law or a motion, the consent of the House can be obtained by the Speaker for its presentation, and at the conclusion of the debate a division or a vote may be taken if required. Everything spoken in the House is protected from litigation outside under the Parliamentary Powers and Privileges Act, and hence any controversial debates may lead to heated arguments between the

Government and the Opposition. Making derogatory or objectionable remarks and statements may not be permitted by the Speaker who also can expunge objectionable words from the Hansard. The Speaker has been given wide powers under the Standing Orders to monitor the debates and also has the power to order any member to withdraw from the House if he continues to behave extremely disorderly.

### Questions

Questions are very important tools of the machinery of parliamentary control over the Executive. The idea of interrogating the Ministers has germinated in the early part of the eighteenth century. Broadly, questions fall in to two main categories;

- Oral
- Written

Table 01: Parliamentary Questions

Type	Government Members	Opposition Members
Oral Questions	301	2,236
Written Questions	15	223
<b>Total</b>	<b>316</b>	<b>2,459</b>

\*As at 30.05.2012 (Source: Table Office, Parliament)

Any Member has a right to ask questions from the Prime Minister or a Minister following the procedure stipulated in the Standing Orders<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> As at 16.05.2012, a total of 2695 questions including 2457 oral questions and 238 not for oral questions have been asked by Members from various Ministers during the present parliamentary session.



It says;

*“At the stage of business provided by Standing Orders questions relating to public affairs may be put to the Prime Minister or to any Minister relating to subjects and functions assigned to him by the President and for which the Minister questioned has ministerial responsibility”<sup>viii</sup>.*

### Adjournment Motions

Provision is available under the Standing Orders to raise a matter of urgent and public importance at the end of the main business of Parliament, at the adjournment time of the House. Notice has to be given in writing to the Speaker by the Member proposing to move the motion at adjournment time.<sup>ix</sup> If it is according to the Standing Orders and approved by the Speaker, generally one hour is allocated, but may be extended with agreement reached at the Committee on Parliamentary Business. The member proposing and member seconding the motion may speak first followed by others expressing the views, the last being an opportunity for the Minister concerned to reply to the issues raised if, he so wishes. Only one such motion can be moved on one single day.

This is another important mechanism available to invite attention of the House and the Government to an urgent matter of public importance and to urge the Minister to take quick remedial action.

<sup>4</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> Parliament from 5.05.2010- 28.05.2012

**Table 02: Adjournment Motions**

Moved by	Motions
Notice given by Opposition Members	81
Notice given By Government Members	43
<b>Total No of Motions*<sup>4</sup></b>	<b>124</b>

(Source: Parliament Secretariat)

### Private Members' Motions

A backbencher can invite attention of the whole House of Parliament and also the entire country to a significant issue by bringing a motion to be debated in the House on a date agreed to by both the Government and the Opposition at a meeting of the Committee on Parliamentary Business, which regulates the business of Parliament on each day. The Member moving and the Member seconding the motion is allocated time first during the debate with other members speaking for and/or against the motion, and the time may be allocated by the Speaker taking into account the party composition in Parliament. It is inevitable that when a controversial motion is moved by an Opposition Member, it is defeated by a majority vote taken by the government, but it will certainly act as an eye opener as equal opportunities will be given to all Members speaking for and against. It will provide an opportunity for the Members to stress the gravity of any public issue at short notice and to urge the Minister concerned or the Executive to take prompt action.

**Table 03: Private Member's Motions**

	Govt.	Opp.	Total
<b>Motion's Published</b>	21	114	135
<b>Debated</b>	7	12	19
<b>Passed</b>	7	8	15
<b>Negatived</b>	0	4	4
<b>Lapsed</b>	0	1	1
<b>Withdrawn<sup>5</sup></b>	1	1	2

(Source: Table Office Parliament)

### Private Members' Bills

Presenting a 'Private Members Bill<sup>6</sup>' is another way by which a backbencher can make use of the legislative process to implement the views of his constituents by making an Act of Parliament to control and monitor an important social issue or to incorporate a social, religious or other Body which works for his people. There have been several instances like 'the Bill to Prevent Forcible Conversions<sup>7</sup>' and 'the Right to Information Bill<sup>8</sup>' brought before Parliament, while most of the other Bills are those relating to incorporation of various organizations involved in social, religious and welfare activities, all sought to make a law to regulate the intended activities. This process has been streamlined with procedure stipulated in the Standing Orders and Practices of

Parliament where a draft Bill after presentation in Parliament is referred to the relevant line Ministry for scrutiny and report, and thereafter obtaining approval of the Cabinet of Ministers thus avoiding any possible conflicts with the national policies and laws of the country. Obviously, the influence of a private Member is minimal because they are not in the Executive, but this important process can be made use of, to induce government to make policies and guidelines.

**Table 04: Bills Presented in 7<sup>th</sup> Parliament**

Status	No.
Total No. of Bills Presented	105
Bills presented by Government Members	76
Bills presented by Opposition Members	29
Bills became as Act	18

Source: Bills Office, Parliament – as at 23.05.2012

### Public Petitions

It allows individuals, community groups and organisations to present a petition to Parliament, through their Members. Where the Committee is of the view that any petition discloses an infringement of a fundamental right or other injustice by a public officer of a public corporation, local authority or

<sup>5</sup> As at 28.05.2012

<sup>6</sup> During the present Parliament 105 Private Member's Bills have been introduced by backbenchers

<sup>7</sup> The Bill was referred to Legislative Standing Committee. The Standing Committee presented its report to Parliament on 06 January 2009. As per the decision of the Committee on Parliamentary Business the Bill was referred to the Consultative Committee on Religious Affairs for further consideration. The Bill lapsed with the dissolution of Parliament on 09 February 2010.

<sup>8</sup> The Bill was presented on 21 June 2011 and the motion to introduce, the Bill was defeated by a vote taken at the time of introduction.





other like institution<sup>9</sup>, it may inquire into and give its recommendation/ remedy. Once a petition is referred to committee it is considered by the Public Petitions Committee. The most appropriate way to obtain redress for any grievance caused to an individual is to submit a petition through a Member of Parliament which will be considered by the Committee on Public Petitions in terms of Standing Order No: 128. Standing Orders provide for a petition "disclosing an infringement of a fundamental right or other injustice by a public officer or an officer of a public corporation, local authority or other like institution" to be presented in Parliament through a Member of Parliament, and all petitions shall be addressed to the Speaker – the highest office in Parliament. All petitions shall be of clear and legible language including at the end a prayer or relief sought. This has been provided to invoke the powers of the highest authority in the investigation, and the Committee is empowered to 'summon any person, paper or book and to call any person to give oral evidence by himself'. If a summon is not obeyed, penal action can be initiated through the country's legal process through Courts against those disrespectful of Parliamentary authority.

At the conclusion of the inquiry and on satisfying themselves to the bonafides of the case, the Committee on Public Petitions makes

recommendations either rejecting the petition or granting relief in pursuance of its basic mediatory role. The institutions concerned, on many occasions, have implemented the recommendations which are aimed at granting a relief to the petitioners, but there have been occasions when such implementations have been delayed. The popularity of Public Petitions is evident by the large number of petitions received by the Speaker which generally exceeds one thousand a year<sup>9</sup>.

**Table 05:** Public Petitions Received in the 7th Parliament

Status of Petition	No.
Government Members	1,563
Opposition Members	477
Total	2,040
No. Petitions Disposed	141

(Source: Public Petitions Office, Parliament)

### Consultative Committee

Consultative Committee is a very powerful tool available for a backbencher to bring any matter to the attention of the Ministers and key officials of the respective line Ministry. A Consultative Committee is appointed for each Cabinet Ministry and today, there are 54 Consultative Committees in Parliament. Standing Orders require that each Consultative Committee meets at least once a month on a meaningful programme so that all Members of Parliament have adequate opportunities to discuss

<sup>9</sup> During the present Parliament Session, 2040 petitions have been received.



various issues relating to his voters and constituencies with a view to obtaining suitable solutions. The Cabinet Minister is presiding over the meeting of the Consultative Committee where all key officials of the Ministry, Departments, Corporations, Boards and other Institutions under the Ministry are present. In case of the Ministries where His Excellency the President is the Minister, the Deputy Minister will preside. The members may give notice by a letter addressed to the Secretary of any matter to be raised at the next meeting, and the officials are informed to have all information collected for a fruitful discussion at the meeting. The Minister may give suitable instructions immediately to solve the issue raised, and thus this has proved to be a very successful mechanism to obtain solutions to public matters.

### Select Committees

Select Committees are appointed by the Speaker with its scope decided by a resolution passed in the House which can be enhanced or restricted by the House. In terms of Standing Order 94, Parliament may by resolution empower that Committee to send for persons, papers and records and any Committee on whom such powers have been conferred shall have leave to report their opinions and observations together with the minutes of evidence taken before them to Parliament and to make a special report of any matters which they may

think fit to bring to the notice of Parliament. It can continue investigation even when the Parliament is adjourned and shall not be dissolved until the presentation to Parliament of its report or by motion of Parliament.

### COPA and COPE (Committee on Public Accounts and Committee on Public Enterprises)

The Parliament shall have full control over public finance <sup>xi</sup> which principle has been safeguarded and upheld in a series of decisions of the Supreme Court of Sri Lanka. It is also provided that "no tax or any other levy shall be imposed by any local authority or any other public authority, except by or under the authority of a law passed by Parliament or of any existing law". This provision guarantees that without Parliamentary approval by law or otherwise, Government cannot collect moneys from the people.

Again, the work of the Government is scrutinized by Parliament through the two legislative financial oversight Committees, viz the Committee on Public Accounts (COPA)<sup>xii</sup> which examines the financial activities of government departments and the Committee on Public Enterprises (COPE)<sup>xiii</sup> which is empowered to scrutinize finances of public undertakings.

The two financial Oversight Committees closely and in detail examine the financial activities of



government and semi-governmental institutions like Corporations, Boards etc., by reviewing reports of the Auditor General on the past year's accounts and also going into any current activities, and it is mandatory for the Secretary to the Ministry and the Heads of the Institutions to be present before the Committee at its meeting and clarify matters. Thereby all Members of the Committee will have an opportunity to ensure that financial process of the government is made more transparent and accurate to fall in line with the established rules and regulations.

### **2.2.2 Within the Party**

Members (other than Independents) are involved with their political Party at National, Provincial and Rural level, particularly in respect of policy development and through engaging with branches at National, Provincial and constituent level. Involvement in branch or party meetings in the electorate contributes to informing the community of Government and Party policy initiatives and provides a forum for Members to listen to the views of their constituency. The majority of Members of Parliament belong to a political Party and as a consequence, are actively involved in a wide range of political activities. They are expected to maintain allegiance to the Party and support it in the House, outside the Parliament and in various political promotional campaigns and fundraising activities. Members of Parliament are more

involved in working with branches of their Party within their constituency.

A backbencher is expected to be a leader in their community and well-informed of a myriad of policy, regulatory and administrative issues, not only those relevant at a National level but also in respect of many Provincial and Local Government issues. A Backbencher is supported generally by a staff of five including one Research Assistant, who is required to address a wide range of matters on behalf of the Backbencher in the electorate or, when Parliament is sitting.

### **2.2.3 Within the Constituency**

Members represent the interests of their electorates (or Districts) on a wide range of matters affecting their constituents. A backbencher's engagement in the community would address a diversity of involvements including community organizations, significant employers and influential groups seeking to influence public policy. Members would also be asked to respond to issues outside the direct involvement of the legislature and public service, including matters which are within the Local and Provincial Governments.

### **Conclusion**

In a democratic Parliament, Members are elected through universal suffrage by the people of the country. Therefore, the paramount duty of the Members is to represent the people who have reposed a great trust upon



the Member of Parliament elected to air a voice on behalf of the people without any fear or hindrance<sup>xiv</sup>. Although, after electing to Parliament, Members are expected to carry out various duties related to the House of Parliament, people expect their members to represent their interest and may be over and above the policies of the political party through which they were elected. The members have to honour the interests of the constituents by working along the party manifesto which provide the basic platform for action. If the people's demands are not met properly, there is no guarantee that they will return to the Parliament after the next election despite the assurances of the political party to which he belongs.

Although, with the introduction of a proportional representation system in

Sri Lanka, it is alleged that the strong link that existed between the MP and his people have been weakened, but nevertheless, the MP is provided with a wider scope and area to perform much better and win the hearts of the people. Similarly, with more MPs elected for a large area, there is a better chance of grievances being heard and attended to.

Using whatever form and method available under the Constitution and the Standing Orders, it is the duty of the Member of Parliament to hear their constituents, meet their requirements and contribute towards national development. It would be of much greater importance to uphold the democracy by all means, because without democracy the rule of law cannot prevail and the peace, harmony and prosperity will disappear swiftly.

**Foot Notes:**

- i. Parliament The Vision Hindsight by Prof G. Lindell
- ii. Parliamentary Democracy by Dr .N .M. Perera.
- iii. Article 2 of the Constitution
- iv. Article 4 of the Constitution
- v. The Attributes, Role and Reward of a Backbencher- John Egan
- vi. Sir Vincent Churchill- Duties of a Member of Parliament, Parliamentary Affairs, Volume 8, (1954-55), p302
- vii. Revitalising the Chamber: the role of the backbench Member  
First Report of Session 2006-07/, House of Commons
- viii. Standing Order 26
- ix. Standing Order 17
- x. Standing Order 128(3)
- xi. Article 148 of the Constitution
- xii. Standing Order 125
- xiii. Standing Order 126
- xiv. Section 3 of Parliament Powers and Privilege Act



# සංවර්ධනය හා පාරිසරික දේශපාලනය

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## හැඳින්වීම

පරිසරය හා මිනිසා අතර පවතින්නේ ඉතා සමීප සම්බන්ධතාවයකි. නූතන මිනිසාට වාර්තමානයේ අත් කවරදාටත් වඩා පාරිසරික අර්බුදය හමුවේ නොයෙක් අභියෝගවලට මුහුණ දීමට සිදුව ඇත. එම නිසා වාර්තමාන පරිසර අර්බුද පිළිබඳව ස්වභාවික විද්‍යාඥයින් මෙන්ම සමාජ විද්‍යාඥයින් අධ්‍යයන හා පර්යේෂණවල නිරතවෙමින් සිටී. විශේෂයෙන්ම පාරිසරික සමාජ විද්‍යාව හා දේශපාලන පරිසර විද්‍යාව යන න්‍යායන් දෙක වර්තමාන පරිසර අර්බුද වඩාත් ගැඹුරු හා විවේචනාත්මක ආකාරයෙන් විශ්ලේෂණය කරමින් සිටී.

නූතන මිනිස් සමාජය අත් කවරදාටත් වඩා තම ආර්ථික හා භෞතික සංවර්ධනය පිළිබඳව වැඩි අවධානයක් යොමු කරමින් සිටී. මෙවන් සිත් සංවර්ධන ක්‍රියාදාමය හේතුකොටගෙන පරිසර පද්ධතිය දැඩි ලෙස තර්ජනයට ලක්ව ඇත. අද වන විට මිනිස් සමාජය ඉහළ යන මිහිතල උණුසුම, දේශගුණ විපර්යාස, ආහාර විෂවීම, වන විනාශය, කැලි කසල ගැටළුව, ජල අර්බුද, හා ජෛව විවිධත්වය විනාශ වීම යන ප්‍රධාන පාරිසරික අර්බුදවලට මුහුණ දෙමින් සිටී. මෙම ගැටළු ඇතිවීමට ප්‍රධානතම හේතුව වන්නේ සංවර්ධනය මුල්කරගත් මිනිස් ක්‍රියාකාරකමය. වර්තමාන ශ්‍රී ලංකාවද ගෝලීය පරිසර ගැටළුවට නොදෙවෙනිව නොයෙක් පරිසර අර්බුදවලට මුහුණ දෙමින් සිටී. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේද වන විනාශය, අලි මිනිස් ගැටුම, අවිධිමත් කසල බැහැර කිරීම, පාංශු ඛාදනය, ගංවතුර, නියඟය, වැලි ගොඩදැමීම, වායු දූෂණය, ජල දූෂණය වැනි නොයෙක් පරිසර ප්‍රශ්න වර්තමානයේ දක්නට ලැබේ.

එම නිසා අදවන විට අප හමුවේ තිබෙන බොහොමයක් පාරිසරික ගැටළු එක්තරා දේශපාලන ආර්ථික මුහුණුවරක් ගන්නා බව පෙනී යයි. මෙම පාරිසරික ගැටළු නිසා නොයෙකුත් මාරාන්තික පාරිසරික සෞඛ්‍ය ගැටළුද (ඩෙංගු හා වකුගඩු රෝග) ඇතිවී ඇත. පරිසර ගැටළු හා දේශපාලන ආර්ථිකය මුල්කොටගත් සංවර්ධන ක්‍රියාදාමය අතරින් සෘජු සම්බන්ධයක් ඇතිබව නොයෙක් අධ්‍යයන මගින්



පෙන්වා දී ඇත. විශේෂයෙන්ම තුන්වෙනි ලෝකයේ පරිසරය දේශපාලනිකරණය වී ඇති අතර සංවර්ධන ක්‍රියාදාමය තුළින් පරිසර විනාශය හේතුකොටගෙන නොයෙක් මානව අයිතිවාසිකම් උල්ලංඝනය වන බව දක්නට ලැබේ.

එනම් ශ්‍රී ලංකාව ඇතුළු බොහොමයක් තුන්වෙනි ලෝකයේ රටවල්වල මිනිසුන්ගේ ජීවිතාව, සංස්කෘතිය, ආගමික විශ්වාසය හා ජන ජීවිතය ඔවුන් ජීවත්වන පරිසර පද්ධතිය හා ඉතා සමීපව බැඳී පවතී. සංවර්ධන ක්‍රියාදාමය හේතුකොටගෙන මෙවන් පරිසර පද්ධතියක් විනාශ වීම නිසා, මෙම ප්‍රජාවන්ගේ හෝ මිනිසුන්ගේ ජීවිතාවට හා සංස්කෘතියට අදාල අයිතිවාසිකම් උල්ලංඝනය වනු ඇත. එම නිසා පරිසර විනාශය හුදෙක් භෞතික පරිසරයට පමණක් නොව මිනිසුන්ගේ පාරිසරික ප්‍රජාවන්වුවාදායට හානියක් ඇතිකරණු ලබයි. මේ හේතුවෙන් ලෝකය පුරා අද වන විට මිනිසුන්ගේ පාරිසරික අයිතිවාසිකම් වෙනුවෙන් නොයෙක් සංවිධාන, ව්‍යාපාර, සටන් ඇරඹී ඇත. ඒවා එක්තරා ආකාරයක පශ්චාත් නූතනවාදී පාරිසරික වාදයක් ලෙස තිරසාර සංවර්ධනයක් සඳහා වර්තමාන සංවර්ධන ක්‍රියාදාමය නිසීමට යොමුකිරීමට උත්සාහ දරමින් ඇත.

**පාරිසරික කටීකාවන්**

ලෝකයේ පරිසරය පිළිබඳව කටීකාවන් ඇතිවීමට නොයෙක් සමාජ, දේශපාලන හා බුද්ධිමය සාධක දායකවිය. පාරිසරික ගැටළු හා කටීකාවන් සමාජීය වශයෙන් සංස්කරණය හෝ නිර්මාණය කරනු ලබනු බවට නොයෙක් මතවාද ඉදිරිපත්වී ඇත (Hannigan, 2006). මෙහිදී අප විසින් අවබෝධ කරගත යුතු තවත් වැදගත් කරුණක් වන්නේ පරිසර ප්‍රශ්නයක් යනු හුදෙක් අප ඉදිරියේ භෞතික වශයෙන් දක්නට ලැබෙන හෝ අපට දැනෙන ගැටළුවක් පමණක් නොව, එය පරිසරය පිළිබඳ අනාගතයේ ඇතිවිය හැකි අවධානම් තත්ත්වයන් හෝ ගැටළු පාරිසරික ගැටළු කටීකාවට එක්කර ගනු ලැබේ. එම නිසා පාරිසරික අවධානම (Environmental Risk) පාරිසරික කටීකාව ඇතිවීමට ප්‍රධාන වශයෙන් දායක වේ (Renn, 1992). මේ පිළිබඳව ප්‍රකට සමාජ භූගෝල

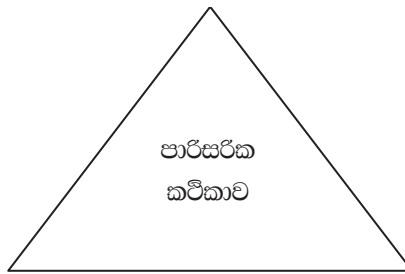
විද්‍යාඥයෙකු වූ Ulrich Beck තම Risk Society (1992) නැමති කෘතියෙන් සඳහන් කරන්නේ වර්තමානයේ අප ජීවත්වන සමාජය නොයෙක් ආකාරයේ අවදානම් හා අනතුරු තත්ත්වයන්ගෙන් පිරී පවතින බවයි. මෙහි පාරිසරික වශයෙන් ඇතිවී තිබෙන හෝ ඇතිවීමට නියමිත අවදානම් තත්ත්වය ඉතා වැදගත්ය. අප විසින් අවබෝධකර ගත යුතු වැදගත්ම කරුණු වන්නේ පාරිසරික හෝ පාරිසරික සෞඛ්‍ය වශයෙන් ඇතිවන බොහෝ අවදානම් තත්ත්වයන් සමාජ, සංස්කෘතික, හෝ දේශපාලන වශයෙන් සංස්කරණය කරනු ලබන බවයි. Mary Douglas and Wildavasky (1982) තම Risk and Culture යන කෘතියේ සඳහන් කරන්නේ අවදානම් සංස්කෘතික වශයෙන් නිර්මාණය කරනු ලබන බවයි. මීට අමතරව පාරිසරික අවදානම දේශපාලන මතවාද මගින්ද, මාධ්‍ය මගින්ද, බුද්ධිමතුන් මගින්ද අඩු වැඩි වශයෙන් සංස්කරණය කිරීම සම්මත දෙයක් බවට පත්ව ඇත.

ලාංකීය සමාජය තුළ ඇතිවන බොහොමයක් අවදානම් හෝ පාරිසරික අවදානම්-තත්ත්වයන් වන අලි මිනිස් ගැටුම, ඩොංගු රෝගය, සහල්වල ආසනික තිබෙන බවට ඇතිවූ කටීකාව, පොල්තෙල්වල කොලොස්ටරෝල් ඇතිබව, එමෙන්ම ජංගම දුරකථනවල මයිටාවන් ඇතිබව, දේශපාලන, මාධ්‍ය හෝ බුද්ධිමතුන් විසින් සංස්කරණය කරන ලද අවදානම් තත්ත්වයන්ට කදිම නිදසුන් වේ. එම නිසා පාරිසරික වාදයට හෝ පාරිසරික කටීකාවන්ට පසුබිමක් සපයන බොහොමයක් අවදානම් තත්ත්වයන් සමාජ සංස්කෘතික, දේශපාලන මතවාදවලින් සංස්කරණය වීම වර්තමාන සමාජයේ පහසුවෙන්ම දැකගත හැකි වේ.

පාරිසරික කටීකාව පිළිබඳව පූර්ණ අදහස් ඉදිරිපත් කිරීමට Hannigan (2006) අළුත් ප්‍රවේශයක් ගෙන තිබේ. ඔහුට අනුව පිරිසර (Arcadian) පරිසර පද්ධතිය (Eco-system) යුක්තිය හෝ නීතිමය සාධක (Justice) යන කරුණු 03 මුල් කොට පරිසර කටීකාවක් ගොඩ නැගෙන්නේය. මෙහි ඉදිරිපත් කොට ඇති කරුණු 03 තවත් ආකාරයෙන් සඳහන් කරන්නේ නම්, පරිසරය පිළිබඳ කටීකාව ඇතිවීමට ස්වභාවික පරිසර සුන්දරත්වය, පරිසර පිළිබඳ විද්‍යාත්මක දැනුම හා පරිසරය පිළිබඳ සධාරණත්වය හෝ නීතිය වැදගත්වේ. එය මෙසේ රූප සටහනකින් ඉදිරිපත් කළ හැකිය.



ගැමි පරිසර සුන්දරත්වය



පරිසර පද්ධතිය පිළිබඳ විද්‍යාත්මක දැනුම

පාරිසරික යුක්තිය

පාරිසරිකවාදය ඇතිවීම කෙරෙහි දේශපාලනය පිළිබඳ සාධක අනෙක් කරුණු වලට වඩා වැඩි දායකත්වයක් ලබා දීම නූතන සමාජයේ දක්නට ලැබෙන සුවිශේෂී කාරණාවකි. මෙහි දේශපාලනය යනුවෙන් අදහස් කරනු ලබන්නේ පාරිසරිකවාදය කෙරෙහි බලපාන බල සම්බන්ධතාවයක් හෝ බල ධුරාවලියයි. මේ පිළිබඳව වැඩිවශයෙන් දේශපාලන පරිසර විද්‍යාව (Political Ecology) තුළින් සාකච්ඡා කරනු ලබයි. තවත් සහමරුන් මෙය පාරිසරික දේශපාලනය (Environmental Politics) යනුවෙන් හඳුන්වයි.

**පාරිසරික දේශපාලනය**

ඉතිහාසයේ අන් කවරදාටත් වඩා පරිසරය පිළිබඳ දේශපාලනය ඉතා තීරණාත්මක සාධකයක් බවට පත්ව ඇත. කාල්මාක්ස් හා එංගල්ස් පරිසර ගැටළු පිළිබඳව සෘජුවම තම අදහස් ඉදිරිපත් නොකෙරුවත් ඔවුන්ගේ ධනවාදයට එරෙහිවූ අදහස් වක්‍රව පාරිසරික මතවාදයට බලපෑම් කළේය (Foster, 2001). මාක්ස් හා එංගල්ස් තවදුරටත් පවසන්නේ පරිසරය හා මිනිසා අතර තව ආකාරයක සම්බන්ධතාවයක් ඇති කර ගැනීම තුළින්, පරිසරයට සිදුවන හානිය අවම කර ගත හැකි බවය. එම සම්බන්ධතාවය පරිසර කේන්ද්‍රීය හා පරිසරය කෙරෙහි මිත්‍රශීලී විය යුතුය (Dickens, 1972). මාක්ස්ගේ මතවාදයට අනුව ධනවාදය තුළ සොබාදහම

යනු වෙළඳපලේ විකිණීමට හා පරිභෝජනය කළහැකි භාණ්ඩයක් ලෙස යොදාගනු ලබයි. එමනිසා ස්වාභාවික සම්පත් එක්තරා ප්‍රාග්ධනයක් හා පුද්ගලික ලාභයක් ලෙස සලකනු ලබයි. මාක්ස් තවදුරටත් පවසන්නේ ධනවාදයෙන් හිතරම මිනිසා සහ ස්වභාවධර්මය අතර ඇති සම්බන්ධතාවය විනාශකොට ස්වභාවධර්මය ප්‍රයෝජනයට ගනිමින් ලාභ ඉපයීම සඳහා වැඩි වැඩියෙන් භාණ්ඩ නිෂ්පාදනය කරනු ලබන බවයි (Gare, 1992).

මාක්ස්වාදීන්ගේ පොදු අදහසට අනුව ධනේෂ්වර අර්ථ ක්‍රමය තුළ මිනිසා විසින් භාණ්ඩ හා සේවා වෙනුවට සංකේත පරිභෝජනය කිරීම වැඩි වශයෙන් දැක ගත හැකිවේ. එම නිසා සංකේත මුල්කොටගත් සංවර්ධනය හෝ පරිභෝජන රටාවන් අළුත් පරිසර අර්බුද ඇති කරන අතර, එමඟින් සොබාදහම තව තවත් අවදානම් තත්ත්වයට ලක්වේ. සංකේත පරිභෝජන-වාදය පාරිසරික සමතුලිතතාවය විනාශකොට පරිසරය හා මිනිසා අතර ඇති අන්‍යෝන්‍ය සම්බන්ධතාවය බිඳ දමා ඇත. වර්තමාන ලාංකීය සමාජය තුළ මධ්‍යම පාංතිකයන් වැඩි වශයෙන් සංකේත මුල්කොටගත් පරිභෝජන රටාවන්ට නැඹුරුවීම නිසා අප හමුවේ බොහෝ පරිසර ගැටළු ඇතිවී ඇත. තම අවශ්‍යතාවයට වඩා සුබෝපභෝගී නිවාස ඉදිකිරීම හා මිල අධික වාහන මිලදී ගැනීම ලාංකීය සමාජයේ පරිසර ගැටළු ඉහළ යාමට කදිම හිඳසුනක් වේ.



මාක්ස්වාදීන් සඳහන් කරන පරිදි පාර්සරික ගැටලු වර්තමාන ලෝකය පාලනය කරන ධනේෂ්වර ආර්ථිකයේ අතුරු ප්‍රතිඵලයකි. මෙම ධනේෂ්වර අර්ථ ක්‍රමය දේශපාලන බලය සමග ඉතා සම්පව් කටයුතු කරයි. තවත් ආකාරයකින් සඳහන් කරන්නේ නම් ආර්ථිකය මගින් හසුරුවනු ලබන දේශපාලන ක්‍රියාදාමය හේතු කොටගෙන බොහෝ පරිසර ගැටළු ඇතිවන්නේය (Mahees, 2010). බලශක්ති මුල්කොටගත් අර්බුදයන් හෝ යුද්ධයන්, න්‍යෂ්ටික බලාගාර, අන්තරායක කැලිකසල බැහැර කිරීම, කාලගුණික විපර්යාස මෙවන් ආකාරයට දේශපාලන ආර්ථික ක්‍රියාදාමය තුළින් ඇතිකරන පරිසර අර්බුද කිහිපයක් වේ.

පශ්චාත් නූතනවාදී වින්තකයෙකු වන Michael Foucault පරිසර ගැටළු පිළිබඳ සාප්‍රවම නම අදහස් ඉදිරිපත් නොකළත්, මොහුගේ කථිකාවන් පරිසර ගැටළුව දේශපාලනික ප්‍රවේශයකින් අවබෝධ කර ගැනීමට ඉතා වැදගත් වේ. පුකෝගේ බලය හා දැනුම (Power-Knowledge) කථිකාව වර්තමාන පරිසර ගැටළු අධ්‍යයනය සඳහා බෙහෙවින් වැදගත් වේ. මෙය එක් ආකාරයකට ඔහුගේ සංකල්පයක් වූ ජෛව දේශපාලනයේ (Bio-Politics) තවත් එක් ව්‍යාප්තවීමක් ලෙසත් සැලකිය හැකිය. පුකෝගේ බලය හා දැනුම පිළිබඳ කථිකාව තුළ පාර්සරික කථිකාවන් උත්පාදනය, ක්‍රියාවට නංවන හා පාලනය කරන ආකාරය පිළිබඳව ඉතා මනාව සාකච්ඡා කොට ඇත (Darier, 1999). පුකෝගේ අදහසට අනුව පරිසරය පිළිබඳ දැනුම සකස් කිරීමටත් පවත්වාගෙන යාමටත් සමාජය හෝ දේශපාලන බල ව්‍යුහ මගින් ඉදිරිපත් කරනු ලබන කථිකාවන් ඉතා වැදගත් වේ. පුකෝගේ අදහස්වලට අනුව, වර්තමානයේ පවතින සමාජ පර්යාය (Social Order) හෝ බල සම්බන්ධතාවයන් සොබාදහම පාලනය කිරීම මගින් සංවර්ධන ඉලක්කයන් ළඟාකර ගන්නට උත්සාහ දරයි (Mahees, 2010).

සංවර්ධනය වන රටවල්වල දේශපාලනය හා පරිසරය අතර සම්බන්ධතාවය වඩාත් ගැඹුරින් අවබෝධ කරගන්නට තුන්වන ලෝකයේ දේශපාලන පරිසර විද්‍යාව (Third World Political Ecology) යනුවෙන් නව ප්‍රවේශයක් ඇතිවී

ඇත. තුන්වන ලෝකයේ දේශපාලන පරිසර විද්‍යාව සංවර්ධනය වන රටවල්වල දේශපාලන ආර්ථිකය හා එම සමාජයන්හි සංස්කෘතිය පදනම් කොටගෙන තුන්වන ලෝකයේ ජන සමාජයේ හා ස්වභාවික ලෝකය අතර සම්බන්ධතාවය පිළිබඳව ගැඹුරින් හා විවේචනාත්මකව අධ්‍යයනය කරනු ලබයි.

දේශපාලන පරිසර විද්‍යාව පොදුවේ සමාජය හා ස්වභාවික සම්පත් අතර තිබෙන ද්වන්ද්‍රාත්මක සම්බන්ධතාවය මුල්කොටගෙන පරිසර හා බල සම්බන්ධතාවය අතර තිබෙන ගණුදෙනුව පිළිබඳව ඉතා ගැඹුරින් අධ්‍යයනය කරයි (Bryant and Bailey 1997). එමෙන්ම තුන්වන ලොව දේශපාලන පරිසර විද්‍යාව ස්වභාවික සම්පත් කළමනාකරණ ක්‍රියාවලියේදී සමාජ සම්බන්ධතා, සම්පත් පාලනය කිරීම සඳහා වූ අවකාශය හා දේශපාලන හා වෙනත් තාක්ෂණික ආයතනවල මැදිහත්වීමට අදාළ බලය පිළිබඳ පැහැදිලි කරනු ලබයි (Lund and Lund, 2005). සංවර්ධනය වෙමින් පවතින රටවල්වල දේශපාලනිකරණය වූ සංවර්ධන ක්‍රියාදාමය තුළ පරිසර පද්ධතිය ලක්වන තත්ත්වය මෙමගින් පෙන්වා දෙයි. ශ්‍රී ලංකාව තුළද අද වනවිට අධිවේගී මාර්ග සංවර්ධනය, වරාය හා ගුවන් තොටුපලවල් ඉදි කිරීමේ දී ජල හෝ වෙනත් විදුලි බලාගාර ඉදිකිරීම යනාදී සංවර්ධන ව්‍යාපෘති ක්‍රියාත්මක කිරීමේදී එතුළින් ඇති වන සමාජ පාර්සරික ගැටළු දේශපාලනික පාර්සරික විද්‍යාත්මක න්‍යායන් මගින් අවබෝධ කරගත හැකිය. එම නිසා ශ්‍රී ලංකාව තුළ අන්කවරදාටත් වඩා සමාජය හා සොබාදහම අතර ඇති දීර්ඝකාලීන සම්බන්ධතාවයට දේශපාලනය මුල්කොට ගත් සංවර්ධන ක්‍රියාදාමය මගින් බලපෑම් සිදුකරමින් තිබෙයි.

ජීවිකාව, සංස්කෘතිය හා ආගමික හෝ කුල අනන්‍යතාවය නිර්ණය කරන සොබාදහමේ පැවැත්ම හා ඒවා පාලනය කිරීමේ කටයුතු අදවන විට ජාතික හෝ ප්‍රාදේශීය මට්ටමේ දේශපාලන බල සම්බන්ධතාවන් ගෙන් නිර්ණය කරනු ලැබීම ශ්‍රී ලංකාව තුළ දැකගත හැකිවේ. ඒවා පිළිබඳ පුළුල් පර්යේෂණ දත්ත අප සතුව නොතිබුණද, එය අනාගතයේ දේශපාලන පරිසර විද්‍යාත්මක ක්‍රමවේදයන්ගෙන් අධ්‍යයනය කළ යුතුව තිබේ.





ස්විඩන් ජාතික Gunnar Myrdal (1968) ගේ මෘදු රාජ්‍ය න්‍යාය (Soft State Theory) අනුව බොහෝ තුන්වෙනි ලෝකයේ රටවල්වල බොහෝ දේ පිළිබඳ නීති පනවාගෙන තිබුණද ඒවා ප්‍රායෝගිකව ක්‍රියාවට නංවන්නේ නැත. මෙම න්‍යායට අනුව ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේදී පරිසර සංරක්‍ෂණය සඳහා බොහෝ නීතීරීති, කොන්දේසි හා ආයතන තිබුණද පරිසරය දිනෙන් දින විනාශයට පත්වෙමින් තිබේ. ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය හා පරිසර සංරක්‍ෂණය අතර සම්බන්ධතාවය පිළිබඳ නොයෙක් අදහස් ඉදිරිපත් ව ඇත. මෙතෙක් ලෝකයේ බොහෝ රටවල්වල කෙරුණ අධ්‍යයනයන් ට අනුව ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය සමහර අවස්ථාවන් වලදී පරිසර විනාශය අඩුකරන බවටත්, තවත් අවස්ථාවන්වලදී ඉහල දමන බවටත් කරුණු ඉදිරිපත් කොට ඇත (Li and Reuveny, 2006).

Li and Reuveny (2006) ගේ අදහසට අනුව ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය සහ පරිසරය අතර හේතුඵල සම්බන්ධතාවය ධනාත්මක හා සෘණාත්මක ලෙස ගොඩනැගී ඇති පූර්ණ ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය පවතින සමාජයක එම සමාජයේ සාමාජිකයින්ට පරිසරයට වන හානිය හා එය වළක්වා ගැනීමට අවශ්‍ය නීතීරීති දැන ගැනීමටත් ඒවා ක්‍රියාත්මක කිරීමටත් දේශපාලනමය අයිතියක් ලැබෙන බවයි. එමෙන්ම ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය නිතරම මහජනතාවට වගකියන බැවින් එම ජනතාවගේ පාරිසරික ගැටළුවලට විසඳුම් සොයන්නටත් ඒවාට අවශ්‍ය ආයතන ගොඩනැගීමටත් කටයුතු කරන අතර ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදී පසුබිමක් තුළ පරිසරය ආරක්ෂා කරනු ලබන බවටත් ඔවුන් තර්ක කර ඇත.

ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය හා පරිසරය පිළිබඳ අනෙක් තර්කය වන්නේ ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදී දේශපාලන විභාගය තුළ පරිසරය වැඩි වශයෙන් විනාශවන බවයි. Midlarsky (1998) ගේ අදහසට අනුව ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය තුළ දේශපාලන නායකත්වයට තම ජනතාව සතුටු කරන්න සිදුවන බැවින් හා පුද්ගල හා වෙනත් බලපෑම් කණ්ඩායම්වලට කැමති පරිදි කටයුතු කරන්න අවස්ථාව ලබාදෙන බැවින් නිරන්තරතරයෙන් පරිසර නීති රීති උල්ලංඝනය කරනු ලබන බවයි. එමෙන්ම ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය නිතරම වෙළඳපොල ආර්ථික ක්‍රමය තෝරා ගන්නා බැවින්

පරිසරය වෙළඳපොල ආර්ථිකයට පහසුවෙන් ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදී සමාජයක් තුළ ගොදුරුවන බව පෙනී යන්නේය.

ශ්‍රී ලංකාව තුළ ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය මුල්කොටගත් අනුග්‍රාහක සේවාදායක (Patron-client) දේශපාලන සම්බන්ධතාවය හේතුකොටගෙන පරිසර විනාශය ඉහල ගොස් ඇත (Mahees et al., 2009). අදවනවිට ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ සිදු වී තිබෙන වන විනාශය, ජලදූෂණය, නායයෑම්, අලි මිනිස් ගැටුම් යනාදී පරිසර ගැටළු ඇතිවීමට අනවසර පදිංචි වීම් හෝ ජනපද බිහිකිරීම හේතු සාධක වී ඇත. මෙවන් ක්‍රියාදාමයකට ප්‍රධාන වශයෙන් පසුබිම සපයන්නේ මහජන සුඛ සාධනය හෝ සංවර්ධනය නමින් ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය තුළින් සිදුකරන අනුග්‍රාහක සේවා දායක දේශපාලන ක්‍රියාකාරකම් ය.

**පාරිසරික ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය**

පරිසරය හෝ සෞඛ්‍යදායක යනු පොදු සම්පතකි. එය සමාජ පංති, ජාති, ආගම්, කුල හා පරම්පරා බේදයකින් තොරව සාමූහිකව වර්තමානයේ මෙන්ම අනාගතයටද ලැබෙන පරිදි බුක්ති විඳිය යුතුය. නමුත් වර්තමානයේ සංවර්ධන ක්‍රියාවලිය තුළ බොහෝ ස්වභාවික සම්පත් එක්තරා ජන කොටසක් විසින් පමණක් වැඩි වශයෙන් භුක්ති විඳින අතර ඔවුන් විසින් විනාශ කරන පරිසර පද්ධතියේ අනිසි ප්‍රතිඵලවලට තවත් ජන කොටසක් ගොදුරු බවට පත්වේ. ප්‍රකට පරිසරවේදියෙක් වන Vandana Shiva (1991) ට අනුව, තුන්වෙනි ලෝකයේ බොහොමයක් සංවර්ධන ව්‍යාපෘති මුල්කොටගෙන තරඟකාරී හා ගැටුම්කාරී කණ්ඩායම් දෙකක් බිහිවී ඇත. එනම් සංවර්ධන ව්‍යාපෘති මගින් යහපත් ප්‍රතිඵල අත්පත් කරගන්නා පිරිස සහ සංවර්ධන ව්‍යාපෘති නිසා පීඩාවට පත්වන පිරිස වශයෙනි. නිදසුනක් ලෙස කොළඹ ගාල්ල අධිවේගී මාර්ග සංවර්ධනය නිසා එම මාර්ගයේ වාහන මගින් ගමන් කරන වරප්‍රසාදලාභී පන්තිය එම සංවර්ධනය ධනාත්මක ලෙස භුක්ති විඳින අතර, තම ඉඩම්, කුඹුරු, පරිසරය හා බැඳුණු සංස්කෘතිය අහිමිකරගත් මාර්ගය දෙපස සිටින තවත් කොටසක් මෙම මාර්ගය නිසා පීඩාවට පත්වේ. සංවර්ධන ක්‍රියාදාමය මගින් පරිසර පද්ධතියට සිදුවන හානිය නිසා පරිසරය පදනම් කොටගත් ජීවිකාව, වාරිතුවාරිතුව, ඇඳහිලි විශ්වාස



කුලය වැනි දේ භෞතික පරිසරයට අමතරව අතිමි වේ. මෙය එක්තරා ආකාරයක පරිසරය මුල්කොටගත් මානව අයිතිවාසිකම් උල්ලංඝනය කිරීමකි. මෙවන් පසුබිමක් මුල්කොටගෙන පාරිසරික අයිතිය හෝ පරිසර ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය යන සංකල්පය ශිෂ්‍යයෙන් ජනප්‍රිය විය. මෙම කට්ඨාස ඉතා පුළුල් ලෙස පාරිසරිකවාදය, (Environmentalism) පාරිසරික ව්‍යාපාර (Environmental Movements), ගැඹුරු පරිසර විද්‍යාව (Deep Ecology) හා පාරිසරික ස්ත්‍රීවාදය (Ecofeminism) යන ක්ෂේත්‍ර තුළද සාකච්ඡා විය. Fotopoulos (1997) යන වින්තකයාට අනුව පාරිසරික ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය යනු එක් සමාජ කණ්ඩායමක් මගින් සොබාදහම පාලනය කරනු ලැබීම නවතා දැමීමට යොදාගත හැකි සමාජ දේශපාලන යාන්ත්‍රණයකි. පාරිසරික ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය මගින් මිනිසාට හා සොබාදහම යුක්තිසහගත ලෙස ප්‍රතිසංවිධාන ගතකිරීමකට ලක් කරයි. ආර්ථික හෝ දේශපාලන බලය මගින් ස්වභාවික සම්පත් එක්තරා කණ්ඩායමකට පමණක් සීමා කිරීමට විරුද්ධව කටයුතු කරන සමාජ ව්‍යාපාරයක් ලෙස පාරිසරික ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය හඳුන්වා දිය හැක.

පාරිසරික ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදයේ නවත් වැදගත් කරුණක් වන්නේ සංවර්ධන ක්‍රියාදාමයන් සිදු කිරීමේදී හා පරිසර හිත රීති ක්‍රියාවට නැංවීමේදී සියලු පුරවැසියන් කිසිදු විෂමතාවයකින් තොරව සමාන ලෙස සැලකිය යුතු අතර පරිසර සංරක්ෂණ කටයුතුවල ජනතාව අර්ථවත් ලෙස සහභාගී විය යුතු බවය. පරිසර පද්ධතිය බොහෝ දෙනාගේ ජීවිතාව, සංස්කෘතිය, ආගමික ඇදහිලි හා කුල අනන්‍යතාවයන් සමග ඉතා සම්පව බැඳී පවතී. පරිසර පද්ධතියට එල්ලවන ඕනෑම හානියක් පරිසරය පදනම් කරගෙන පවතින ඉහත සඳහන් සියළුම කරුණුවලට දැඩි සේ බලපෑම් කරයි. නිදසුනක් ලෙස Sumi Krishna (1996) ට අනුව කුලයක් හෝ ගෝත්‍රයක් නිශ්චිත පරිසර පද්ධතියක් තුළ නම ජීවිතාව සපුරා ගනිමින් තමන්ගේම අනන්‍යතාවයක් සහිතව ජීවත්වෙමින් සිටියද යම් ආකාරයකින් ඔවුන් ජීවත්වන පරිසර පද්ධතියට හානියක් සිදුවූ විට ඔවුන්ගේ ජීවිතාව සහ සංස්කෘතිය මුළුමනින්ම බිඳ වැටේ. මෙවන් ආකාරයෙන් පරිසර පද්ධතියට සිදුවන හානිය නිසා ඉන්දියාව සහ අනෙකුත් තුන්වන ලෝකයේ රටවල්වල

ගෝත්‍ර සහ කුල දැනටමත් විනාශයට පත්ව ඇත.

Weston (2012) සඳහන් කරන ආකාරයට වර්තමානයේ ජීවත්වන අපට ජීවත් වීමට අවශ්‍ය අපගේ සංස්කෘතිය වූ, භාෂාව, දැනුම, තාක්ෂණය, අගයන්, චාරිත්‍ර චාරිත්‍ර, නීති රීති, මෙන්ම අපට සෞඛ්‍ය සම්පන්නව ජීවත්වීමට අවශ්‍ය පරිසරය අපගේ මුතුන් මිත්තන් අපට නිසිලෙස දායාද කළේය. එම සංස්කෘතිය හා පරිසරය එලෙසින්ම අපේ අනාගත පරම්පරාවට සුරක්ෂිතව ලබා දීම වර්තමානයේ ජීවත්වන අපගේ පරම යුතුකමක් වේ. අප විසින් අනාගත පරම්පරාවට සංස්කෘතිය උරුම කර දුන්නත් අප විසින් අනාගත පරපුරට ලබා දෙන්නේ විනාශවූ පරිසර පද්ධතියක්ය. අනාගත පරපුරට තම සංස්කෘතිය හා ජීවිතාව හොඳින් පවත්වාගෙන යාමට පරිසර පද්ධතිය ඉතාමත් අත්‍යවශ්‍ය කරුණාවකි. එම නිසා සංස්කෘතිය හා ජීවිතාව මුළුමනින්ම නිර්ණය කරනු ලබන පරිසර පද්ධතිය ආරක්ෂා කිරීම අපගේ යුතුකමක් වන අතර එය අනාගත පරම්පරාවේ අයිතිවාසිකමකි. මෙවන් පරිසර පද්ධතියක් විනාශකොට ඔවුන්ගේ පාරිසරික අයිතිවාසිකම් උල්ලංඝනය කිරීම අප විසින් කරන සඳාචාර විරෝධී ක්‍රියාවකි.

අද වනවිට ලෝකය පුරා සිදුවන සංවර්ධන ක්‍රියාදාමය හේතුකොට ගෙන ගෝලීය වශයෙන් අන් අයගේ පරිසර අයිතිවාසිකම් උල්ලංඝනය කිරීම පිළිබඳව හඬ නගනු ලබමින් සිටී. න්‍යෂ්ටික බලාගාර, විශාල පරිමාණයේ ජල විදුලි බලාගාර, අධිවේගී මාර්ග, යාන්ත්‍රික කෘෂිකර්මාන්තය හා ජල ව්‍යාපෘතීන් හේතුවෙන් එම ව්‍යාපෘතිවල කිසිසේත් අදාළ නැති අයගේ පාරිසරික අයිතීන් උල්ලංඝනය වෙමින් තිබේ. උදාහරණයක් ලෙස ජපානයේ න්‍යෂ්ටික බලාගාරයක් අවට රටවල ජනතාවටත්, දකුණු ඉන්දියාවේ කර්මාන්තශාලා ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ජනතාවගේත්, නගරයක ජනයා විසින් බැහැර කරන කැලි කසල ග්‍රාමීය ජනතාවගේත්, කඳුරට යොදන පොහොර රජරට ජනතාවගේ පාරිසරික අයිතීන් ද උල්ලංඝනය කරමින් තිබේ. විශේෂයෙන්ම මිනිතලය උණුසුම් වීම, කාලගුණ විපර්යාස, ජලය හා වායු දූෂණය මගින් ඇතිවන රෝග පරිසර අයිතීන් උල්ලංගනය වීමට අදාළව වැඩි වශයෙන් සාකච්ඡාවට බඳුන් වේ.

පාරිසරික දේශපාලනය හා ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය



පිළිබඳ කථිකාව තුළ පාරිසරික ස්ත්‍රීවාදයට ප්‍රධාන තැනක් හිමිවේ. පාරිසරික ස්ත්‍රීවාදීන්ගේ අදහසට අනුව සෞඛ්‍යමය ස්ත්‍රීයන්ට සංස්කෘතිය පුරුෂයාටත් සමාන වේ. පුරුෂයන් ස්ත්‍රීයන්ව පාලනය කරන ආකාරයෙන්ම සංස්කෘතිය විසින් සෞඛ්‍යමය පාලනය කරනු ලබන්නේය. පුරුෂාධිපත්‍යය මුල්කොටගත් ධනවාදය සෞඛ්‍යමය මෙන්ම කාන්තාවද සුරාකමත් සිටී. එම නිසා පාරිසරික ස්ත්‍රීවාදීන් සෞඛ්‍යමය සහ කාන්තාවන්ගේ විමුක්තිය උදෙසා සටන් කරමින් සිටී. Mies and Shiva (1993) හා Agarwal (1997) යන අයගේ අදහස්වලට අනුව පුරුෂාධිපත්‍ය මුල්කොට ගත් සංවර්ධන ක්‍රියාදාම මගින් සිදුකරන පරිසර සංහාරය හේතුකොටගෙන ද වැඩි වශයෙන් පීඩාවට පත්වන්නේ කාන්තාවන්, දරුවන් හා ආර්ථික හා බලය අතින් දුර්වල පුරුෂයන්ය. මෙම පාරිසරික ස්ත්‍රීවාදයේ පසුබිම පාරිසරික ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය මගින් ඇතිවූ බවට මෙයින් හඟවුණු වේ. එම නිසා පාරිසරික කාන්තාවාදය හා පාරිසරික ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය එකම කාසියක දෙපැත්තක් මෙන් එකම කාර්යයේ යෙදී සිටී.

විශේෂයෙන්ම තුන්වෙනි ලෝකයේ රටවල්වල සංවර්ධනය හේතුකොටගෙන ඇතිවන පාරිසරික අයිතීන් උල්ලංඝනය වීම නිසා එම සමාජවල පාරිසරික ව්‍යාපාර වැඩි වශයෙන් ඇතිවීමේ ප්‍රවණතාවක් ඇත. සංවර්ධන ව්‍යාපෘති හේතුකොටගෙන එමගින් නම පාරිසරික අයිතීන් අහිමිවන නිසා ගොවියන්, ධීවරයන් හා කාන්තාවන් ජාතික හෝ බිම්මට්ටමින් සාමූහික පාරිසරික ක්‍රියාකාරකම්වල (Collective Grassroots Environmental Actions) වැඩි වශයෙන් නිරත වේ. (Mahees, 2010) ඉන්දියාවේ නර්මදා වේල්ල ඉදිකිරීමට විරුද්ධව ඇති වූ පාරිසරික ව්‍යාපාරයට වැඩි වශයෙන් ගොවියන්, කාන්තාවන් හා ගෝත්‍රිකයන් ද දායක විය. එමෙන්ම ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ නොරොච්චෝලේ ගල්අගුරු බලාගාරයට

එරෙහිව ගොවියන්, ධීවරයන් මෙන්ම සුළු ජාතික ජනකොටස් සාමූහිකව කටයුතු කර නම පරිසර පද්ධතියන් රැක ගැනීමට උත්සාහ කළේය. මෙමගින් පෙනී යන්නේ පරිසර ව්‍යාපාරය හෝ පාරිසරිකවාදය, පාරිසරික ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදයට අත්‍යවශ්‍යම සාධකයක් බවය.

**නිගමනය**

වර්තමානයේ ශ්‍රී ලංකාව ඇතුළු බොහෝ දියුණු වෙමින් පවතින රටවල්වල ශිෂ්‍යයන් ඇතිවන සංවර්ධන ක්‍රියාදාමය නිසා පරිසර පද්ධතියට දැඩි බලපෑමක් එල්ල වෙමින් තිබේ. පරිසර පද්ධතිය එම ප්‍රදේශවල ජීවත්වන ජනතාවගේ ජීවිකාව, ආගමික ඇදහිලි, සංස්කෘතික කටයුතු, සාමූහිකත්වය මෙන්ම අනන්‍යතාවයට පදනමක් සපයමින් තිබේ. සෞඛ්‍යමය යම් සමාජයක සෑම දෙනාගේ පොදු සම්පතක් වුවද අද වනවිට, එය සුළු පිරිසක් පමණක් භුක්ති විඳිමින් වැඩි බහුතරයකට ස්වභාවික සම්පත් භුක්ති විඳීමේ අයිතීන් සීමා කර දමමින් තිබේ. එමෙන්ම වර්තමානයේ සංවර්ධනයේ නාමයෙන් පරිසර පද්ධතියට සිදුකරන හානිය අනාගත පරම්පරාවේ පරිසර අයිතීන් උල්ලංඝනය කිරීමක් වේ. එම නිසා වර්තමානයේ සංවර්ධන ක්‍රියාවලින් ක්‍රියාවට නැංවීමේදී ආර්ථික හෝ දේශපාලන බලය නැති ජන කොටස්වල මෙන්ම අනාගත පරම්පරාවේ පරිසර අයිතීන් පිළිබඳවද ඉතා ගැඹුරින් සිතා බැලිය යුතුය. එම නිසා අප ජීවත්වන සමාජයේ තියෙන සියළු සෞඛ්‍යමය සම්පත් එම සමාජයේ ජීවත්වන සෑම දෙනාට මෙන්ම අනාගත පරම්පරාවට සාමූහිකව භුක්ති විඳීමේ අයිතිය සමාජ හා දේශපාලන වශයෙන් සුරැකීම කළ යුතුය. ඒ සඳහා අවශ්‍ය නීතිමය පසුබිම මෙන්ම දේශපාලන පසුබිම සකස් කළයුතු අතර එම නීතිමය හා දේශපාලන පසුබිම රැකගැනීමට අවශ්‍ය සමාජ යාන්ත්‍රණය සමාජය තුළ සාමූහිකව ස්ථාපිත කළයුතුය.

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# THE NEXUS BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT

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## **Introduction**

Democracy refers to a system of government which is based on popular participation. Political leaders are elected by the people and the decision-making process is transparent. Under democracy individual freedom is important. Democratic institutions are considered as crucial and they protect individual freedom.

Economic development has been defined as the process by which a community creates, retains, and reinvests wealth and improves the quality of life. The ultimate aim of the economic development is to improve the quality of life for people who live in a community or a state. The economic development encompasses many different components such as infrastructure, trade, investment, private enterprises etc.

Top quality educational institutions, exceptional medical facilities, good roads, clean water, diverse recreational opportunities and much more make a country appealing.

In this paper the nexus between democracy and development is examined. The focus is on Asia since it



provides invaluable material. A variety of economic development strategies have been used in Asia with different results. Some strategies have worked well and some have failed. Their governing systems too range from parliamentary democracy to authoritarianism. Multi-party system, one-party system and military rule exist in Asian countries. Moreover, Asian countries follow various economic policies such as liberalism, state-capitalism and communism.

One thing is clear as far as many East and South East Asian countries are concerned. During the past few decades they have been able to achieve a spectacular economic growth. On the other hand, South Asian countries lag behind. Despite the fact that some of them have achieved substantial progress during the past few decades, the status of their economic development is far from satisfactory. They are stricken by poverty and attendant socio-economic problems.

What are the factors that have contributed to achieve economic development by certain countries? Why certain other countries have failed to reach development goals? In what way democracy has helped to achieve socio-economic progress? Has democracy played any role in the development process? Do all people enjoy the fruits of development? What are the lessons to be learnt? In order to find answers to these questions, it is appropriate to examine the experiences of some Asian nations.

Here, the attention is paid to a few East Asian and South Asian countries. The focus is on three Asian Tigers, namely, South Korea, Singapore and Taiwan. The other Tiger, Hong Kong, is a part of China and the economic growth in China is briefly examined. The closed economy of Burma, miraculous Japan, newly industrialised Malaysia, democratic India and unstable Pakistan are also looked into. Sri Lanka's development strategies are not discussed as it is a wide area and requires a thorough analysis. However, Sri Lanka can learn valuable lessons by studying the development strategies of other Asian nations.

It is neither possible nor desirable to deeply analyse the development strategies adopted by various countries. However, it is pertinent to examine the basic features pertaining to the development and democracy in each country.

### **Singapore**

From 1963 to 1965, Singapore was part of the Malaysian Federation. Its government pressed for accession, mainly for economic reasons. However, escalating discord between Malayan and Chinese communities led to major racial riots in 1964, which set the stage for Singapore's separation.

In Singapore the Prime Minister's Office is very powerful. First and Second Prime Ministers assist the Prime Minister in his responsibilities. The President is the ceremonial head of state. The single-chamber



parliament has 81 members who are elected for a four-year term. They are elected by universal adult suffrage from single-member constituencies. Parliament debates and enacts legislation but in practice, the bulk of decisions in Singapore are taken behind the scenes through consultation between the Prime Minister's Office and an elite of around 300 well-educated and highly skilled technocrats who hold positions in the state bureaucracy and in statutory boards and public corporations. They are honest and efficient. Power is exercised in an authoritarian manner.

The ruling People's Action Party (PAP), formed by former Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew, dominates the political scene. Since independence, it has tightly controlled all aspects of public and political life, including the mass media, trade unions, armed forces and police and educational and welfare systems.

All opposition parties operate in difficult circumstances. J.B. Jeyaratnam, the Sri Lankan-born lawyer, assumed the leadership of the Workers' Party (WP) in 1971 and later won a parliamentary seat and retained it till 1984. Jeyaratnam was subsequently harassed by the government and forced out of Parliament. The leading members of opposition parties were subjected to a mixture of crude and subtle harassment by state institutions since early 1970s. Several have been bankrupted in libel, defamation and

tax fraud suits. Bankrupts are debarred from political activities by law.

Between 1960 and 2000 Singapore's economy was the world's fastest-growing economy. The Heritage Foundation ranks Singapore the second-most free economy in the world, after Hong-Kong, for its overall efficient pro-business climate. Singapore's economic growth strategy was homegrown, although the government consulted widely through numerous study panels and advisory commissions to take in lessons from other countries' successes and mistakes. Dr. Albert Winsemius, a Dutch economist who led the UNDP mission to Singapore, continued to advise on industrialisation and economic development for 23 years.

Singapore's economy is highly open to international capital flows. The liberal climate of welcoming FDI in selected export-oriented sectors has served the country well. Over 6,000 Multi National Corporations (MNCs) are based in Singapore. The Economic Development Board (EDB) worked with inexhaustible energy to attract foreign investors. The Jurong Industrial Estate, which covered 9,000 acres, has all facilities such as roads, sewers, drainage, power, gas and water. The investors were given tax-free status for up to five years.

Singapore's exceptionally high saving ratio is unique. Both the government and the corporate sector experienced



an increase in their saving ratios during high-growth periods. Singapore did not borrow from abroad for consumption purposes.

Fiscal, monetary, and exchange rate policies have ensured macroeconomic stability. Low inflation and a stable value of the Singapore dollar instill confidence among foreign investors.

The increased labour input is a major contributory factor. (This is measured as total hours worked and thus uncorrected for quality improvements.) This is slightly higher than in the East Asian economies and substantially more than in the industrialised countries. Total hours worked rose by 3 percent annually on average, compared with the population growth of about 2 percent. More importantly, the labour force grew rapidly. Female labour participation rose from 28 percent in 1970 to 54 percent in 2004.

Foreign manpower has played an important role in Singapore's development. By 1970, full employment had been achieved and Singapore sought foreign workers. High-skilled professionals as well as lower-skilled domestic aides, attendants and construction workers found employment in Singapore. Expatriates filled half of the 600,000 new jobs that were created during the 1990s.

Singapore diversified the economy by developing the services sector. It realised that solely depending on

exporting electronics and chemicals would harm the economy. Therefore, aviation, shipping, telecommunications, cargo handling, financial services and logistics were successfully developed.

Strict public spending underlies Singapore's strong budget position. Unlike in many developing countries, there is no drain on the budget from loss-making public enterprises or general subsidies on petroleum, electricity, or food products. There are no costly welfare schemes. However, the government subsidises basic healthcare, education, and housing. Budgetary discipline, capable and honest government and a long-term vision helped ensure impressive economic development.

Singapore's sound public policies provided the favourable conditions. Financial stability, attractive tax incentives, modern communication infrastructure, and a competitive labour force created conditions for gainful private investment. Good institutions ensured social and political stability, and effective government. The government took a rational, non-ideological approach. The policies are focused on engineering prosperity.

Investment in human capital through education and training are given a prominent place. The education policy has a special place for mathematics and science education. In addition, several vocational schools were





opened. Lee Kuan Yew emphasised the importance of learning English. He took steps to merge the two leading English and Chinese-language universities and form the National University of Singapore which became a prestigious university. After the two universities were merged, Lee Kuan Yee made all Chinese schools to English as their main language of instruction, with Chinese as their second language.

In combating corruption Singapore has an impressive record. Parliament has passed stringent anti-corruption legislation. In 1989, the maximum fine for corruption was increased from S\$ 10,000 to S\$ 100,000. Giving false or misleading information to the Corrupt Practices Investigation Bureau (CPIB) became an offence subject to imprisonment and a fine and the courts were empowered to confiscate the benefits derived from corruption.

Lee Kuan Yew used strong arm tactics to contain trade unions. He stated that in order to preserve industrial peace, trade unions should shed militancy. When the Public Daily Rated Employees' Unions Federation led by one Suppiah launched a strike in 1967, police arrested and charged union leaders. The strikers were sacked and asked to apply the next day if they wished to be re-employed. Suppiah's federation was deregistered. This strike was a turning point in Singapore's industrial history. Thereafter, Yew urged one of

his friends, Devan Nair, to lead the National Trades Union Congress (NTUC). The NTCU conducted several workshops for its members on productivity, management practices and running enterprises.

### Taiwan

Taiwan was formed by anti-Communist Chinese who fled the mainland. Taiwan operates under a constitution adopted in 1947 by the Republic of China. It provides for a system of government, combining both presidential and parliamentary executive features. At the apex of the political system is a powerful executive President, who is elected for a six-year term by a National Assembly. The President serves as head of state and commander-in-chief of the armed forces and has the power to promulgate laws.

The National Assembly, which convenes only once every six years, in addition to electing the President and Vice President, has the power to amend the constitution. Its members were originally elected, in 1947, from constituencies in mainland China. These fell under Communist Chinese control in 1949, making new elections impossible. The original elected members thus retained their seats during the ensuing decades, being termed 'life members'. Originally, in 1947, the National Assembly had 3,330 members, of whom just under half



moved to Taiwan in 1949. Fresh elections were held only for seats vacated by deceased members. The newcomers are termed 'supplementary members' and represent Taiwan-based seats and are subject to re-election every six years. At present, there are 'life members' who are in their eighties and nineties.

The President works with an appointed 20-25 member cabinet which is headed by a Prime Minister and is responsible for policy formulation and executive administration. It is responsible for a single-chamber assembly, the Legislative Yuan.

All political bodies are dominated by members of the ruling Nationalist Party of China (Kuomintang/KMT), whose Central Standing Committee functions as the real controlling force. Kuomintang was formed by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in 1894 in China. Although initially a moderate socialist party, under the Japanese-trained General Chiang Kai-shek, it took a capitalist line and terminated all relations with the Chinese Communist Party. Then a civil war broke out between the Communist Party and Kuomintang/KMT. The Communist Party became more powerful and KMT activists fled to Taiwan and established their own government.

The main opposition party is the Democratic Progress Party (DPP), which was launched in the early 1970s

as an informal, non-party 'Tangwai' group. Its leader, the US-educated Yao Chia-wen had to face gigantic obstacles. Martial law was imposed and his party was declared illegal. He was imprisoned for seven years on charges on sedition. However, subsequently, the Taiwanese government was forced to adopt reformist policies. After the death of Chiang Kai-shek in 1975 the domestic and external policies underwent significant transformation. The process of democratisation gathered momentum under the new leader, Chiang Ching-kuo, the son of Chiang Kai-shek. Martial law was lifted and opposition parties were allowed to operate subject to certain restrictions. Some political prisoners were released, press restrictions removed, and demonstrations legalised.

However, it should be noted that the economic miracles took place in an undemocratic atmosphere. Taiwan became the second richest country in Asia. Only Japan was more prosperous. Most of Taiwan's economic policies are aimed at directing the operation of economic forces to effect planned changes beneficial to economic development. Confucianism appears to have bred a unique brand of capitalism in the Far East which has helped provide the energetic capitalist spirit that characterises Taiwan business and industry. The highly motivated Taiwan entrepreneurs established a large number of small and medium-



scaled enterprises. Their production process was efficient and exports have become the backbone of Taiwan's economy. Access to international capital, technologies, and markets has been crucial to Taiwan's economic success.

The people's strong impulse to seek after the highest possible welfare for themselves and their fellow countrymen is a positive factor. When favourable values and institutions were installed, this powerful force was allowed to operate at its fullest power, placing Taiwan on the road to remarkable economic advancement. Taiwan's growth in the last few decades has been accompanied by rapid, large-scale improvements in the island's political, social, educational, and health and welfare spheres. Advancements achieved in these areas in turn made possible Taiwan's further development.

Taiwan exhibited a remarkable ability to narrow the technological gap between itself and the industrial nations. This ability greatly contributed to the rapid industrialisation process.

The external factors too are important. From 1950 to 1965, the United States pumped a large sum of economic aid into Taiwan, and since 1949, the US has been Taiwan's foremost trade partner. Furthermore, Taiwanese students often choose to study in the US. In addition, every year the government sends a large number of engineers, scientists, and military personnel, to the US for

study and training. Taiwanese have acquired American technology and business knowledge. The US is the most important export market of Taiwan.

On the other hand, Taiwan had a history of Japanese colonisation (from 1895-1945), and the island's geographical proximity to Japan has made that country the primary source of Taiwan's imports. During the first fifty-year colonial rule of Taiwan, the Japanese invested heavily in the economy. Japan imported Taiwanese rice. Taiwan also supplied most of Japan's sugar demand. During the war, the Japanese defence industry required steel, machinery, ships etc. Therefore, Taiwan initiated heavy and chemical industries. The US and Japan continue to be the main foreign investors in Taiwan.

Industries established during the colonial period later became the industrial foundations for Taiwan's industrialisation. As the economy progressed, building materials industries such as cement, brick, glass, steel, and wood, energy resources such as petroleum products and electric power, and consumer industries such as foods, textile, soap, cleaning products, and home appliances all gradually developed. Due to the technological advancements, industries such as plastic products and electronic products showed marked improvements in quality.

To assist the development of high tech industries, the government built an approximately 35 square mile



industrial park, fashioned after Silicon Valley in California, to house high tech companies. The government founded the Industrial Technology Research Institute for research and development purposes.

Taiwan's import substitution strategy was a crucial factor which helped the economy to grow fast. This strategy demanded high tariffs and other import restriction measures to discourage imports deemed to be in direct competition with the products of import-substituting industries. In addition, a multiple foreign exchange rate was imposed to give favourable exchange rates to importing raw materials and equipment to be used for import-substituting industries and to penalise the import of finished goods considered to be in competition with the local products.

Being an island with limited natural resources, Taiwan depends heavily on international trade for materials as well as hard currencies. The government instituted policies to import industrial materials and equipment at favourable rates. Moreover, Taiwan has invested in foreign countries as well. Foxconn electronics is a Taiwanese company with gigantic plants in China. Foxconn's plant in Chengdu runs for 24 hours, 7 days a week and employs 120,000 people; its Shenzhen plant runs for 12 hours a day and employs 230,000 people in a 6 day week. Foxconn turns out the tops of the range gizmos of Apple, Microsoft, Sony and several others. Its annual revenue is US\$ 70 billion. Taiwan's international trade brought stability and prosperity

to the nation.

The government's pragmatic approach to economic development brought rich dividends. The goals and strategies were carefully selected, based on analysis of economic needs and evaluation of resources available.

### **South Korea**

South Korea has a presidency and a one-chamber legislature which is known as the National Assembly. Some members are elected for four-year terms, on a first-past-the-post basis, in single-member constituencies and some seats are filled by a form of proportional representation designed to favour the leading party. The President is directly elected for a five year term. He governs with the assistance of an appointed cabinet, called the State Council. It is headed by a Prime Minister.

South Korea had to face grave problems in the 1950s. The country experienced the bitter Korean War during the 1950-53 periods. More than 2 million refugees who fled from the Communist regime in North Korea arrived in South Korea. In addition, the people from forced labour camps in Japan and Manchuria returned home.

The regime of President Syngman Rhee was autocratic and riddled with corruption and nepotism. Rhee resigned in 1960. The country was rocked by student-led demonstrations. Thereafter, the opposition Democratic Party (DP) came to power. But chronic political instability led to a military



coup. Major General Park Chug-Hee led a military junta. During this period, the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) was established. Park Chung-Hee gave the leadership to a government-sponsored party i.e. Democratic Republican Party (DRP). Under a restored presidential system, Park Chung-Hee contested as the nominee of the DRP and won in 1963. President Park launched a highly successful industrial development programme and as a result the country emerged as a major exporter in the region.

Park won the presidential elections in 1967 and 1971, but the opposition claimed that the elections were not free and fair. There were accusations of ballot-rigging and vote buying. Despite the rapid economic growth, public resentment mounted against the regime's authoritarian and repressive character. The government responded by imposing martial law.

In 1975, a severe clamp-down on political dissent was launched, with the enactment of draconian 'Emergency Measure Number Nine'. It was a crime to criticise the government. Thousands of opposition activists were jailed or placed under house arrest. The NDP leader, Kim Dae-Jung was kidnapped by the KCIA, the state intelligence agency while in a Tokyo hotel.

Park was reelected in 1978 and in 1979 mass-scale worker and student

protests erupted against the government's policies. The opposition leader Kim Young-Sam was expelled from the legislature for alleged 'subversive activities'. Then in October 1979, President Park was assassinated by the head of the state intelligence agency, KCIA, in a coup attempt. In 1974, another assassination attempt was made and his wife was killed. Martial law was re-imposed and an interim government formed. When the anti-government demonstrations gained strength in May 1980, the regime reacted brutally. Armed troops shot at the demonstrators killing more than 2,000 persons. The National Assembly (legislature) was closed down.

In August 1980, Major-General Chun Doo-Hwan of the army took over the leadership of the country and introduced political reforms. A new constitution was adopted and the presidency restricted to a single non-renewable, seven-year term. National Assembly elections followed, in which Chun's Democratic Justice Party won. Under Chun Doo-Hwan South Korea's economy grew rapidly. However, suppression of civil liberties continued. Moreover, the opposition launched a new campaign in 1987 demanding democratic constitutional reform. The student unrest intensified and workers and the middle class people extended their support.

In 1988, Roh Tae-Woo assumed the presidency after winning the



presidential election. However, the opposition parties joined hands to prevent Roh Tae-Woo's DJP from securing a majority in the new National Assembly. Roh Tae-Woo's government submitted a relative liberal policy under which political rights of the opposition groups were restored. Strict labour laws were relaxed and many political prisoners released. Nevertheless, student unrest periodically erupted.

In the midst of all upheavals South Korea's economy grew at a neck break speed. At present it is a major industrial country in Asia. Within the inconclusive legacy of the 1953 armistice, South Korea became one of the world's most dynamic economies. The achievement was all the more important given the hundreds of thousands of impoverished refugees who fled from North Korea before and during the war.

At the end of the war, a large urban work force was created. Cheap labour allowed Korean manufacturers to enter international markets competitively. At the same time, productivity rose significantly. The government frequently intervened in labour-management negotiations. Korean development was favoured by a large and highly motivated and well-educated work force. However, a rash of strikes broke out and confrontation was inevitable. In the end, wages rose quickly, and by 1990, were second in Asia only to Japan's. Now South Korea is facing labour shortage and foreign

migrant workers are employed in lower-skilled areas.

South Korea's living standards were among the lowest in Asia after the war. A series of Five Year Development Plans transformed the country from a largely agrarian economy into an industrial one in less than three decades. At the heart of the model were subsidies offered by the state to private sector in exchange for higher output of exports and import substitutions. South Korea successfully pursued an export oriented growth strategy. In order to expand the export sector, new technology was acquired. South Korea has invested heavily on electronics. In 1990s, the country's electronic industry produced the world's sixth largest output.

South Korea's credit policy contributed to the rapid growth. Economic planners kept the interest rates low, using their control over bank credit to direct cheap money to the export-oriented companies. As a result, Korean enterprises were large and debt-based. The establishment of several smaller companies affiliated to the main company is the common practice. The Lucky-Goldstar group, for example, consisted of 62 companies. Similarly, Samsung has 37 sister firms, Hyundai 34, Daewoo 28. They are controlled either by the owner or his offspring. The large conglomerates have tried to be more adaptable and responsive to changing markets and



technology. They have increased their investment on high-tech industries such as semiconductors, genetic engineering, optical communications, aircraft, electronics and chemistry.

The South Korean education system has been far from perfect, but it has been a crucial source of recruitment of personnel for rapid industrialisation. Education had to be modernized in order to keep up with changing markets and technology, if growth were to be maintained. Under a five-year plan for educational reform, the government called advancing the proportion of high school graduates going to college from 53 percent to 83 percent by 1996. However, in the universities frequent violent incidents take place. Educational reforms are hampered due to protest campaigns against the government. On the positive side, private corporations have started to become involved in funding higher education.

### **Burma**

Burma attained independence in January 1948 from the United Kingdom. A parliamentary democracy was established and U Nu became the first Prime Minister. In 1958 due to a split in the ruling party U Nu stepped down and the army chief General U Ne Win formed an emergency, caretaker government. This government was in power for two years and a full-scale military coup occurred in March 1962. General Ne Win abolished the parliamentary system saying that it

was not workable in Burma. Furthermore, he abrogated the 1948 constitution and assumed power as head of a 'Revolutionary Council'. The other members of the Council were military officers. Ne Win established a strong, centralised one-party state.

Even before the independence Burma's economy suffered setback. Rapid social restructuring had commenced with the Japanese invasion and the departure of the British and other communities. In little more than a few months, the British withdrew in an unexpected manner. Between January and June 1942, 600 government servants, 3,600 businessmen, 170 missionaries, and 500 professionals who, together with their families, totaled 12,000 people left. They were accompanied by 400,000 other less exalted individuals, including nearly half of the Indian and Anglo-Indian or Anglo-Burmese population; 9,000 Burmese too joined the exodus. The cities were most dramatically affected. Rangoon's population fell from half a million to only 150,000 between the first Japanese bombing in December 1941, and the end of February 1942. The loss of such a sizeable proportion of the population had a dramatic impact on the economy. Many professional, managerial, industrial and trading roles became vacant and were either left unfilled or taken up by inefficient Burmese.

In 1974, a new-presidential style unitary constitution was adopted, and



the Revolutionary Council was dissolved. The military leaders declared that they were civilian rulers. They formed a political outfit which was named the Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP). Ne Win was the President till 1981. Another former military officer U San Yu replaced him. However, Ne Win continued to be the 'real leader'.

A socio-economic strategy, named the 'Burmese Way towards Socialism' was introduced by the military-BSPP government. It was emphasized that the country should not rely on external factors. The economy is dominated by the state. In the agriculture sector, strict price control system exists. Internationally, Burma follows an isolationist policy. Ne Win was determined to achieve self-sufficiency. He tolerated no foreign engagements. Burma should have nothing to do with the outside world. He wanted to return to a romantic, idyllic past when Burma was rich and self-sufficient. Moreover, he took steps to evict Indians and Chinese. In the two years between the coup and March 1964, by which time the bulk of the economy had been nationalised. Thus, both foreign and domestic trade as well as banking and manufacturing were nationalised. The government abolished the ten-year guarantee against the expropriation of foreign investments. Not surprisingly, these policies led to economic stagnation.

In a series of orders issued in March 1962, it was announced that horse

racing would be banned, that beauty contests and all government-sponsored music, song and dance competitions would be prohibited, and that gambling was to be banned in the Shan state. The state assumed direct control of the universities and dissolved the Buddha Sasana Council. The American Ford and Asia Foundation and Fulbright Programme as well as British and American language training schemes were closed. The state assumed control over all publishing. Since 1962 Burma marched towards global isolation. The country was shunned by the West. By the mid-1960s economy was becoming less and less involved in world trade.

The strategy brought only misery and the country became one of the poorest countries in Asia. Foreign Direct Investment was negligible. Private enterprises did not grow. The country is affected by poverty and unemployment. China is the only partner in economic activities. There is a strong belief that China is only interested in exploiting the vast resources possessed by Burma.

The public resentment grew and food shortage riots and student protest campaigns erupted. The Karen, the Shun and other ethnic minorities are engaged in low-intensity guerrilla campaigns. The military rulers attempted to introduce certain liberal reforms but they were too little and too late. In July 1988, the anti-government protest campaign escalated and students, Buddhist monks and workers





demanded the resignation of the government. Even some Navy and Air Force personnel supported the protesters. The government brutally suppressed the protest movement by gunning down more than 3,000 unarmed demonstrators including Buddhist monks. In September 1988, Gen. Saw Maung assumed power and abolished all state institutions. A 19-member military State Committee for the Establishment of Law and Order (SCELO) began to exercise state power.

Subsequently, some reforms were introduced and elections held. The opposition leader, Aung San Suu Kyi's National League for Democracy (NLD) was able to win the election in May 1990. It won 80 percent of seats but the military did not allow the winners to take office. Instead, Suu Kyi was detained and later kept in house arrest. Only in 2011 the military introduced substantial reforms that led to the release of some political prisoners. Press censorship laws were relaxed and stringent labour regulations changed. The highly unfair election laws were removed and Aung San Suu Kyi's National League for Democracy (NLD) won key by elections in April 2012. It is expected that international economic sanctions would be lifted in the near future.

Following the release from house arrest of Aung San Suu Kyi, the government has taken steps to attract investors. Comprehensive EU and US trade sanctions are now being

loosened. In 2011 Burma exported US\$ 770 m worth of garments to Japan, Germany, South Korea and European countries.

However, during the past 50 years Burma had to suffer a lot and currently needs sound socio-economic policies to overcome the serious obstacles. The power-hungry military rulers totally ruined a country with much potential with their narrow and misguided 'ideologies'. At the end, Burma gained neither democracy nor economic development.

### **Malaysia**

Under the Constitution of 1957, Malaysia is headed by a constitutional monarch. He is elected, by a secret ballot, for five-year terms, and from among the hereditary rulers of nine of the states. Generally, the monarch acts on the advice of the elected Prime Minister and cabinet, who wield effective executive power. Parliament has two chambers, the Senate and the House of Representatives.

Malaysia gained independence from the UK in 1957 and the new country had to face many problems. Between 1963 and 1966, a guerrilla group supported by the Sukarno government of Indonesia posed a considerable threat. In 1968, the Philippines disputed the sovereignty of East Malaysia. In August 1969, serious anti-Chinese race riots erupted in Kuala Lumpur which led to the establishment of an emergency



administration. The riots prompted the resignation of Tunku Abdul Rahman, the first Prime Minister. His successor, Tun Abdul Razak, formed a broader 13-party coalition. In 1971, a 'New Economic Policy' was launched with the intention of giving more prominence to the ethnic Malays.

Adding more troubles, Communist guerilla actions re-emerged after 1975. The relationship between the Malay and the Chinese communities deteriorated. The country had to face another problem with the revival of a fundamental Islamic movement in the western and northern provinces.

The 'boomiputra' policies attract constant criticism from many quarters. It is described as strongly anti-democratic. The policy was laid down to ease Malays' fears of being marginalised by the Chinese and Indian migrants. They came to work in the tin mines and plantations and later permanently settled. Their domination in the business and professional fields was viewed with suspicion by the indigenous Malays. After the race riots in 1969, Malays were given many perks and privileges. Accordingly, Malays get privileged access to public-sector jobs, university places, stock market flotation, and government contracts. Especially, Malays with high connections with the ruling United Malay National Organisation (UMNO) are in an advantageous position. As criticism has grown, UMNO leaders have

stated that nobody should question the "social contract". This is a reference to the metaphorical deal struck between the races at independence, in which the Malays got recognition that the country was basically theirs, while Chinese and Indians were granted citizenship. The UMNO leaders claim that they are committed to defend the rights of 'the sons of the soil'.

Dr. Mahathir bin Mohamad assumed the leadership of the ruling UMNO and became the Prime Minister in July 1981. He followed a more narrowly Islamic and pro-Malay policy than his predecessors. At the same time, he launched an ambitious new industrialised programme, inspired by Japan. His 'slogan' was 'Look East'. Dr. Mahathir bin Mohamad was re-elected at the subsequent elections. But his administration was troubled by Christian-Muslim conflict in Sabah and stiff opposition by the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) coalition partners. In 1987, racial tensions worsened and Mahathir took tough action to stamp down protest campaigns. He ordered to arrest 106 opposition activists and detain them without trial. Not only politicians but also journalists, lawyers and civil society members were thus detained. The actions were taken under the draconian Internal Security Act (ISA). Press censorship regulations were imposed and some publications banned. In the meantime, within the ruling UMNO an anti-Mahathir



faction rebelled against him. He reorganised the party and removed the dissidents. His government introduced a constitutional amendment in 1988 to limit the power of the judiciary to interpret laws. Then the Lord President of the Supreme Court was dismissed for 'anti-government bias' when a ruling was given in favour of the expelled UMNO members. This was a direct attack on the independence of the judiciary. Mahathir's actions directly undermined Malaysia's democracy.

However, in the economic sphere, the government followed a growth-oriented policy. Highly successful economic plans were implemented and the manufacturing sector grew rapidly. In 1971, the New Economic Policy (NEP) was introduced. It was a statement of goals to be achieved over a 20-year period (by 1990). It involved modernisation of rural life, a rapid and balanced growth of urban activities and the creation of a Malay commercial and industrial community, restructuring Malaysian society and poverty eradication. All NEP goals were to be reached in the context of economic growth. Thanks largely to the creation of free trade zones and export processing zones in the early 1970s, which led to the establishment of labor-intensive electronic component and garment industries, job creation was rapid. The oil, gas and raw materials further boosted the economic growth. Moreover, the liberalisation of private

investment succeeded in attracting billions of dollars of investment.

Poverty eradication was a clear-cut, impressive success. Independent calculations confirm that a very substantial decline took place over the last two decades. Urban poverty has been virtually eliminated and rural poverty is shrinking rapidly.

The structure of the economy changed substantially. The industrialisation process was a success. Exports rose steadily from about 45 percent of GNP in 1970 to a massive 85 percent in 1991. Agriculture fell from 31 percent of GDP to 19 percent. Industry rose from 25 percent to 42 percent. Rubber and tin, the major commodities that provided well over half of exports earnings fell to about just 4 percent and 1 percent respectively in 1990.

Throughout the period of the NEP, monetary, fiscal, and exchange rate policies continued to be prudently framed and carefully implemented. Structural adjustment, privatisation, government downsizing, and investment promotion were brilliantly conceived and boldly executed in the 1980s.

Pragmatism of the government and people is a crucial factor. The ruling UMNO managed to contain racial tension by obtaining the support of Chinese and Indian parties. Furthermore, the large Chinese minority (30 percent) did not resort to violence although they were badly



affected by the affirmative action programme of the government. Many Chinese decided that adaptation to the new situation in Malaysia was their best course of action.

## China

After the revolution in 1949, China was named People's Republic of China (PRC). The country was ruled by the revolutionary leader Mao Zedong from 1949 to 1976. China is a one-party unitary state. Ultimate authority resides in a single-chamber assembly, the National People's Congress (NPC). The ruling Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was formed in 1921 and continuously holds power.

During the first decade in power, the Chinese Communist regime maintained close links with the Soviet Union, which provided the country with economic and technical aid. The CCP leadership embarked on a heavy industrialisation, and material incentive-based, development strategy. It was modeled on the USSR's Stalinist prototype. However, social, regional and sectoral differences widened.

In 1958, China suddenly shifted course, instituting a radical new policy programme, which was called the 'Great Leap Forward'. Founded on the slogan, 'walking on two legs', the new programme sought to achieve rapid and simultaneous growth in both food and manufacturing output, by the collectivization of land and the

formation of large new, self-sufficient, agricultural and industrial communes. The communes were functioning as co-operative production units. Moreover, through the communes it was expected to indoctrinate the residents with the aim of creating a new breed of 'complete communists'. But the over-ambitious experiment was unsuccessful. The peasants opposed it. As a result, with floods and famine ravaging the country, the supply and distribution system collapsed. More than 20 million died between 1959 and 1962.

The failure of the 'Great Leap' experiment was followed by the rift between China and the USSR. The USSR was bitterly criticised by Mao for taking a 'revisionist' path. Ultimately the diplomatic ties were severed.

A successful 'recovery programme' was launched by Liu Shaoqu, the first vice-chairman of the CCP. Private farming was reintroduced and the size of the communes reduced. Mao soon reacted by calling the programme 'capitalist' and launched the 'Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution' between 1966 and 1969. Liu Shaoqi was imprisoned and died in 1969. Many 'reformists' were removed from office and publicly disgraced.

Mao, supported by the 'Gang of Four' led by his wife Jiang Qing, encouraged student demonstrations against 'identified' party officials, government leaders and state officers.



The 'Red Guards' instilled fear among so-called 'capitalist elements' and the campaign grew anarchic. Traditional government institutions fell into abeyance. For China the Cultural Revolution remains a colossal catastrophe in which human rights, democracy, the rule of law and civilization were unprecedentedly trampled.

By 1970, Mao was concerned about the mounting public disorder and joined hands with the Prime Minister Chou En-lai to restore order. A number of 'ultra-leftists' were ousted. A rehabilitation campaign was initiated for the purged cadres. The National People's Congress was summoned after eleven years in 1975 to ratify a new constitution and approve a new, long-term economic strategy, termed the 'Four Modernisations'. This strategy, involving agriculture, industry, defence and science and technology, aimed at bringing China on a par with the West by the year 2000.

The reconstruction process received a blow when Mao and Chou En-lai died in 1976. A violent clash erupted between the "leftist" 'Gang of Four' and "rightist" faction led by Vice-premier Deng Xiaoping. However, Hua Guofeng, who was known as a "centre-leftist" became the Prime Minister and took steps to arrest the 'Gang' as a pre-emptive move. Then he implemented 'Four Modernisations' programme. But his

authority was challenged by Deng Xiaoping who enjoyed the support of the state bureaucracy and military leaders. He achieved an influential status in the party and the government and major economic reforms were introduced. Under the reforms, the commune system was dismantled and Special Economic Zones were established in coastal areas with the aim of attracting foreign investment.

By June 1981, Deng was firmly in power and the 'Gang of Four' was sentenced to life imprisonments. The state bureaucracy was reformed by appointing young and educated technocrats to key positions. The influence of the Army was curbed through the retirement of senior commanders. Moreover, the manpower of the Army was reduced. In order to modernise the economy, a new 'open door' policy was introduced. It was based on the extension of market incentives. The economic reforms were successful and the rural agricultural sector grew sharply. The agricultural output more than doubled between 1978 and 1985.

The reforms continued within the Communist party too. More traditionalist elements were sidelined and young, talented technocrats and successful mayors were inducted to the Central Committee and the Politburo. Deng Xiaoping retired from both the Politburo and the CC but remained an influential figure.



Deng died in 1997, at the age of 92, and Jiang Zemin became President. Zemin continued the economic modernization process. Hu Jintao became President in 2003 and he along with Prime Minister Wen Jiabao have promoted 'xiaokang society', that is a society in which most people are moderately well off. The aim is to achieve economic development while promoting social equality and environmental protection.

Between 1979 and 2002 China's real GDP grew at an average annual rate of 9.3 percent. This growth was based on the manufacture of products for export. First, low technology products such as apparel, shoes, zips, toothbrushes and toys were manufactured. By 2005, China was manufacturing 25 percent of the world's washing machines and 50 percent of the world's cameras. China had overtaken the USA in sales of television sets and mobile phones. More than 400 massive shopping centres have been opened and there has been a sharp rise in the purchase of luxury items, some of which are imported.

However, rapid economic growth has had profound social consequences in terms of increasing economic inequality. The liberalisation of foreign trade and investment has widened the urban-rural economic gap and has advantaged coastal provinces at the expense of inland ones. It has lifted many millions out of poverty and has enabled some entrepreneurs to make their fortunes.

However, millions of rural people still subsist on incomes equivalent to less than US\$ 1 a day. Moreover, when loss-making state enterprises were overhauled, 36 million state workers lost their jobs. In 2000 the official nation-wide unemployment rate was put at 3.6 percent. If the number of those laid off from state-owned enterprises and unemployed rural people were included, the proportion would be about 20 percent.

Currently, China is the second largest economy in the world. However, its human rights record is dismal. The Tibet issue has not been resolved. In 1996, Dalai Lama proposed that Tibet should be granted 'genuine autonomy' within China. It was rejected by the Chinese government. With the propagation of liberalism, the intelligentsia agitated for democracy. The campaign for internal democratisation took a new turn when students organised mass demonstrations in 1989. The pro-democracy demonstrations spread to provincial cities as well. Martial law was imposed and troops dispatched to Tiananmen Square, in the centre of Beijing. More than 2,000 unarmed protesters were brutally killed by the Army. After the massacre, political activists were imprisoned. The government is systematically persecuting Muslim minorities including Uighurs. In 1999, 50,000 members of Falun Gong, a spiritual movement, were arrested. National television is dominated by the state and all programmes are strictly monitored.



## Japan

Japan has a parliamentary form of government. The legislature, the Diet, is a two-chamber body composed of a 252-member House of Councilors (upper house) and a 512-member House of Representatives (lower house). The head of the state is the Emperor, whose functions are purely ceremonial.

Japan's modern era started in 1868 with the Meiji Reforms. Before that, Japan was an isolated country. Nevertheless, the origins of Japan's spectacular long-term growth are to be found in this period.

In the Edo period (1603-1867) the seeds of Japan's remarkable growth were sown. The Tokugawa Shogunate (the office of the Shogun, the leading member of the Tokugawa family who ruled absolutely) had established the feudal system and dominated the agricultural sector. Both the Shogun and local daimyo were financed by taxes imposed on farmers. The traditional industries too grew during this period. The feudal system of tenure slowly changed and commercialism and urbanisation emerged. Hence, commercial activities increased and the amount of money circulation rose substantially. The spread of education was another positive factor.

In 1868, with the advent of Meiji Restoration, Japan entered the modern world inheriting some useful tools that could be well used for rapid economic growth. The feudal class system was abolished and replaced with an aristocracy and commoner class. The tax system was reformed and a framework for a liberal economy was created. The landlords used their accumulated capital for other sectors such as cotton spinning industry, banking, railroads and sea transportation.

The government initiated a programme to develop industries and enterprises. Under this programme, several new industries such as silk reeling, coal, cement and glass, sugar refining, flour milling and beer making. This policy also promoted the introduction of technology that laid the basis for Japan's ship building and steel industries. The Meiji era was essentially a period of individual capitalists. Mitsubishi was formed by a former warrior-bureaucrat and Mitsui was another successful family business venture.

By the time World War 1 erupted, a strong foothold for industrialisation had been established with the development of many industries and electric power generation.

Despite global stagnation, Japan achieved high growth through heavy construction investment compared with other countries.



The World War 1 boom ended with financial problems in the 1920s. Silk and cotton prices fell sharply. The Japan was affected by the Great Depression in 1930. Rural areas were worst hit and peasants could not afford daily necessities. Finance Minister Takahashi restructured the economy by imposing government control on the monetary system and devaluing the yen. He took steps to stimulate the economy by promoting exports. Takahashi's policy might be appreciated as an example of a successful experiment in Keynesian-type fiscal policy. But his efforts to suppress the expansion of military expenses to a reasonable level provoked sharp antipathy from military officers. Takahashi was assassinated in February 1936. Needless to say this was a severe blow to the country's democracy. Militarism raised its head and Japan entered the path of catastrophe. Military-related industrial sector was expanded. However, this does not mean that production of heavy and chemical industries declined. In fact, their share of total production increased from 36% in 1930 to 49% in 1935 and overtook light industries in 1936.

In the meantime, the Army devised an ambitious Five-Year Plan with the aim of further developing key industries such as steel, coal and liquid fuel. These industries required huge capital investments. This was coupled with the expansion of military expenses.

Japan's imports increased sharply and a serious balance of payment situation arose. This led to direct government control of the economy and "Three Principles" were adopted. These principles sought balance of payment equilibrium, expansion of production capacity in certain industries and the control of the supply and demand of raw materials. The war with China was costly and affected the economy badly. Market prices skyrocketed and wages were controlled by the government. Moreover, almost all items were rationed.

The situation worsened when Japan entered into an alliance with Germany and Italy. In July 1941, the USA imposed embargo on gasoline and related products. Steel production began to decline from 1943 and the agricultural sector collapsed. The outbreak of the Second World War brought disaster to Japan and about three million people perished. The country also completely lost its national assets, accumulated over ten years. After the defeat Japan had to face unemployment, starvation and inflation.

In the post-war period, demilitarisation and democratisation policies were implemented. The Anti-Monopoly Law which became a fundamental principle of Japan's post-war economy was enacted in 1947. Another significant law was the Elimination of Excessive Concentration of Economic Power which was passed in the same year.





Land reform policies led to the revival of the agricultural sector. New technology was introduced and the productivity multiplied. As a result, farmers' income increased. The Reconstruction Bank provided funds to under-utilized industrial companies to revive production. Moreover, foreign trade was reopened and the cotton spinning industry revived.

The Dodge Plan was an important milestone in the area of growth. Dodge was a classical economist who rejected government interference. His plan was a wide ranging programme of stringent fiscal and monetary policies. He was a firm believer in the free-market economy and set about dismantling the existing controls via a balanced budget. He advised the government to suspend new loans from the Reconstruction Bank. He also recommended reducing or abolishing subsidies. Dodge took the stance that under such policy Japan must not look to the USA for aid but rather achieve recovery through its own efforts amid free competition.

Several industries, mainly the automobile industry, grew in a remarkable way. The industry was enhanced by the technical cooperation with Western companies. Ford and General Motors, two American firms, established subsidiaries in Japan, in 1925 and 1927, respectively. The state-sponsored Isuzu, started producing vans and lorries. In 1934, Aikawa, a businessman, formed Nissan Motor

Company. Another businessman, Kiichiro, spent sometime in Britain and learned many things about automobiles. He set up Toyota Company in 1937. Toyota recruited best Japanese engineers to design cars. Nissan, on the other hand, employed American engineers. In order to protect and develop the domestic car industry the Diet passed the Automobile Manufacturing Industry Law in 1936. Licensed firms were entitled to various tax-breaks, duty concessions on equipment, and assistance in raising capital. Import duties on complete vehicles and components were increased. As a result, Ford and General Motors eventually gave up their Japanese operations. The government restricted importing foreign motor vehicles till 1965 to protect the domestic production. The makers competed with each other to win their share in the domestic market. Then they commenced exporting vehicles. Ministry of Commerce and Industry (MCI) identified the automobile industry to be promoted. The MCI assisted these firms as best it could.

In the post-war era, the Marshall Plan was implemented as a recovery measure. Under this plan the size of the world market was expanded, thereby opening a new path for Japanese exports. The textile and steel production fell and machinery, motor vehicles and ships export expanded vastly. Furthermore, the government's industrial policies assisted the



entrepreneurs in a significant way. They were offered attractive tax exemptions. The companies came to be headed by professional managers who worked hard to achieve high profits.

The stability of labor-management relations was another key factor. The managers and workers shared a common goal of strengthening their firms. The lifelong employment system further boosted the employer-employee relations.

Many Japanese industries began to import foreign technology. Through foreign technology the production of ships, radios, televisions, cameras, watches and sewing machines was very successful. The government assisted weak and infant industries and promoted their international competitiveness. It encouraged businesses to invest and export. The Enterprise Rationalisation Promotion Law of 1952 accelerated investment on plants and equipment.

From 1955, several five-year plans were implemented but many of them actually lasted less than three years because the targets were achieved. The aims of the strategies were to raise the national living standards and to ensure full employment through the maximization of stable growth.

Treasury investments and loans also played a crucial role in supporting growth. The Japan Development Bank, the Export-Import Bank, the

Industrial Bank and the Small Business Finance Corporation provided funds which enhanced the economy. The post-war monetary policy was strong and effective via the Bank of Japan's direct control.

The world wondered at Japan's rise from the ashes of defeat to an economic superpower. The economy had to face difficulties when the US imposed surcharges on Japanese imports during the Nixon era. The objective was to curb inflation in the US. The "Oil Crisis" in 1973 and the "East Asian Financial Crisis" in 1997 were other challenges.

After experiencing spectacular economic growth and industrial development for much of the postwar era, Japan plunged abruptly into recession in the early 1990s, and since then had suffered a prolonged period of economic stagnation, from which it is only now emerging. Japan's malaise, marked by recession or weak economic activity, commodity and asset price deflation, banking failures, increased bankruptcies, and rising unemployment, has been the most sustained economic downturn seen in the industrial world since the 1930s.

Suddenly, Japan's unbelievable economic growth came to a halt. Many causes led to the stagnation. During the 1990s, the 'savings surplus' became a serious structural impediment, leading to a severe slump in demand. Focused on staying



in power, the LDP has been reluctant to implement far reaching reforms. Instead, the government took steps to support inefficient sectors of the economy. These sectors are represented by powerful lobbies which provide votes and money to the LDP. The lack of political will and effective leadership too are contributory factors. Moreover, the banking sector lacks transparency and accountability. It leads to the massive hemorrhaging of Japan's financial system. Another underlying cause of the bubble, sustained asset deflation and the liquidity trap is the steep, long-term appreciation of the yen relative to the dollar. The Asian financial crisis in 1997 crippled the country's efforts to shake off its stagnation. During the more than 20-year-old stagnation period, the income disparities have widened. Once egalitarian Japan is becoming a nation of "haves" and "have-nots". More than one third of the workforce is part-time as companies have shed the famed Japanese lifetime employment system. Permanent employment opportunities are very limited and long years of study are perceived as pointless by the younger generation.

Japan abandoned the militarism after the Second World War and embarked on a democratisation process. However, Japan's democracy has some questionable features. The Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) which was formed in 1955, has governed the country nearly continuously for half a century. The half-century rule by a

single party has stunned the growth of democracy. The main opposition Democratic Party which was formed in 1998 does not enjoy much support. The longtime opposition Socialist Party was never taken seriously.

The LDP focused single-mindedly on turning Japan into economic power, with strong support from the US and the powerful bureaucracy, the party's grip on power went unshaken for decades. Even the appointments of prime ministers were done through backroom maneuvers at the ruling party.

Civil society remains weak and issues such as human rights, freedom of information and workings of government attract little attention. Ordinary Japanese feel little personal connection with their country's democracy.

The dissemination of information is somewhat limited. Strangely, the election law bars Websites from promoting candidates for elections and they are not allowed to update their home pages during the 12-day campaign period. Moreover, the mass media tend to stick to the LDP's line.

### **India**

Parliamentary democracy is well-established in India. It is described as a quasi-federal republic. The titular, executive head of the state is the President. Real executive power is exercised by the Prime Minister and the Cabinet. The legislature is bicameral



with the 544-member Lok Sabha (lower house) and the 245-member Rajya Sabha (upper house). The country has 28 state assemblies and 7 union territories which are governed by Chief Ministers.

The Indian National Congress (INC) which was formed in 1885 led the independence movement against the British imperialists. India gained independence in 1947 and the country was partitioned along religious lines. As a result, Hindu-majority India and Muslim-majority Pakistan were born.

The rule of the Congress Party ended in 1977 when Indira Gandhi's government was defeated. A coalition led by the Janatha Party was elected but it was unable to govern the country successfully. As a result, the Congress Party came back to power in 1980. After the assassination of Indira Gandhi by a Sikh bodyguard, her son Rajiv Gandhi formed a government in 1984. However, his government faced an electoral defeat in 1989 and a Janata Dal government was formed. This government too soon showed its incapacity to rule the country and at the 1991 election, the Congress Party was able to win. During the election campaign Rajiv Gandhi was killed by a Tamil Tiger suicide bomber and P.V.Narasimha Rao led the Congress government. The Bharatiya Janta Party, led by A. B. Vajpayee came to power in 1998. In 2004 Congress was able to form a government again and Manmohan Singh became the Prime Minister.

Under various regimes India's economy underwent several changes. The first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru introduced a new socialist economic programme. Under this programme, state planning was given prominence. It involved protectionism as well. A number of heavy industries were launched. Central planning as a mechanism for change was accepted by the Congress even before independence came, and indeed Nehru headed a committee that drew up a plan. The Bombay Plan was produced by the private sector with its own aims. At the same time the Directive Principles of State Policy of the Indian Constitution emphasized the dominant role of the state in achieving the egalitarian goal through active intervention. To give a concrete shape to these objectives, a Planning Commission was established in 1950. Nehru himself was the chairman of the Commission.

The mixed economy that emerged as a policy option meant relying on direct, discretionary, non-market quantitative controls. In this model, heavily influenced by the Soviet model of planning, the state played a central role in major areas of development and also exercised control over the non-governmental sector. The state was directly involved in the industrial and commercial sector. In the agricultural sector, which is entirely in the private sector, the state played a major role with programmes, subsidies, various incentives, and administered prices.



The policy was changed with the implementation of the Fourth Five-Year-Plan (1969-74). The Selective Approach to agricultural development was adopted. Accordingly, technological modernization was introduced. This led to the Green Revolution. The Fifth Plan (1974-79) gave prominence to Growth and Distribution. Later plans identified specific target groups. Strategies were formulated to uplift the rural communities, small farmers, Hill Areas residents, inhabitants in desert areas and tribal communities. An employment guarantee programme too was initiated.

The loss-making public sector enterprises were revived in 1984. However, public sector undertakings continued to incur losses and survived on state subsidies. A study conducted in 1987 revealed that the public sector which owned 40 to 50 percent of the total assets in the economy contributed only 25 percent to gross value added.

Despite many attempts the state controlled economy failed to produce the desired results. The gap between rhetoric and reality was plainly visible. The economy was in a bad shape with a massive balance of payment crisis. Gold was mortgaged, fertilizer prices rose, income shrank, and industrial productions declined. Furthermore, the galloping inflation and insufficient foreign exchange reserves caused serious macro-economic imbalances. Thus, the Narasimha Rao government

was compelled to introduce drastic changes to the economy in 1991. The Finance Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh introduced the New Economic Policy (NEP) with the aim of achieving economic stabilisation and structural reforms. The objective of the Eighth Five Year Plan (1992-97) was to provide a rich and just life for the people.

The policy measures were initiated and corrective steps taken in the form of fiscal corrections and other stabilisation measures which brought tangible results in the first stage of the economic reforms. The control structure that was holding up investments and economic growth was demolished and rupee was devalued on July 1, 1991. It was planned to bring down the fiscal deficit from the high level of 8.4 per cent of GDP to a manageable level. Further, the policy intended to reduce the margin of the balance of payments deficit.

Under the New Economic Policy, industries, investment and trade were liberalised. Except a few hazardous industries, other industries were allowed to function freely devoid of strict governmental regulations. The list of industries reserved for the public sector was reduced from 17 to 6 and the private sector was given more opportunities of participation.

The performance of the public enterprises has been a matter of great concern. They incurred heavy losses. The process of privatisation started in



the 1980s. Under the policy of liberalisation the then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi took over 50 liberalisation decisions. Accordingly, thirty-nine banks and four major industries were denationalised. The process was reinforced through New Industrial Policy (NIP).

The Rangarajan Committee report on 'Disinvestment of Shares in Public Sector Enterprises' outlined a strategy for restructuring public sector enterprises. During the first phase of disinvestment in December 1991, bids were received from nine parties. The 31 companies whose shares were selected for disinvestment were a mix of very good, fairly good and not so good companies.

Several measures were introduced to encourage the flow of foreign investments and technology into the country. The structural reforms boosted the export sector. Steps were taken to reduce the bureaucratic control on economic activities. Besides reduction in customs duties, more avenues were opened for foreign capital. Accordingly, leading Multinational Companies (MNCs) such as Dell, Microsoft, Hyundai, Samsung, LG Electronics, Piaggio, AIG, SingTel and Salem Group arrived in India.

However, many critiques of the economic liberalisation policies of India came up during the last two decades. It has been pointed out that the economic policies of successive governments since 1985 have remained

the same, i.e., anti-people. Under conditions of high poverty, high employment levels and problems of regional imbalances, the free market model has failed to achieve the desired goals. Furthermore, with liberalisation, the impact of the IMF-World Bank model of development has increased. One of the major criticisms against the New Economic Policy is that it has focused only on the rich entrepreneurs and the middle class while totally ignoring the poorer segment of the country. India has the world's largest number of multi-dimensionally poor-612 million. The UNDP calculates poverty on a multidimensional vector such as access to health services, clean water, cooking fuels, basic household goods and home standards. Which means over half India's population is abysmally poor.

The power of the rich and the super-rich is growing dramatically. At the same time, the organised sector is getting to be increasingly disorganised. Although the 1990s is being celebrated as a 'decade of high growth', it is also the decade when poverty was on the increase and the unorganised sector, consisting of child labour, women and migrants, was growing at the cost of the organised sector. The urban slums are growing by leaps and bounds and unemployment, homelessness and crimes are associated with unplanned urbanisation. Moreover, some states, such as Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh lag behind their more prosperous counterparts. The Panchayati raj



system, based on decentralised development and governance, is not capable of delivering the goods.

After recording impressive growth rates for several years, India's economy has declined in the recent past. The growth rate has slumped to a nine-year low in March quarter (2012) at 5.3 per cent, and 6.5 for 2011/12. It has tumbled from 8-9 per cent in the past few years. The decline was witnessed in all sectors including agriculture, manufacturing, mining and construction. Slowdown in investments has significantly lowered the growth potential of the economy and, to boost growth over the medium term the country needs deep supply side reforms. The value of the Indian rupee too fell down. In January 2012 a US dollar was Rs. 45 but by May it was Rs. 56. The inflation figure rose to 10.5 per cent in May 2012. The agrarian sector too faces serious problems. The suicide rate among farmers, especially in Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh, has gone up steeply due to bad policies and prolonged droughts.

India's democracy has unique features and some of which have negative impacts on the development process. Some of them can be cited briefly. Cast-based political parties exist in many states. Likewise, regional parties dominate in certain states. People tend to vote for these parties because 'the representatives from their communities are holding important positions'. Most of these parties have parochial agendas and have little interest in the national development goals.

The political parties are often led by 'populist instincts' and prefer to lull their electorates rather than taking hard decisions which would bring benefits to the country in the long run. Moreover, almost all political parties are tainted by allegations of corruption.

The most important reason for the economy's regression is the lack of political stability. The main alliances, the Congress-led United Progressive Alliance (UPA) and the BJP-led National Democratic Alliance (NDA) are greatly affected by coalition politics. The allies very often dictate terms. For instance, the present Congress government is unable to implement its food grains distribution programme since Agriculture Minister Sharad Pawar has his own views. (Pawar is the leader of the Nationalist Congress Party which is a constituent party of the UPA). As a result, 60,000 tonnes of food grains, some of it as old as fifteen years, is rotting while one third of India's population starves. Similarly, the ruling party is divided on key issues pertaining to industries, insurance and pension and food security.

India's democracy suffered a major setback when Indira Gandhi imposed Emergency Laws in the mid 1970s. Political violence has posed a great threat to the Indian democracy. The Maoist Naxalite movement remains a serious problem. Apart from that, several terrorist groups operate in the country. The armed forces are tackling



militancy in Jammu and Kashmir and also in the northeast. Religious minorities, Dalits and indigenous people (adivasis) face brutal violence from time to time. However, against all odds, India's democracy has survived.

### **Pakistan**

In 1933, Choudhary Rahmat Ali invented the name 'Pakistan', or, in Urdu, 'Pure Nation', for a fully independent Muslim territory which would embrace the four provinces, namely, Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and North West Frontier. Four years later, he called for the inclusion of the Muslim majority areas of Bengal within such a state. Fearing domination by the Hindu majority within India, Mohammad Ali Jinnah finally adopted these ideas in 1940, resulting, in 1947, in the partitioning of the Indian subcontinent into Hindu India and Muslim Pakistan. In 1971, East Pakistan became the independent republic of Bangladesh following a fierce civil war.

Head of state is the President and the head of the government is the Prime Minister. Parliament has two chambers.

Independent Pakistan was formally constituted as a Dominion within the British Commonwealth. In March 1956, a republic was declared and an 'Islamic' constitution adopted. This constitution was abrogated in 1958, and military rule imposed by General Ayub Khan. He was unable to govern the country efficiently due to many strikes and riots. In March 1969,

General Ayub Khan stepped down and General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan took over. Pakistan's first elections with universal adult suffrage were held, in December 1970. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Awami League won in East Pakistan and the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) in the West. At the end of the civil war East Pakistan declared independence in 1971. As a consequence of this defeat, General Yahya Khan resigned and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the leader of the PPP, established a civilian rule. He proceeded to introduce a new federal parliamentary constitution, in April 1973. However, the regional differences intensified and Bhutto faced stiff opposition especially from Baluchistan.

In the March 1977 Assembly elections, Bhutto won, but was accused of electoral malpractices by the opposition Pakistan National Alliance (PNA). Riots erupted and General Zia ul-Haq seized power in a bloodless coup in July 1977. Martial law was imposed and Bhutto imprisoned for alleged murder. In April 1979, he was hanged.

Between 1977 and 1981 Zia imposed severe restrictions on political activities. He introduced a broad Islamisation programme, with the aim of expanding his support base. The opposition parties led by the PPP formed a broad alliance and launched an anti-government campaign. The government arrested hundreds of political activists. By 1983, the pro-democracy campaign was renewed.





In February 1985, direct elections were held on a non-party basis. It was boycotted by the opposition. A new civilian cabinet was formed and the ban on political parties and the martial law were lifted. Military courts were abolished and military administrators stepped down in favour of civilians. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's daughter returned from London to give leadership to the opposition movement.

In May 1987, Zia dismissed the government of Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo and dissolved the National Assembly and provincial legislatures. In 1988 he appointed an 'interim government' without a Prime Minister. He also issued a presidential ordinance which declared the Sharia would immediately become the country's supreme law.

On 17 August 1988, General Zia was killed in an air crash. It was viewed by many as sabotage and the dissident elements within the army were suspected.

At the subsequent elections, the PPP won and Benazir Bhutto was sworn in as Prime Minister, in December 1988. The new regime had to face many problems mainly due to the weakness of the coalition. The opposition parties, the disgruntled military personnel and conservative Muslim leaders bitterly opposed it. Nawaz Sharif became Prime Minister in November 1990. Benazir Bhutto came back to power in 1994 but in 1996 was dismissed by

Leghari, the President she herself had appointed. Nawaz Sharif won the subsequent election in February 1997, to return as Prime Minister. In October 1999 Nawaz Sharif's government was overthrown by army chief General Pervez Musharraf. In December 2007 Benazir Bhutto was assassinated at an election rally. In 2008 her husband, Asif Ali Zardari, was elected President.

With regard to the democratisation of Pakistan, it is plainly visible that parliamentary democracy has never been firmly established in the country. Parliament was not sovereign under the constitution. By using the 8<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the constitution, Presidents had dismissed Prime Ministers on four separate occasions: 1988, 1990, 1993 and 1996. However, in April 1997 this was revoked.

In Pakistan, the military bureaucratic establishment's desire was to neutralise the political parties. When under pressure, 'elections' were held on a non-party basis. The elections were far from free and fair. In the absence of parliamentary accountability, the bureaucratic rule prospered. Political parties were unable to organise themselves to mobilise the masses in a constructive way. Instead, they depended on traditional elite for support. As a result, the bureaucracy and the military asserted more power and political parties were considered as a mere destabilising factor. Their politics continued to be poisoned by implacable animosities between the leaders of the two main parties.



The solutions were obvious but political will was difficult to exercise in Pakistan without an educated electorate and with the legislature in the grip of landowners who controlled the votes of their uneducated tenant farmers. This made land and tax reforms near impossible. Corruption was rampant, with massive thievery of state property, including illegal tapping of electricity. The law and order situation remain unsatisfactory. In certain areas primitive tribal 'laws' prevail.

It is appropriate to examine the economic growth of Pakistan. The country enjoyed rapid economic growth during the 1960s. However, due to endless political turmoil the development process was vastly retarded. Between 1979 and 1981, General Zia ul-Haq took steps to revive the economic growth. His regime adopted a new pro-business strategy. The remittance inflows from workers in the Middle East increased significantly. The Benazir Bhutto government which came to power in 1988, continued to follow a free market economic policy. Nawaz Sharif was more business oriented and privatised 60 percent of targeted enterprises. During his period foreign investment increased.

Under the current PPP rule attempts are made to revive the economy. However, there are signs of unequal distribution of income. The number of millionaires is growing fast and latest official figures suggested that over 12,000 new account holders joined the

elite club during the last three years. The number of account holders, having 10 million rupees (US\$ 108,932) and above, increased rapidly between 2008 and 2011. The number of poor kept on rising during the period and the country failed to improve its tax-to-GDP ratio which is till bellow 10 percent. Pakistan is facing an acute problem of tax-evasion while the tax machinery could not improve the situation. Moreover, during the period, non-performing loans kept on piling. The government recognizes that poverty and lack of education have proved destabilising factors for Pakistan society. Political turmoil hinders the development.

### **Conclusion**

East Asia has a remarkable record of high and sustained economic growth. A nexus between democracy and development cannot be seen. In fact, the 'Tiger Economies' and newly industrialising economies (NICs) grew under authoritarian regimes. The main factors behind their success have been sound economic policies, prudent fiscal policies, productive labour force, efficient management, and strict anti-corruption measures. Macroeconomic stability and rapid export growth were two key elements in starting the virtuous circles of high rates of accumulation, efficient allocation, and strong productivity growth that formed the basis for East Asia's success. When the financial crisis touched the shores of Asian countries in 2008-2009, Asia bounced back quickly to be a leader of global growth.



In East Asia, vital state agencies are manned by highly educated professionals and technocrats. Policy decisions are made after careful consideration of all factors. The services of 'think tanks' are obtained in formulating policies. All development projects are launched only after meticulous planning. Unproductive and wasteful ventures are never implemented. In some East Asian countries, the loss-making state enterprises were restructured either by privatising or introducing drastic changes.

Acquiring modern technology and attracting foreign direct investment are major components of the development strategies. Export promotion, import substitution and protectionism have played a crucial role especially at the early stage. Later more open, "market-friendly" policies were adopted. Moreover, human capital is considered as a valuable asset. Therefore, prominence is given to education and skills development.

The private sector is given a prominent place. Even in China, while the state retains a major hold, the private sector's involvement has increased remarkably during the past few decades.

Capable leadership and honest governance have immensely contributed to the rapid growth. The leadership was able to face the challenges successfully. Moreover, their national parliaments have passed the relevant laws thereby providing the appropriate legal framework for

economic growth. All pertinent issues are intensely discussed at parliaments.

On the other hand, India which has firmly established democratic traditions has not been able to achieve prosperity. Over the past decade, the country's integration into the global economy had been accompanied by economic growth. India has now emerged as a global player. However, the gap between the 'haves' and 'have-nots' has widened. The percentage of population below international poverty line of US\$ 1.25 per day (2000-2009) is as high as 42. Democracy is being used by power-hungry politicians to feather their own nests. Very often politicians are inclined to gain cheap popularity. Thus, they tend to work according to parochial political agendas.

The economic growth is greatly hampered in crisis ridden Pakistan. Military coups and conflicts between the executive, legislature and judiciary play a negative role. Terrorism and insurgencies drive away investors. The absence of dynamic socioeconomic policy is the major stumbling block.

The war devastated Japan became an economic superpower by following diligent policies. However, suddenly it plunged to stagnation. As a result, income disparities and unemployment had raised their ugly heads. Due to the ruling party's desire to stay in power, far reaching reforms are not implemented. Various powerful lobbies exert pressure on the government.



Burma's closed economy under the military junta brought only poverty. With the recent reforms the economy shows some positive signs. However, the country has to do a lot in order to achieve development. The sound socio-economic policies are of paramount importance.

Democracy has not been a crucial factor in attaining high economic growth. What is more important is

equity. If a vast section of a particular country is compelled to live under sub-human conditions, achieving and sustaining high economic growth rate is meaningless. The development strategies of various countries are not automatically transferable elsewhere. But those inquiring seriously into the economic growth, cannot fail to examine the experience of various countries.

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## **Women's Representation in Local Politics: Challenges Faced by Sri Lankan Women**

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### **Introduction**

The Constitution of Sri Lanka (1978) guarantees all women the fundamental rights to equality: "No citizen shall be discriminated against on the grounds of race, religion, language, caste, sex, political opinion, place of birth or any such grounds" (The Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, 1978 12 (2). It also recognizes equal political rights to men and women. Furthermore, Sri Lanka has ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1981) and has issued the Women's Charter (1993). Thus it can be said that there is a certain amount of positivity, at least legally, when it comes to the equal political rights of Sri Lankan women.

Achievements of Sri Lankan women in terms of literacy, education, health, physical quality of life and life expectancy are remarkable. Sri Lanka has a Human Development Index (HDI) for women which is praiseworthy and is often cited as a model for developing countries (Handbook on Sex Disaggregated Data- Sri Lanka, 2003). In the professional sphere, many Sri Lankan women have reached the top level, e.g. Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Solicitor General, General Managers of



national banks, Commissioner of Inland Revenue, Dept of Labour, Post Master General, Vice Chancellor and Secretaries to the Ministries. Moreover, Sri Lanka produced the first woman prime minister in the world (1960) and the top most positions of the government - the presidency and the premiership - were held by two women at the same time (1994 - 2004). However, one of the more striking features in this commendable record is the gap between these achievements and their under-representation in the sphere of politics.

Since the 1970s, the Sri Lankan government has made several efforts towards the transfer of functions of decision making from the central government to the local elected bodies so that local development planning and plan implementation would be more responsive to the needs of the people. The *Pradeshheya Sabha* Act of 1987 brought into being a new local government structure consisting of elected Municipal Councils, Urban Councils and *Pradeshheya Sabhas*. At present Sri Lanka has 8 Provincial councils, 23 Municipal councils, 41 Urban councils and 271 *Pradeshheya Sabhas*. Nevertheless, no efforts have been made to ensure that the local bodies are truly representative by representing all sections of the society, especially women.

While the percentage of Sri Lankan women's representation in the

parliament has been below 6% since 1977, the percentage of Provincial councils has been below 5% since its inception. The percentage of women's representation in local governments (Municipal and Urban Councils and *Pradeshheya Sabhas*) is 1.9% in 1997 and 1.8% in 2004 and 1.9% in 2011. As Robert Kearney, Professor of Political Science in the Syracuse University, New York, pointed out in "Women in Politics in Sri Lanka":

Prospects for service in local government bodies are so limited for women almost to the point of non-existence [...] The small number of women in local government is a significant impediment to women's access to national politics (Kearney: 1981)

#### **The importance of the representation of women in the local elected bodies.**

- a. The presence of women in public bodies will strengthen the legitimacy of equal rights and equal opportunity. It will also promote participatory democracy, democratic political systems, institutions and processes, good governance and peace.
- b. It is a matter of social utility that the pools of talents from which public bodies are recruited should be effectively doubled and that the decision-making process should be enriched by the experience of women. Besides, by participating at



decision-making levels women will be able to make qualitative changes in their lives and develop their leadership skills as well.

- c. It is important for women as a group that women should be well distributed in positions of power and authority, so that they can be assured that they have a leader who protect as well as share their interests. Moreover, women's participation in politics will give them more confidence to work with society at large.
- d. The increase of the number of women in political institutions will contribute to the change in the nature of political institutions and the political culture and create a more women-friendly political environment.
- e. According to the concept of gender and development, women should be given opportunities to plan and implement development strategies. It is only then that a country can achieve sustainable development (Boserup, 1989; Whitehead and Bloom, 1992)

### **Obstacles faced by women in the political sphere of Sri Lanka**

Several studies (Kiribamune, 1994; Liyanage, 2004, 2005; Thambiah, 2002; Leitan and Gunasekera, 1998;

Kodikara, 2009) have identified major obstacles that prevent women from taking part in local politics:

- ◇ The lack of confidence of women regarding their political leadership.
- ◇ Lack of political experiences and training mainly due to the gendered socialization process.
- ◇ Lack of support of the political parties, media, community and voters.
- ◇ Violence against women and character assassination.
- ◇ Financial problems, mainly due to high cost of elections.
- ◇ Attitudes of the society towards women's political leadership, and patriarchal values and cultural taboos.
- ◇ The weakness of the proportional representative system.

### **Efforts of the Government and non-Government Organisations (NGO) to address these issues**

After the 1970's some women's NGOs, activists and female academics influenced the political parties to take necessary actions to solve some of these problems faced by the women. As a result, both the major parties (United National Party (UNP) and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) and the coalition - *Samagi Peramuna* included some of the women issues into their election manifestoes (1977) and promised to solve them if they



obtained the governing power. At all general elections, which came after this, both major parties and some smaller parties such as the Jantha Vimukthi Peramuna, and the socialist parties incorporated women's issues and relevant promises to their election manifestoes. In 1994, 12 women's organizations jointly issued a Women's manifesto which calls for the introduction of quota for 33% representation women at local government levels. This manifesto was presented to major parties at general elections of 1994, 2000, 2004 and 2010 by women's groups. Though both the major parties promised to increase the number of women in the election nominations, it has not become a reality. This is true even when Sirima Bandaranaike and Chandirka Kumarathunga were in power. The fact probably is that all most all the women (except very few) who were or have been in politics were/ are women who benefitted from family connections and had/have no genuine desire to help women.

Recently some NGOs and few government organizations have paid some attention to awareness raising and leadership training programmes for aspiring women to run mainly for local elections. In 1985 a Centre for the Training of Rural Leaders was established in Embilipitiya. This conducted mainly leadership programmes for youth but not exclusively for women. After the early 1990's the Department of Rural

Development, the Local Government Training Centre, Sri Lanka Institute of Local Governance, South Asia Partnership - Sri Lanka, Center for Women's Research, Friedrich -Ebert Stiftung, Konrad Adenaur Stiftung, Muslim Women's Research and Action Forum, too paid some attention on women leadership trainings programmes. In the late 1990's the Sri Lanka Foundation Institute and the Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development also organized several workshops to give political training to women. The National Committee for Women, Women's Bureau, *Sinhala Kanthaabivourdhi Sanvidhanaya*, Agromat, National Peace Council and National Democratic Institute too trained some women mainly for local elections (Liyanage, 2004; Kodikara, 2009). In the late 2000's, Viluthu - Center for Human Resource Development, Association for War Affected Women, Women and Media Collective, Women's Education and Research Center, Sarvodaya Women's Movement, IMADR, Women's Development Center (Badualla), Women for Peace and Good Governanace, Women's Resources Center (Kurunegala), Sinhala-Tamils Rural Women's Network, SEEDO - Badulla, Mothers and Daughters of Lanka organized some training programmes for women activists in rural areas. Majority of these programmes were short-term and covered a range of sessions: such as concept of gender, women's rights,





good governance, advocacy and lobbying, media and campaigning, networking, Building leadership skills and qualities, government structure of Sri Lanka and the local government system etc.

Some of these organizations organized visits to local government offices or party offices with the objective of giving some understanding of the functioning of them to the women trainees. Some used media and poster campaigns to raise the awareness of the public on this issue.

#### **Women for Peace and Good Governance (WPGG)**

The WPGG was established in 2007 mainly with the purpose of increasing women's political representation in elected bodies. Before taking initiatives to organize training programmes, the WPGG aimed at finding out the major problems faced by women, mainly in the Central Province, when participating in politics and to identify the areas that they need to develop before running for the elections. In 2007, the WPGG met female and some male community leaders (324 - female 87%, male 13%) in 10 Divisional Secretariat Divisions (DSDs) in the central province and prepared a data base on women community leaders. The WPGG found that there were many Women's Societies (*Kantha samithis*) in all the DSDs and though the women seemed active in social, religious and

cultural activities, they lacked political knowledge and leadership skills. It demonstrated that many women play leadership roles in various village societies such as *kulangana samithi*, *Kantha samithi*, funeral aid society, school development committee, *Samurdhi* committee, and dengue prevention committee etc. But very few women (only 6) were active in party politics. With the purposes of identifying women who were interested in party politics and to motivate them to run for local elections, the WPGG organized 40 gender and political awareness workshops in 8 DSDs (Gangawata korale, Udunuwara, Galaha-Deltota, Yatinuwara, Akurana, Harispaththuwa, Doluwa, and Uda Palatha), during its first phase (with the assistance given by the Facilitating Local Initiatives Conflict Transformation - GTZ (FLICT) and the World Bank 2008-2009). Ten more similar workshops were conducted by the WPGG in Kandy, Matale and Nuwara Eliya districts with the support of the Fedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES). During this period, the WPGG was also able to raise the awareness of the community on the importance of women in local elected bodies to a certain extent with the support of the Kandurata FM Radio and several news papers (Diwaina, Lankadeepa, Thinakaran, and Weerakesari).

At the end of these workshops it was able to identify 52 women community



leaders from the central province, who were aspiring to run for local elections. They requested the WPGG to assist them in improving their political knowledge, building leadership skills, strengthening their networks with political parties and the community, mobilizing the voters' support and influencing the political parties in nominating them to stand for local level elections.

In 2009 the WPGG started a one year training programme for the identified 52 women community leaders with the support of the FLICT. The resource persons were invited from various fields such as law, administration, academia, politics, accounts, media and social work. Similarly, 12 female and 5 male members of the provincial councils and local governments were invited for training workshops to share their positive and negative experiences with the participants and to give them opportunities to use them as mentors. The participants were taken to the Central Province Council office and to two *Pradesheeya sabhas* to give them a clear understanding about their structures and the day to day functioning of the offices.

Furthermore, the WPGG conducted three other relevant activities, viz. a) Increase the knowledge, interests and ability of the WDOs in the Central Province, b) Advocacy and mobilization of the community and increase the voter base support for women candidates and c) conducting the small group meetings with the

local media for target groups of 43 potential women under the Women Defining Peace (WDP) project. These were conducted as part of a multi-pronged approach towards developing and promoting an environment that is conducive for the identified women to successfully receive nominations and contest local elections in 2011. The overall objective of the WDP project was to create a more informed, enabling and supportive environment in the central province for women to participate in the 2011 local elections as voters, supporters and candidates.

Five day workshops were conducted by the WPGG to Increase the knowledge, interests and ability of the WDOs in the Central Province to increase their knowledge and ability regarding women's political participation and leadership building, and enhance their active support in increasing women's representation in local governance, build and strengthen linkages between Community Based Organisations (CBO) and women, develop the ability of the WDOs in organizing relevant events such as International Women's Day and Human Rights Day, workshops on violence against women etc. in local areas and to improve the knowledge of the WDOs on influencing relevant higher administrative officers and political party leaders.

As a result of this activity, 47 WDOs in the central province increased their knowledge and ability regarding



women's political participation. They actively promoted and supported the women in their areas to obtain nominations, influenced some of the local party leaders to give women more nominations and mobilized the local community to vote for women. Before attending the awareness raising workshops majority of the WDOs considered party politics as dirty and some were hesitant to support local women. Through awareness programmes the WDOs learned that "politics" is their/our daily lives in all its ramifications. Thirty one WDOs directly supported women community leaders to obtain nominations by meeting/discussing with local party leaders, signing petitions, sending letters and petitions to political decision makers and motivating women to support their aspiring women to run for local elections. The WDOs in Udunuwara, Hatton, Doluwa and Kotmale invited the national party leaders to women's meetings in their areas and demanded nominations for the women trained by the WPGG. They were able to argue their case with political leaders by using their new knowledge. Without displaying any party bias, 21 WDOs organized small meetings with the aspiring women leaders and invited relevant party organizers of electorates to those meetings in order to lobby their support.

After receiving nominations some WDOs organized *Kantha Bala Mandala*

meetings and events to commemorate the IWD in order to support women candidates. WDOs in Udunuwara, Uda palatha, Doluwa, Kotmale, Ambagamuwa, and Dambulla organized raffle draws and collected funds to support the women candidates in their areas, since they did not have sufficient funds to print posters and hand bills.

All (38) advocacy and mobilization meetings in village level were coordinated and successfully organized by the WDOs. They invited the Divisional Secretaries and some other administrators in local offices and local party leaders to these meetings in order to raise their awareness and interest on this issue.

The Objectives of the activity on Advocacy Community Mobilisation and Increase the Voter Base for Women Candidates were to change attitudes of women, men and youth regarding women's representation in local governance, build and strengthen the CBOs and NGOs networking in the Central province, and to improve women community leaders' knowledge on how to do successful lobbying and advocacy. Moreover, it expected to increase their awareness and knowledge in order to bring about a good governance culture based on gender balance, which will also challenge the patriarchal base, to obtain the support of local media to raise awareness on this issue to build linkages between women community



leaders and media personnel to give women media exposure and to strengthen women community leaders' capacity to obtain more nominations for local elections. Thirty eight community mobilisation meetings were successfully conducted by the WPGG in all the DSDs in the Central province. As a result, "Central Province Women's Collective" (CPWC) was established by women leaders of 238 *Kantha Samithis*. The CPWC lobbied the government and all major political parties and demanded more nominations for women by sending 2 petitions, request letters and thousand post cards to the political leaders of the major parties, including the Executive President of the country. Furthermore, the WPGG organized three media discussions, published 18 articles and statements in daily news papers, attending 4 radio programmes and two television programmes, organising a demonstration in Kandy and performing a stage drama and a street drama to raise the awareness on the issue.

During these advocacy and mobilisation meetings the number of women who were interested in running for local elections increased up to 87. At the local elections in 2011, 79 women applied for nominations and 16 women were given nominations by the United People's Front (UPF) + Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), 12 were given by the UNP, 2 were given by the Ceylon

Workers Congress and 1 was given by the Up Country People's Front. Out of 38 rejected applicants, one woman joined the Muslim Congress and got nominations. Another 31 found independent groups and getting nominations. Thus for the first time, in the local elections history of the Central province, 32 women challenged their parties and obtained nominations through alternative ways. In previous elections, generally when nominations of women candidates were rejected they just kept quiet and continued their free services to the party. However, this time, the majority of the WPGG women planned ahead to face challenges. The parties were also very cunning and the women were not informed until the last minute.

During the advocacy and mobilisation meetings 5 youth societies joined the WPGG and they supported the women candidates in organising small meetings and other village level events. The male youth also were given some support by us, mainly in preparing pamphlets and conducting meetings.

Forty three small election campaign meetings of women candidates were supported by the WPGG, mainly by addressing the public on importance of women's political representation, printing and distributing pamphlets and posters, organizing poster exhibitions on the issue and performing street drama in the electorates.



At the local elections -2011, six women and all three young (below 35 years) men of the WPGG group won the elections. There were three amatures, one below 35 years, who ran the elections under the youth quota. Two women represented the UNF, another 2 UNP, 1 from the Muslim Congress and the other one from the Up Country People's Front. It is noteworthy to mention that the majority of the defeated women got more than 400 votes and one woman had only two and another had only four less votes to win the seat.

### Methodology

This study is attempted with the following two objectives:

1. To receive and analyse the strategies adopted by winning and non-winning candidates, both male and female, of the local elections, 2011.
2. To support potential women candidates to plan their election campaign strategies well for the 2015 local elections.

To gather information for this study, during the first two months after the local elections in 2011, the WPGG conducted interviews with 26 female candidates (7 successful candidates, 13 defeated candidates and 6 candidates who were not given the nomination tickets), 19 male candidates (14 successful candidates

### Furthermore, Focus Group Discussions (FGD) were held in 15 Pradesheeya Sabha divisions:

Pradesheeya Sabha divisions	Number of Participants
Udunuwara	18
Patha Dumbara	20
Ambagamuwa	18
Nuwara Eliya – Lindula	20
Kandy – Gangawata Korala	19
Matale	19
Yatinuwara	20
Gampola – Udapalatha	18
Hatton	20
Poojapitiya	20
Dambulla	19
Galewela	18
Pallepola	19
Kotmale	18
Ukuwela	21



and 5 defeated candidates), 6 administrators, 9 civil society activists and the coordinator of the Human Rights Commission of the Central Province).

Members for the FGDs were chosen by the Women Development Officers (WDO) and the Divisional Secretariat Coordinators (DSC). With the assistance of the WDOs, the DSCs, who are active parts of their communities, picked up members who were concerned about the lack of women's participation in Sri Lankan politics and members who were interested in election monitoring. The FGDs consisted of winning and non-winning male and female candidates, human rights activists, voters who were knowledgeable on this issue and Buddhist monks.

All interviews and focus group discussions were conducted based on the following questionnaire:

- ◇ Why is it necessary to have women representatives in the local elected government?
- ◇ What are the reasons for women candidates to be defeated?
- ◇ What were the strategies used by male candidates who won the local election, 2011?
- ◇ What were the strategies used by the female candidates who won the local election, 2011?
- ◇ What strategies should be used by female candidates to win the next local election in 2015?

### Findings:

#### *The necessity of women being represented in elected bodies:*

Majority of the respondents, that is, 95.3% of the respondents said that it was necessary for women to be represented in all levels of elected bodies. The reasons the majority gave for their response is as follows:

- ◇ Women who constitute half of the Sri Lankan population have needs and interests that differ from that of men's. Thus it is important that they be represented in elected bodies. Many interviewees felt that women face issues related to access to drinking-water, garbage, un-authorized building constructions, public toilets, day care centres, domestic violence, drugs, alcohol and security. Such problems can be understood better by a woman; they are more sensitive to issues related to women as well as children. Thus is it important to have female candidates in elected bodies.
- ◇ Moreover, many interviewees from the *Pradeshheya Sabha* claimed that, since most of the functions of the *Pradeshheya Sabha* are connected to the lives of women and children, it is important to have female candidates as part of it. They also claimed that women from the villages of the country suffer more than men due to the lack of infrastructure facilities, poverty, violence etc. These women need the support of female leaders.



- ◇ Sri Lanka being a democratic country has to represent both men and women equally in elected bodies. Women need to be respected as citizens of the country. Having both women and men in all decision making levels is an essential factor in achieving democracy, good governance and sustainable development. Progress of the country cannot be achieved by ignoring more than half the population's interests and necessities. Moreover, since women in Sri Lanka have seen achievements in various areas, many interviewees felt that it is high time that they are given a chance to be part of decision making bodies.
- ◇ Including women in elected bodies can be an initiative to change the patriarchal structure of these bodies and of the society itself. Majority of the respondents claimed that women in Sri Lanka have been suppressed, oppressed, marginalized, subordinated and exploited due to the patriarchal culture since the days of Kuveni. Giving them equal opportunity to participate in elected bodies can be an essential step to change the nature of the society.
- ◇ Having female leaders in the political body of the country will be an encouragement and an inspiration for younger women to take up roles that are usually considered 'unwomanly'.
- ◇ An observation made during the interviews and the focus group discussions was that the majority of the respondents also feel that the different characteristics and behaviour patterns of a woman can be of assistance to the nature of the political culture of the country. That is to say, more than 50% of the interviewees claimed that the presence of a woman in a local elected body can create a more 'decent' atmosphere. Also, many claimed that women are protectors of the family, society and the nation and thus, their contribution to the politics of the country is important.

*The reasons for the defeat of many female candidates at the local elections:*

- ◇ 90.7 % of the interviewees stated that difficulty in obtaining the nomination ticket for elections is one of the main reasons why women candidates were not just defeated but not even given the chance to expose their skills in politics. Nomination tickets are usually difficult to obtain for men as well. One of the main reasons why candidates face this difficulty is due to nepotism. For women, along with nepotism, their gender is also a barrier when it comes to obtaining nomination tickets.



- ◇ Majority of the male respondents, especially the winning candidates who have more than 15 years of experience claimed that women are often defeated as they have no experience in social work and find it difficult to invest their time and energy on gaining popularity, acceptance and recognition in society. The majority of the winning male interviewees felt that women can be successful only if they start from grass root level and play the role of a leader in political organizations, trade unions etc. It is only if their voice is heard that they will be recognized as leaders. Also, women are supposed to be responsible of their households. Thus they do not find enough time to do the activities those are to be done as a candidate of an election.
- ◇ Lack of funds is another major reason for the defeat of women in elections. To gain the trust and win the confidence of the society candidates of an election need a lot financial support. The families of the female candidates are not as supportive as they would be for a male candidate. Also, there is no trust established between the women candidates and the patrons who donate the funds for elections. They do not believe that women candidates can make good leaders.
- ◇ Furthermore majority (78.3%) of the Tamil respondents felt that the up country Tamil women suffer more than the women of the other ethnic groups due to poverty, lack of recognition, lack of education, lack of infrastructure etc.
- ◇ In the present Sri Lankan culture the voters expect material support from the candidates and their popularity depends on the items they distribute. Inviting the voters to residences of candidates and distributing food, clothes, money, food, house-hold items and agricultural equipments etc have become a common practice in Sri Lanka, though it is unethical and illegal according to the elections laws. Some years back this was limited to the national elections but now the local candidates also follow the same 'tradition'. Ninety one percent of the respondents said that women do not distribute food or any other material among the voters and therefore they are not popular. They said that there are voters who voted for Rs1000, packet of rice and a T-shirt. Some male candidates spent around 15 - 20 lakhs on such propaganda, something which, according to the majority of the interviewees, women candidates do not think to do.
- ◇ Senior women leaders do not support or encourage younger women to join politics –
- ◇ Many members of the FDGs and interviews emphasised that due to the lack of senior women leaders





support and mentoring women could not win the elections. Generally junior male politicians are mentored by senior male politicians and juniors have established effective network among persons of various strata due to these relationships with seniors. But regarding junior women politicians such informal mentoring and networking with seniors are minimal.

◇ The issues related to the Proportional Representative (PR) system:

◇ According to the system, a candidate has to cover a large area during his/her election campaign. A man finds it easier as they have the funds and the power to do so. But women lack the experience, skills and networking. Also, candidates are expected to organize processions and demonstrate their power during the nomination days. But the female candidates of Sri Lanka, due to the culture and also because they are not experienced, fail to do so.

◇ Cultural factors: –

The image of the woman that the Sri Lankan culture portrays through various devices of the media suggests that women are vulnerable and fragile beings, and they belong to the domestic sphere

of a home. Thus they are not suitable for politics which is considered a man's job. The minute a woman takes a so-called 'masculine' job, she is considered as 'unwomanly' and rude. Women are not supposed to go out at night and do canvassing, and if they do so, most of them face character assassination.

◇ Political culture: –

According to many members of the FDGs and interviewees (73%) the violent political culture has become a serious impediment to women's success in last local elections. The special characteristics of Sri Lankan party politics are losing voters' trust in politics and politicians, voters' dependence on the material support given by the candidates, severe competition among candidates, violence, threats and distrust about the present election system. All most all the women candidates pointed out the nature of violence that they faced. Some were threatened, not allowed to organize meetings, followed by motor bicycles when they went out, their posters were destroyed and their houses and property were destroyed. Some were also subject to various rumours. Thus they are completely discouraged to go further with their political career.



***Strategies adopted by male candidates to win the local elections:***

- ◇ Majority of the winning male candidates stated that the most important strategy that they used to win local elections is, building trust and confidence among voters in their electorate by working with them for a long period of time. They are provided with funds from various organizations and people to build wells, toilets and provide material such as exercise books, pencils, clothes etc for school children. They attend all public activities in their community or village. They encourage people, especially the youth to participate in *shramadana* campaigns. Such activities help the male candidates to establish a close relationship with people; the confidence and trust between the candidate and the voters are established.
- ◇ When it comes to winning the trust of the people, the male candidates feel that it is a more effective strategy to win the trust of those who have a low income, e.g. pavement vendors, three-wheeler drivers, *Samurdhi* grantees etc. The candidates build houses and improve the living condition in other ways for such people and win their vote.
- ◇ Muslim male candidates revealed that they used their ethnic identity to gain more votes in the Muslim populated areas.
- ◇ Establishing close relationships with national as well as local party leaders is another important strategy. Many respondents felt that the “blessings of the leader’ is very important. They also stated that whether they like it or not, they have to maintain a good relationship with the party leaders. Or else the leaders have the capacity to use their power to ruin the candidate’s political life. Thus having a good ‘friendly’ relationship with the leaders, mainly with the electorate organizer of the party is essential. They must be invited to public events, candidates must attend the meetings that they participated in, and must praise their leadership. It is only then that the person will be considered an eligible candidate.
- ◇ Pre-campaign plans are essential to win an election. Some winning male candidates shared their experience of starting to strengthen their public relations, collecting funds, identifying issues in the area and preparing attractive pamphlets even before they received nomination tickets. Attending religious and social activities is also something most of them did to win the hearts of the people. Organizing small meetings prior to the elections and identifying the needs of the electorate is the strategy they used. The majority of the winning male respondents stated that first they



made possible development plans for their areas according to the needs that they identified. Then they organize small meetings and present that plan to the people with a vision.

- ◇ Getting the support of the youth is another important strategy. Many respondents said that when they have the support of the youth, the youth help them by spreading messages through 'sms', through the internet and other forms of the latest technology. Messages spread fast and thus, it is a major advantage for the male candidates.
- ◇ Many male candidates said that as candidates they should be simple, humble and nice to people and they should not be arrogant. They consider that an important strategy. Nevertheless, 12 supporters and 16 voters who attended the FDGs claimed that male candidates use violent ways such as threatening the agents of other candidates, chasing them away, giving alcohol and other material rewards to the election officers and police officers and bribing counting officers as strategies to win elections.

*Strategies adopted by female candidates who won the election:*

An observation made while discussing the strategies used by the female candidates who saw victory in the 2011 local election is that all their most effective strategies are similar to the

most effective strategies used by the winning male candidates as well. Seeing that such strategies worked out well for the male candidates, it can be said that if all the female candidates had used or had the opportunity and the luxury to use the strategies mentioned below, the number of successful male and female candidates could have been almost equal.

- ◇ The female candidates who won the 2011 election said that the most effective strategy is taking part in the activities of their society and helping out the people. This strategy, like the winning male candidates pointed out, helps to gain the trust of the people.
- ◇ The support of their family is an important reason for the success of the female candidates. From providing funds to giving them space to do what they wish, for their political campaign, the families remain supportive and encouraging. This gives confidence to the women and thus helped them win the election.
- ◇ Due to the support of the family, some successful female candidates were able to develop a close relationship with the leaders of the party as well. This proved to be helpful because, as it was mentioned by the male candidates, developing a good relationship with the party leader is important to win an election.



- ◇ Pre-campaign planning was another successful strategy used by the winning female candidates. They made plans months before the election and thus, gained the trust of the people who voted for them and made them win.

### Discussion/Suggestions

The interviewees and the members of the FDGs gave their suggestions as to what strategies the female candidates should use in the local election that is scheduled to happen in 2015.

- ◇ Almost all the members of the FDGs pointed out that it is important to take more systematic initiatives in organizing as common groups to win a quota system prior to the next local elections. Some even blamed the CPWC for not taking the leadership to organize men and women, not only in the central province but also nationally. Since the new local government revision act has not been passed by the legislature, the members suggested the WPGG to meet the Executive President, the Prime Minister and important Ministers, the Leader of the Opposition and the leaders of the main political parties. Similarly the suggestion was to join with the other social organizations, religious leaders, trade union leaders, student leaders, professional bodies and other influential persons to influence the decision makers directly and indirectly.
- ◇ A media person said that many do not understand the importance of women's representation as the discussion has not gone beyond the academic and some women leaders. Thus it is important to take initiatives to spread the importance of women's representation through media and other devices.
- ◇ NGO leaders pointed out that during the war women in this country contributed a lot in various ways but it was not recognized. They said that women have to join the men, especially the ones who are sensitive towards women's issues, and have a coalition. They also suggested demanding from all the parties to have a percentage for nominations equal to the number of female members of the particular party. Furthermore women members of parties need to join together and demand for an equal number of nominations for women.
- ◇ Another *Pradeshheya Sabha* member came forward with the suggestion to form an organization of the women who did not get nominations, spread news about the organization, and discuss the issues. Creating a woman friendly atmosphere in the *Pradhesheeya Sabha* administration and ways to improve the lives of Sri Lankan women, are issues that need to be discussed, according to him.
- ◇ During the last election applications of many women were rejected by party organizers in the electorate,



despite being promised by some national or district level leaders. Many members of the FDGs claimed that women need to challenge the unfair decisions of the party organizer if it happens in the future.

- ◇ A strong suggestion for women candidates in future elections came from many members of the FDG to continue their social - cultural work and to build up their leadership and popularity further. About 73% of the male *Pradeshheya Sabha* members mentioned the difficulties that they faced and the long period of time that they had to spend for social activities. Some said that their applications for nominations were rejected more than 10 times but they did not lose their interest. They realized the weak points they had and continued their work in a more effective manner. Therefore their recommendation for women is to continue their social work and build more close relations with the society.
- ◇ Seventy three percent of respondents pointed out that women should establish close relationships with both male and female political leaders, and especially with the party electorate organizer. It is only then that they would get the chance to run for the elections.
- ◇ *Pradeshheya Saba* members were of the opinion that women should attend the *Pradeshheya Saba* monthly meetings and learn how it works, how to make a plan, budget, how to collect income and how to develop the area. By such activities, women will be exposed to practical knowledge in politics which is essential for them to win elections.
- ◇ Many respondents also felt that women's attitude towards politics as a masculine job or as 'dirty' should be changed. Changing the attitude would help them attend meetings and gain some interest in it.
- ◇ Several male leaders emphasised that women aspiring to run for next local elections should definitely meet the women political leaders in their area and be their mentees. Many men have entered politics because of their close associations with big political leaders. They mentor them and show them the path to go. Similarly women should work with women leaders and do social and cultural activities, invite them for their meetings, and learn how they behave, and speak and learn about their strategies used to win the elections.
- ◇ Furthermore some FDG members said that if nominations are not given to women purposely, the women's organization in the area should come together and organize demonstrations or any other influential activities, without having any party bias. Such strong demonstrations can be successful.



- ◇ Another strategy proposed by most of the members of the FDGs (71%) was to plan the election campaign at least four months beforehand and implement it in a systematic way. They need to make the campaigns look attractive and show enthusiasm and confidence to win the trust of the people. Before implementing the plan they should identify active and reliable group of supporters and allocate the *grama seva vasam* among them. Also inviting at least one or two party leaders to their meeting will be an advantage.
- ◇ Almost all the FDG members said that resources for the election campaign are a must. Several female as well as male elected members said that the candidate should start collecting funds as early as possible.
- ◇ Another recommendation given by the FDGs is to increase women's knowledge on counting procedures and how to protect their votes. Members of the *Pradhesheeya Saba* gave suggestions such as, requesting election monitoring organizations to assist them, to force the election officers of the area to implement the laws strictly, to train their counting representatives and to also select very reliable people for that job.
- ◇ Many members of the FDGs said that women do social activities but they never teach their women folk the importance of women being part of elected bodies. Thus they suggested women candidates to raise awareness on the issue for the next three years, before the 2015 local elections. Not only women but also men need to understand the importance of the women's presence in elected bodies. Thus awareness should be raised amongst both men and women. The Sri Lankan society still believes that men perform better than women in politics. This is the traditional view and thus it is important to change this attitude of the society.
- ◇ Many interviewees felt that political training should be given to women below 35 years because they can get nominations easily. Also, it is essential to establish a separate political academy for women or include more women trainees to party political academies. Such training should motivate the women and improve their self confidence and leadership skills.

### Conclusion

This study shows that women have not been recognized as equal to men in the political representation and mainly as candidates. They face more difficulties than men to win the local elections. Some strategies used to win the elections by women are different from that of men and it is mainly due to women's individual, cultural and structural/institutional reasons. Though the



trained community leaders in the Central Province have been empowered to challenge the age old patriarchal set up of the political parties by joining the independent groups and obtaining nominations, the study illustrates that it was hard for the majority of them to win the 2011 elections. However, seven women who have been elected to the *Pradeshheya Sabha* show that due to their established popularity and leadership in the community through their long term social, cultural and economic activities and the closer relationship with some party leaders, support given by the family and pre-planned campaign movement they won the elections. Women who had similar leadership skills, qualities and experiences have not won the elections due to the lack of other factors. When compared to men it is obvious that the factors which help to win the elections for both men and women are quite similar, but due to the social and

individual factors and lack of opportunities the men are at an advantage. If the trained women were given the nominations by the major parties the result would be different. Therefore, it can be concluded that without having a structural policy for women to obtain nominations, only the political training and other forms of support will solve at least a part of the problem. Remedies such as greater awareness, and political training for women etc, it appears, will not produce quick results. But Quotas will help to solve that part of the issue. Ideally it should not be nomination quotas, because the parties then will nominate relatives. Therefore, the best way to fill gap the between men and women's representation in the local government of Sri Lanka is by introducing actual elected quotas and by incorporating a quota policy into the proposed Local Government Revision Act.

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# සංවර්ධනය, සමාජ සංස්කෘතික වෙනස්වීම් හා ඩෙංගු රෝගය

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හැඳින්වීම

යහපත් සෞඛ්‍යය, සංවර්ධනයට ප්‍රධාන හේතුවක් වනවා මෙන්ම සංවර්ධනය නිරතුරුවම සෞඛ්‍ය වැඩිදියුණු කිරීමට හේතු වේ (WHO, 2001). සංවර්ධනය හා සෞඛ්‍ය අතර පවතින මෙම අවියෝජනීය බැඳීම ඕනෑම රටක සංවර්ධනය හෝ සෞඛ්‍ය තත්ත්වය තීරණය කිරීමේ ප්‍රධාන නිර්ණායකයන් බවට පත්ව ඇත. යම් රටක සංවර්ධනය තීරණය කිරීමේදී එහි පූර්වගාමී සාධක අතර යහපත් සෞඛ්‍ය පද්ධතියක් පැවතීම අතිශයින් වැදගත් වේ. නමුත් වර්තමානයේ සංවර්ධනය සමග සිදුවන පාරිසරික හා සමාජ සංස්කෘතික වෙනස්වීම් සෞඛ්‍ය පද්ධතියට දැඩි බලපෑමක් කිරීමට සමත්ව ඇත. විශේෂයෙන්ම රෝග ශීඝ්‍රයෙන් පැතිර යාමටත් මර්දනය කරන ලද රෝග නැවත නැවත සමාජය තුළ මතු වීමටත් නව රෝග තත්ත්වයන් පැතිරීමටත් මෙම සමාජ පාරිසරික වෙනස්කම් හේතු වී ඇත.

විශ්වයේ සිදුවන ශීඝ්‍ර වෙනස විශේෂයෙන්ම ජනගහන වර්ධනය හා නාගරීකරණය නව රෝග නිර්මාණය කිරීමට සමත් වී ඇත. නව රෝග තත්ත්වයන් වර්ධනය කිරීමටද පවතින රෝග නව මුහුණුවරකින් පවත්වාගෙන යාමට පහසුකම් සැලසීමද විශ්වීය වශයෙන් සිදුවන ප්‍රජාවිද්‍යාත්මක හා පාරිසරික වෙනසන් සමඟ දැකගත හැකි වේ. ප්‍රජා විද්‍යාත්මක හා සමාජ සංස්කෘතික වෙනසන් සමඟ නව රෝග සමාජය තුළ ඉස්මතු වීම අතර සමාන සබඳතාවක් පවතී (Kendall, Hudelson., et al, 1991). මේ ආකාරයට සංවර්ධනය, සමාජ සංස්කෘතික වෙනස්වීම් හා පාරිසරික වෙනස්වීම් මත නැවත සමාජය තුළ ඉස්මතු වූ රෝගයක් ලෙස ඩෙංගු හා ඩෙංගු රක්තපාන උණ රෝගය පෙන්වා දිය හැකිය. ඉතාම වේගයෙන් දියුණු වන ලෝකය තුළ ඩෙංගු රෝගය අද වන විට ගෝලීය වශයෙන් පැතිර ගිය වසංගතයක් බවට පත්ව ඇත.



**ඩෙංගු වෛරසය**

ඩෙංගු වෛරසයේ උප ප්‍රභේද 04 ක් හඳුනාගත හැකිය.

- ඩෙංගු 1 (DEN -1)
- ඩෙංගු 2 (DEN -2)
- ඩෙංගු 3 (DEN -3)
- ඩෙංගු 4 (DEN -4)

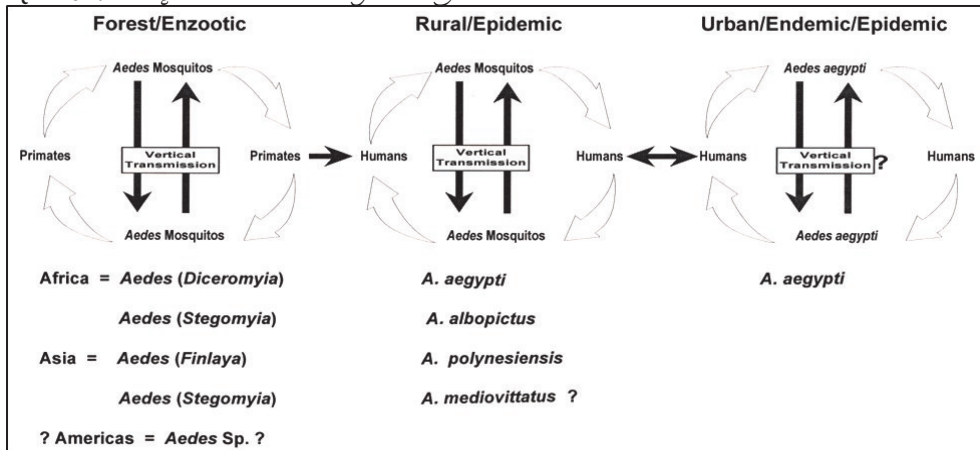
මෙම උප ප්‍රභේද අයත් වනුයේ ෆ්ලේවිවෛරස් (Flavivirus) කාණ්ඩයටය. ෆ්ලේවිවෛරස් වල විශේෂත්වය නම් එහි වෛරසයේ උප ප්‍රභේද වල ක්‍රියාකාරීත්වය නිවැරදිව හඳුනා

ගැනීමට නොහැකි වීමය. මෙය ඩෙංගු වෛරසය තුළ පැහැදිලිව දැක ගත හැකිය. ඩෙංගු වෛරසයේ එක් උප ප්‍රභේදයක් වැළඳුන පුද්ගලයාට තමන්ගේ ජීවිත කාලය තුළ නැවත එම වෛරසය ඇතුළු විය නොහැකි ආකාරයේ ප්‍රතිශක්තිකරණයක් ඇති වේ. නමුත් එම වෛරසයේම වෙනත් උප ප්‍රභේදයක් ඕනෑම අවස්ථාවක නැවත වැළඳිය හැකිය. මේ නිසාම ඩෙංගු රෝගය පැතිරී පවතින කලාප වල ජීවත්වන පුද්ගලයන්ට අවම වශයෙන් ඩෙංගු උප ප්‍රභේද 03ක් හරහා රෝගය වැළඳීමට හැකියාව තිබේ. බොහෝ විට ඩෙංගු උප ප්‍රභේද 04ම වැළඳී ඇති අවස්ථාද දැක ගත හැකිය.

**ඩෙංගු මදුරුවාගේ සම්ප්‍රේෂණය**

ඩෙංගු මදුරුවාගේ සම්ප්‍රේෂණය පහත වක්‍රය ඇසුරින් මනාව හඳුනා ගත හැකිය.

**රූපය 01: ඩෙංගු වෛරසයේ සම්ප්‍රේෂණ වක්‍රය**



මූලාශ්‍රය: Gubler, 1998

ප්‍රාථමික අවධියේ ඩෙංගු මදුරුවන් (Aedes mosquitoes) ආසියා හා අප්‍රිකා මහද්වීපයන්හි වැසි වනාන්තර කේන්ද්‍ර කර ගෙන ජීවත් වී ඇත. අනතුරුව මානව ජනගහණය අඩු දූපත් හා ගම් වලට පළමුව මෙම වෛරසය ව්‍යාප්ත වී ඇත. එම ප්‍රදේශ වල වසංගත තත්ත්වයක් බවටද පත්ව ඇත. මෙම කාලයේ ඊඩ්ස් මදුරු විශේෂ තුනක් සම්ප්‍රේෂණය වී ඇත. භූ විද්‍යාත්මක කලාපය අනුව ඊඩ්ස් ඊජිප්ටයි (Aedes aegypti), ඊඩ්ස් ඇල්බොපික්ටස් (Aedes albopictus), ඊඩ්ස් පොලිනීසියානු (Aedes polynesiensis) වශයෙන් වෙනස්කම් සහිතව රෝග වාහකයා ක්‍රියාත්මක වී ඇත. මෙම වෛරසය පවත්වාගෙන යනු ලබන්නේ මානවයා හා ඊඩ්ස් ඊජිප්ටයි මදුරු විශේෂය විසිනි. නාගරික ප්‍රදේශවලට සංක්‍රමණය වීමත්

සමඟ ඊඩ්ස් ඊජිප්ටයි මදුරු විශේෂය රෝග වාහකයින් බවට පත්ව ඇත. අනෙක් විශේෂත්වය වනුයේ එකම නගරය තුළ ඩෙංගු වෛරසයේ උපප්‍රභේද කිහිපයක් හා එහි වක්‍රීකරණයක් දැක ගත හැකි වීමය.

ඩෙංගු වෛරසය ආසාදිත මදුරුවන් දෂ්ඨ කිරීම හරහා පුද්ගලයෝ ඩෙංගු වෛරස ආසාදිතයන් බවට පත් වෙති. වෛරසය ව්‍යාප්ත කරන ප්‍රධාන රෝග කාරක මදුරුවා ඊඩ්ස් ඊජිප්ටයි වේ. නිවෙස් තුළ හා ඒ අවට ඇති කෘතීම ජලය රඳනයන් තුළ බිත්තර දැමීමට වඩාත් කැමැත්තක් ඇති මොහු ශරීර ප්‍රමාණයෙන් කුඩා, කළු සහ සුදු පැහැ වර්ණයන්ගෙන් යුතු ගෘහාශ්‍රිත පරිසරයන්හි පැරිසරන සතෙකි.



මල් බඳුන් , පැරණි ටයර්, ජලය රඳන ප්ලාස්ටික් භාජන, විශාල බැරල් මෙන්ම සිමෙන්ති ටැංකි ආදිය බිත්තර දැමීම සඳහා යොදාගනී. වැඩිහිටි මදුරුවන් ගෘහ අභ්‍යන්තරයේ වාසය කිරීමට කැමති අතර දහවල් කාලයේ ලේ උරා බීමට කැමැත්තක් දක්වනු ලැබේ. ගැහැණු මදුරුවා ඉතාම වංචල වේ. එක් පුද්ගලයකුගෙන් ලේ උරා බීමකදී ඇති වන සියුම් සෙලවීමකදී පවා එම පුද්ගලයාගෙන් ඉවත් වන අතර නැවත තමන්ගේ පෝෂණ කාර්ය සඳහා ඒ පුද්ගලයා වෙතටම හෝ වෙනත් පුද්ගලයෙක් වෙතට යාම සිදු වේ. මේ ආකාරයට මදුරුවා තමන්ගේ එක් ආහාර වේලක් සඳහා පුද්ගලයන් කිහිපදෙනෙකු වෙතටම යා හැකිය. මෙම මදුරුවා ඩෙංගු ආසාදිත මදුරුවෙක් නම් රෝගකාරක වෛරසය කෙටි කාලයක් තුළ කිහිපදෙනෙකුටම සම්ප්‍රේෂණය කරනු ලැබේ.

කිසියම් පුද්ගලයෙකු ඩෙංගු වෛරසය ආසාදිත වූ විට එය රෝග මාලාවක් පැතිරීම කෙරෙහි හේතු වේ. මතුපිටට නොපෙනෙන ඉතා සියුම් රෝග තත්වයේ සිට මාරාන්තික රක්තපාන උණ වැළඳීම දක්වා වූ පරාසයක රෝගය පැතිර යා හැකිය. පුද්ගලයාට රෝගය ආසාදනය වීමේදී ප්‍රතිශක්තිකරණය, වයස හා ජානමය පසුබිම රෝගය ආසාදනය වීමේ දරුණු හෝ සියුම් භාවය තීරණය කිරීමට බලපානු ලැබේ.

ඩෙංගු වෛරසය ආසාදනය වීම හරහා රෝගී ස්වරූප තුනක් හඳුනා ගත හැකිය. එනම් ඩෙංගු උණ (DF), ඩෙංගු රක්තපාන උණ (DHF) සහ ඩෙංගු සහකම්පන අවස්ථාවයි (DSS).

**ඩෙංගු උණ**

ඩෙංගු උණ මූලිකවම දරුවන්ගේ සහ වැඩිහිටියන්ගේ රෝගයක් ලෙස සලකනු ලැබේ. ක්ෂණිකව හටගන්නා උණ සහ

විවිධාකාර වූ රෝග ලක්ෂණ පෙන්වුම් කරනු ලැබේ. ඇසේ යට වේදනාව, වමනය, ශරීරය දුර්වල වීම, සන්ධි වේදනාව සහ සමෙහි ලප ඇති වීම දැකිය හැකිය. ඩෙංගු උණ සාමාන්‍යයෙන් පාලනය වන අතර මාරාන්තික වන්නේ කලාතුරකිනි.

**ඩෙංගු රක්තපාන උණ**

ඩෙංගු රක්තපාන උණ දරුවන් අතර දක්නට ලැබෙන රෝගයක් වුවද වැඩිහිටියන්ටත් එය වැළඳිය හැකිය. ඩෙංගු රක්තපාන උණ, ඩෙංගු උණ සහ අනෙකුත් වෛරස් උණ රෝග ලක්ෂණයන්ගෙන් පැහැදිලිව වෙන්කර ගැනීමට අපහසුය.

**ඩෙංගු සහකම්පන අවස්ථාව**

ඩෙංගු රක්තපාන උණෙන් පෙළෙන රෝගියකුගේ උණ සැනෙකින් බැස යා හැකි මුත් රෝගියා අසනීප තත්වයේම පසු වේ නම් එය කම්පන ලක්ෂණයක් විය හැකිය. එවැනි රෝගියකු තුළ ඇඟ සීතල වීම, ඇඟ සුදුමැලී වීම, කලබලකාරී හා නිදිමත ස්වභාවය, හුස්ම ගැනීම හා නාඩි වැටීම වේගවත් වීම දැකිය හැකිය.

**ඩෙංගු රෝගයේ ගෝලීය විකාශනය**

මදුරුවන්ගෙන් බෝවන රෝග අතර ලෝකයේ ඉතාම වේගයෙන් පැතිර යන රෝගය ඩෙංගු රෝගයයි (WHO, 2009). පසුගිය වසර 50ක කාලය තුළ ඩෙංගු රෝගීන් 30 ගුණයකින් වැඩි වී ඇත. එමෙන්ම මෙහි හඳුනා ගත හැකි අනෙක් ප්‍රවනතාව වනුයේ රෝගය නාගරික ප්‍රදේශවලින් ග්‍රාමීය ප්‍රදේශ දක්වා පැතිරයාමය (රූපය 02).

ඉහත රූප සටහනේ තද කළු පැහැයෙන් දක්වා ඇත්තේ 2008 වසර වන විට ලෝක සෞඛ්‍ය සංවිධානය විසින් හඳුනා ගෙන ඇති ඩෙංගු රෝගය පැතිරීමේ අවදානම සහිත රටවල්ය.

**රූපය 02: ඩෙංගු පැතිරීමේ අවදානම සහිත රටවල්, 2008**



මූලාශ්‍රය: ලෝක සෞඛ්‍ය සංවිධානය, 2009



සෑම වසරකම මිලියන 50 කට ආසන්න ඩෙංගු ආසාදිතයන් ලෝකය පුරා වාර්තා වේ. 500,000 පමණ වන ඩෙංගු රෝගීන් රෝහල් ගත කිරීමට සිදුවේ. සාමාන්‍ය වශයෙන් සෑම මිනිත්තුවකටම එක් රෝගියෙකු රෝහල් ගත කරනු ලැබේ. අවම වශයෙන් සෑම වසරකම ඩෙංගු රක්තපාන උණ (DHF) නිසා සිදු වන මරණ සංඛ්‍යාව 21,000ක් පමණ වේ. වැඩිපුරම මීට ගොදුරු වන්නේ ළමුන්ය. සෑම මිනිත්තුව 20 කටම එක් ළමයකු මිය යාම දැකිය හැකිය (Parks, Lloyd, 2004). එමෙන්ම ලෝක ජනගහනයෙන් සාමාන්‍ය වශයෙන් බිලියන 2.5ක් පමණ ජීවත් වනුයේ ඩෙංගු ආවේණික රටවල් වලය (WHO, 2009). ලොව පුරා ඩෙංගු රෝගයේ ශීඝ්‍ර පැතිරීම පහත ප්‍රස්ථාරය මගින් පෙන්වුම් කෙරේ. (ප්‍රස්ථාරය 01)

1955-1959 කාල පරාසය තුළ ඩෙංගු රෝගීන් වාර්තා වී ඇත්තේ ඉතාම සුළු ප්‍රමාණයකි. 1980-1989 වර්ෂ වන විට එහි ක්‍රමික වර්ධනයක් දැකිය හැකි වේ. ඒ වන විට ලොව පුරා රටවල් 20 කට වැඩි ප්‍රමාණයකට ඩෙංගු රෝගය පැතිරී ඇත. සමාජය තුළ ඉස්මතු වන ප්‍රජාවට පීඩාකාරී රෝග කාලයන් සමග මර්දනය වීමක් හෝ පාලනය වීමක් දැක ගත හැකි වුවත් ඩෙංගු රෝගය කාලයන් සමග වර්ධනය වන ස්වභාවයක් මෙම සංඛ්‍යා දත්ත පරීක්ෂා කිරීමේදී පෙනී යයි. එමෙන්ම ඊට ගොදුරු වන රටවල් සංඛ්‍යාවද ක්‍රමයෙන් ඉහළ යාමක් හඳුනා ගත හැකිය.

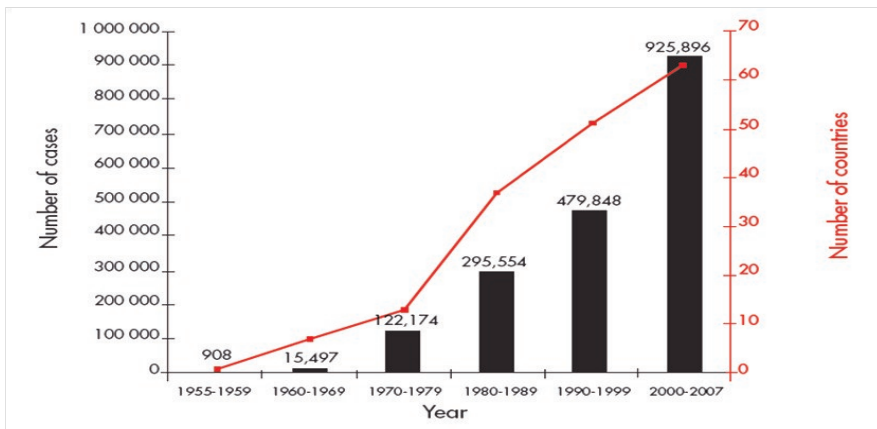
**ඩෙංගු රෝගයේ ඉතිහාසය**

ඩෙංගු රෝගය පැරණිම රෝගයක් වන අතර එය ලොව පුරා ව්‍යාප්ත වීම ආරම්භ වූයේ 18 හා 19 වන සියවස්වල, වෙළඳාම හා නාවික කර්මාන්තය පුළුල් වීමත් සමගය (Gubler, 2002). ඩෙංගු රක්තපාන උණ (DHF) නව රෝගයක් ලෙසට පළමුවරට හඳුනා ගනු ලැබූයේ 1953 වසරේදී පිලිපීන රාජ්‍යයෙහි (Kendall, Hudelson, et al., 1991). ඉන් පසු එය ඉතාම ශීඝ්‍රයෙන් තායිලන්තය, වියට්නාමය, ඉන්දුනීසියාව හා අනෙකුත් ආසියානු හා පැසිපික් කලාපීය රටවල් වෙත පැතිර ගියේය. ඇමරිකාවෙන් පළමු වරට ඩෙංගු රෝගියකු වාර්තා වූයේ 1981 වසරේදී කියුබා රාජ්‍යයෙන්ය. යුරෝපා මහාද්වීපය හැරුණ විට අනෙකුත් සෑම මහාද්වීපයකම රටවල් වර්තමානයේ ඩෙංගු රෝගය පවතින රටවල් බවට පත්ව ඇත. ආසියානු හා ඇමරිකානු මහාද්වීප වල මෙම රෝගය විසංගතයක් බවට පත්ව ඇත. 1981 වසරේදී ඇමරිකාවේ මෙම රෝගී තත්වය හඳුනාගත හැකි වුවද ආසියාවේ මෙම රෝගී තත්වය ව්‍යාප්ත වූයේ ඉන් වසර 30 කට පමණ පසුය. නමුත් රෝගය පැතිර යාම අතින් වර්තමානයේ ඇමෙරිකාව අභිබවා ආසියාව ඉදිරියෙන් සිටී.

**ආසියානු රටවල ඩෙංගු පැතිරීම**

දෙවන ලෝක යුද්ධයෙන් පසුව ආසියාව තුළ ඇති වූ සමාජ පාරිසරික වෙනස්වීම් ඩෙංගු රෝගය සමාජය තුළ පැතිර යාමට හේතු විය.

**ප්‍රස්ථාරය 01:** වාර්ෂිකව ලොව පුරා වාර්තා වන ඩෙංගු උණ (DF) හා ඩෙංගු රක්තපාන උණ (DHF) රෝගීන් සංඛ්‍යාව (1955-2007)



මූලාශ්‍රය: ලෝක සෞඛ්‍ය සංවිධානය, 2009



දෙවන ලෝක යුද්ධයෙන් පසුව දකුණු ආසියාතික රටවල සිදුවූ නාගරීකරණය හා ආර්ථික ප්‍රසාරණය මත 1970 කාලයේ ඩෙංගු උණ (DF) හා ඩෙංගු රක්තපාන උණ (DHF) වසංගත තත්ත්වයක් ලෙස පැතිර ගියේය. මෙම කලාපීය රටවල ළමුන් රෝහල් ගත කිරීමට හා ළමා මරණ වලට ප්‍රධානම හේතුව වී ඇත්තේ ඩෙංගු රක්තපාන උණ රෝගයයි (Gubler, 2002). ඩෙංගු රෝගය ආසියානු රටවල පොදු මහජන ප්‍රශ්නයක් බවට පත්ව ඇත. 1995 ඩෙංගු රෝගීන් හා මරණ ඇස්තමේන්තු වලට අනුව ආසියානු රටවල මරණ සංඛ්‍යාව දස දහස ඉක්මවා ඇති බවට ඇස්තමේන්තුගත වී ඇත (Pinheiro, Corber, 1997). 1990 වර්ෂයේ දකුණු හා නැගෙනහිර ආසියානු රටවල ඩෙංගු රෝගයේ ඉහළ පැතිරීමක් හඳුනා ගත හැකි විය. විශේෂයෙන්ම වියට්නාමය හා තායිලන්තය මේ අතරින් ප්‍රමුඛ වේ. වර්තමානය වන විට ශ්‍රී ලංකාව හා ඉන්දියාව තුළ ඩෙංගු රෝගය වසංගතයක් මෙන් පැතිර යයි.

වසර 2000 න් පසු දකුණු ආසියානු කලාපය තුළ ඩෙංගු රෝගයේ ශීඝ්‍ර පැතිරීමක් දිස් වේ. 2003 වසර වන විට බංග්ලාදේශය, ඉන්දියාව, ඉන්දුනීසියාව, මාලදිවයින, මියන්මාරය, ශ්‍රී ලංකාව, තායිලන්තය, තිමෝරය යන රටවල් ඩෙංගු වසංගත තත්ත්වයන් පවතින රටවල් බවට වාර්තා විය. භූතානයේ පළමුවරට 2004 වසරේදී ඩෙංගු වසංගත තත්ත්වය වාර්තා වී ඇත (WHO, 2009). ඩෙංගු වසංගතය විශාලතම මහජන ප්‍රශ්නය බවට පත්ව ඇත්තේ ඉන්දුනීසියාව, මියන්මාරය, ශ්‍රී ලංකාව,

තායිලන්තය හා තිමෝරය තුළය. මෙම රටවල ඊඩ්ස් ඊජීජ්ටයි මදුරුවා නාගරීක ප්‍රදේශවල මෙන්ම ග්‍රාමීය ප්‍රදේශ වලද පැතිර පවතී. මෙම ප්‍රදේශ වල ඩෙංගු වෛරසයේ උප ප්‍රභේද කිහිපයක්ම වක්‍රීකරණය වෙමින් පවතී. එමෙන්ම මෙම ප්‍රදේශ වල ළමුන් රෝහල් ගත කරවීම හා මරණ සම්බන්ධයෙන්ද ප්‍රධානම හේතුව වී ඇත්තේ ඩෙංගු රෝගයයි.

**ඩෙංගු රෝගය මතු වීම හා නැවත මතු වීම කෙරෙහි බලපාන සාධක**

1950 ගණන් වල මතු වූ ඩෙංගු රෝගය 1960 ගණන් වන විට පාලනය කිරීමට හැකි විය. නමුත් දෙවන ලෝක යුද්ධයෙන් පසුව ඇතිවූ සමාජ සංස්කෘතික වෙනස්වීම් නැවත වරක් ඩෙංගු රෝගය ලෝක වසංගත තත්ත්වයක් බවට පත් කිරීමට සමත් විය. මෙම වසංගත රෝග තත්ත්වය නැවත ඇති වීමට සංවර්ධනය කේන්ද්‍ර කොට ගත් ප්‍රජා විද්‍යාත්මක හා සමාජ සාධක රැසක්ම බලපා ඇත.

වාරි කළමනාකරණ පද්ධති වල පවතින දුර්වල කළමනාකරණය, වනාන්තර විනාශය හා ජෛව විවිධත්වය අහිමි වීම, අවිධිමත් නාගරීකරණය, ප්‍රමාණවත් නිවාස නොමැති කම යන සියලු සාධක රෝග වාහකයන් බෝවීමට ප්‍රධාන වශයෙන්ම හේතු වේ. පරිසරය සමතුලිතව පවත්වා නොගැනීම හේතු කොට ගෙන රෝග කාරකයන්ට පහසුවෙන් පරිසරය තුළ වැඩීමට අවකාශ සැලසේ. සංවර්ධනය වෙමින් පවතින රටවල සිදුවන

**වගුව 01: ආසියානු කලාපය තුළ ඩෙංගු රෝගීන් සංඛ්‍යාව (වසර 2000-2010 දක්වා)**

රට	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010
බංග්ලාදේශය	5,551	6,132	3,913	2,200	1,153	76
භූතානය	0	0	2,579	116	73	16
කොරියාව	0	0	0	0	0	0
ඉන්දියාව	650	1,926	4,153	12,317	12,561	9,357
ඉන්දුනීසියාව	33,443	40,377	79,462	106,425	155,607	80,065
මාලදිවයින	180	27	742	2,768	1,476	550
මියන්මාරය	1,884	16,047	7369	11,383	14,480	11,704
නේපාලය	0	0	0	25	6	2
ශ්‍රී ලංකාව	3,343	8,931	15,463	11,980	6,555	27,142
තායිලන්තය	18,617	114,800	38,367	42,456	89,626	57,948
තිමෝරය	0	0	434	162	186	473

මූලාශ්‍රය: Hoti, S.L. 2011



නාගරීකරණයද රෝග වාහකයන් වර්ධනය කිරීමට හේතු වී තිබේ. නාගරික ජනගහනය වර්ධනය වීමත් සමග නාගරික පරිසරය හිතකර පරිදි වර්ධනය නොවීම හේතුවෙන් ප්‍රජාවට ජීවත් වීමේ අපහසුතා ඇති වේ. එනමින් ප්‍රජා මූලික අවශ්‍යතා වල ගුණාත්මක භාවය අවම වන අතර එම තත්ත්වය මහජන සෞඛ්‍ය ගැටළු වර්ධනය කිරීමට හේතු වේ. මෙය දැමවැලක පුරුක් මෙන් එකිනෙක හා සම්බන්ධ වේ.

- ◇ මානව ජනගහණ වර්ධනය
- ◇ අඛණ්ඩව සිදුවන නිසි සැලසුමක් නොමැති නාගරීකරණය
- ◇ නාගරික ජනාවාසකරණයේ ඉහළ යාම
- ◇ ප්‍රමාණවත් නොවන නාගරික සේවා පහසුකම් (ජල සැපයුම, අපද්‍රව්‍ය බැහැර කිරීම)
- ◇ නුතන ප්‍රවාහන ක්‍රම
- ◇ රටවල් අතර සංචාරය
- ◇ පාලනයක් නොමැති නිෂ්පාදන, ආහාර හා ජලය ගබඩා කර ගැනීමට නිෂ්පාදනය කරනු ලැබ ඇති නොදිරවන රැඳවුම් හා ජලය බහාලන බඳුන්
- ◇ රෝග වාහකයාගේ අනුවර්තනීය හැකියාව
- ◇ එකම ප්‍රදේශයක් තුළ වෛරසයේ බහුවිධ ප්‍රභේද හා උප ප්‍රභේද පැවතීම

රෝගය පැතිරීමට හේතු වී තිබේ.

ජනගහන වර්ධනය හා අධි නාගරීකරණය සංවර්ධනය වෙමින් පවතින රටවල බහුලව සිදු

වේ. මෙම නාගරික පරිසර තත්ත්වයන්ට මිනිසා අනුවර්තනය වීමේ ස්වභාවය නව රෝග සමාජය තුළ ඉස්මතු කිරීමට හේතු වී තිබේ. වායු, ජල හා ශබ්ද දූෂණය මෙන්ම අපවාර, හිංසනය, දරිද්‍රතාවය, ජනාකීර්ණත්වය, සේවා පහසුකම් වල පවතින උනන්දුව හා නිරන්තර සංක්‍රමණ නව නාගරික පරිසර තුළ දැක ගත හැකි ලක්ෂණයන්ය. මෙම සාධක සෘජුවම ලෙඩ රෝග නිර්මාණය කිරීමට හේතු වී ඇත (Kendall, Hudelson, et al., 1991). මේ අනුව බලන විට පැහැදිලි වන්නේ රෝග ඇති වීමටත් ඒවා පවත්වාගෙන යාමටත් ප්‍රධාන වශයෙන්ම මානව ක්‍රියාකාරකම් හේතු වන බවය.

**ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ඩෙංගු රෝගය ව්‍යාප්ත වීම**

ඩෙංගු රෝගය මූලික වශයෙන්ම ශ්‍රී ලංකාව තුළ හඳුනා ගනු ලැබූයේ 1962 වසරේදීය. 1965-1966 කාලය තුළ ඉහළ ඩෙංගු රෝගීන් සංඛ්‍යාවක් වාර්තා විය. ඩෙංගු පැතිරීමේ මූලික අවධිය තුළ ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ බටහිර වෙරළ කලාපීය ප්‍රදේශ වලින් රෝගීන් වාර්තා වී ඇති අතර අනතුරුව අනෙකුත් උප නගර වලට ව්‍යාප්ත වී ඇත. 1965 දී ඩෙංගු රෝගීන් 51 දෙනෙක් හඳුනා ගැනීමට හැකි වී ඇති අතර ඉන් 15 දෙනෙකු මරණයට පත්ව ඇත. ඉන් පසුව ක්‍රමයෙන් රටේ විවිධ ප්‍රදේශ වලින් ඩෙංගු රෝගීන් වාර්තා වී ඇත (Hoti, 2011). ඩෙංගු රෝගය වසංගත තත්ත්වයක් ලෙස මුල් වරට වාර්තා වූයේ 1989-90 කාල වලදීය. අනතුරුව ක්‍රමයෙන් ඩෙංගු රෝගීන් වාර්තා වීම ඉහළ ගිය අතර වර්තමානයේ ශ්‍රී ලංකාව ඩෙංගු රෝගය

**වගුව 02:** ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ඩෙංගු රෝගය පැතිරීම වාර්ෂිකව (1988-2012 දක්වා)

වර්ෂය	රෝගීන් සංඛ්‍යාව	මරණ සංඛ්‍යාව
1990	1,350	54
1995	440	11
2000	5,203	37
2004	15,408	82
2005	5,965	27
2006	11,980	46
2007	7,314	28
2008	6,555	27
2009	35,007	346
2010	33,893	239
2011	28,473	185
2012*	16,052	75

\*2012. 07.31 දක්වා

මූලාශ්‍රය: වසංගත රෝග විද්‍යා අංශය, ශ්‍රී ලංකාව



ආවේණික රටක් ලෙස හැඳින්වේ. විශේෂයෙන්ම බෙංගු රක්තපාන උණ (DHF) රෝගීන් වාර්තා වීම 1989 වර්ෂයෙන් පසු සිදු විය.

1989 න් පසු ඉතා ඉහළ බෙංගු රෝගීන් ප්‍රමාණයක් වාර්තා වූයේ 2000 වසරේදීය. එහිදී රෝගීන් 5203ක් වාර්තා වී ඇති අතර මරණ 37 ක් වාර්තා වී ඇත. 2001/2002 වසර ගත් විට ඉතා ඉහළ බෙංගු මරණ සංඛ්‍යාවක් වාර්තා වී ඇත. 2002 වසර තුළ බෙංගු මරණ හා රෝගීන් සංඛ්‍යාව තව දුරටත් ඉහළ ගියේය. එම වසරේ බෙංගු මරණ සංඛ්‍යාව 64 ක් විය. 2004 වන විට මෙම සංඛ්‍යාව තවත් විශාල විය. 15408 ක් බෙංගු රෝගීන් වාර්තා වී ඇති අතර එම වසරේ බෙංගු මරණ 82 ක් සිදු විය. බෙංගු රෝගය අධි වසංගත තත්ත්වයක් බවට පත් වූයේ 2009 වසරේදීය. මෙතෙක් වාර්තා වූ ඉහළම බෙංගු රෝගීන් සංඛ්‍යාව වන 35007 ක් ද, බෙංගු මරණ 346 ක් ද මෙම වසරේදී වාර්තා විය. මහනුවර, කොළඹ, ගම්පහ, කෑගල්ල සහ කුරුණෑගල යන දිස්ත්‍රික්ක වඩාත් දරුණු ලෙස රෝගයට ගොදුරු වූ දිස්ත්‍රික්කයන්ය. පළාත් වශයෙන් ගත් විට බස්නාහිර, මධ්‍යම හා සබරගමුව පළාත් වල රෝග පැතිරීම ඉහළ අගයක් ගෙන ඇති අතර අනෙකුත් පළාත් වලද

සැලකිය යුතු රෝගීන් සංඛ්‍යාවක් වාර්තා වී ඇත. වර්තමානය වන විට දිවයිනේ සෑම දිස්ත්‍රික්කයකින්ම බෙංගු රෝගීන් වාර්තා වේ.

ශ්‍රී ලංකාව තුළ බෙංගු රෝගය ව්‍යාප්ත වීමේ රටාව අධ්‍යයනය කිරීමේදී පැහැදිලි වන්නේ රෝගය පැතිර යාමේ ක්‍රමික වර්ධනයක් පවතින බවය. වසර 2000 න් පසු 2012 ජූලි තෙක් රෝගය පැතිරීමේ රටාව ගත්විට පසු ගිය වසර වලට සාපේක්ෂව ඉතාම ශීඝ්‍රයෙන් රෝගය ව්‍යාප්ත වී තිබේ. වසර 2000 න් පසු කාලය තුළ දිවයිනේ සෑම පළාතකින්ම රෝගීන් වාර්තා වී ඇති අතර බෙංගු රෝගය වසංගතයක් බවට පත්ව ඇත.

1980 -1997 කාලය තුළ රෝගයට වැඩිපුරම ගොදුරු වූයේ කුඩා ළමුන්ය. නමුත් මෑත වර්ෂ ගත් විට කුඩා ළමුන් සේම වැඩිහිටියන් අතරද එකසේ රෝගය ව්‍යාප්ත වීමක් දැක ගත හැකිය (Tisera, De Silva, et al., 2009). වසංගත රෝග විද්‍යා ඒකකයේ වෛද්‍ය භසිත තිසේරා විසින් “ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ බෙංගු රෝගය: වර්තමාන තත්ත්වය” යන මැයි 2009 වර්ෂයේ අප්‍රේල් මස පවත්වන ලද මාධ්‍ය සම්මන්ත්‍රණයේදී වයස් කාණ්ඩ අනුව බෙංගු මරණ ව්‍යාප්තිය දක්වා ඇත.

වගුව 03: 2008-2009 වසර වල බෙංගු මරණ ව්‍යාප්තිය වයස් කාණ්ඩ අනුව

වයස් කාණ්ඩය	2008 මරණ	ප්‍රතිශතය (%)	2009 මරණ	ප්‍රතිශතය (%)
	සංඛ්‍යාව		සංඛ්‍යාව	
<5	5	18.5	4	11
5-15	2	7.75	8	21
15-25	6	22	3	8
>25	12	44	23	60
අදාල නැත	2	7.75	00	00
එකතුව	27	100	38	100

මූලාශ්‍රය: Thisera, 2009

මෙම සංඛ්‍යා දත්ත පරීක්ෂා කිරීමේ දී පැහැදිලි වනුයේ ද බෙංගු රෝගය වැළඳීමෙන් මරණයට පත් වූවන් අතර වසය අවුරුදු 25 ට වැඩි පුද්ගලයන් ඉහළ අගයක් ගෙන ඇති බවය. මේ අනුව රෝගය වැළඳීමේ රටාවේද වෙනස්කම් හඳුනා ගත හැකිවේ.

බෙංගු පැතිරීම වර්ධනය වීමටත් රෝග වැළඳීමේ රටාව වෙනස් වීමටත් ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ සිදුවෙමින් පවතින සමාජ, ආර්ථික හා පාරිසරික වෙනස්වීම් සෘජුවම බලපා ඇත. පවතින දේශගුණික තත්ත්වය, සංවර්ධනාත්මක ආර්ථිකය, පරිසර දූෂණය, ශීඝ්‍රයෙන් සිදුවන නාගරීකරණය හා නගරවල අධි ජනගහනය මෙන්ම





නොසැලකිලිමත් මානව ක්‍රියාකාරකම් මේ සඳහා ප්‍රධාන වශයෙන් හේතු වී තිබේ. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ වැඩිහිටියන් අතර ඩෙංගු රෝගය වැඩි වීමට ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ පවතින සංවර්ධනය වෙමින් පවතින ආර්ථික රටාව හා ඊට සමගාමී වූ අවිධිමත් සෞඛ්‍ය සැලසුම් අභිතකර ලෙස බලපා තිබේ (Kularathne, Senevirathne, et al., 2006).

ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ප්‍රධාන නගර කේන්ද්‍ර කර ගෙන ඩෙංගු රෝගය පැතිරීම හඳුනා ගත හැකිය. ඒ අනුව කොළඹ, ගම්පහ, කළුතර ප්‍රධාන වේ. මෙම නගර ගත් විට මෙහි දක්නට ලැබෙන සමානතා වනුයේ අධික ජනගහනය, අධි නාගරීකරණය, කාර්මීකරණය, වාණිජ ආර්ථිකයක් පැවතීම හා නිරන්තර සංක්‍රමණ සිදු වීමය. මේ අතරින් ඉතාම ශීඝ්‍රයෙන් රෝගය පැතිර යනුයේ කොළඹ දිස්ත්‍රික්කය තුළය. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ මිලියන 20 කට අධික ජනගහනයක් වාසය කරනු ලැබේ. මේ අතරින් වැඩිම ජනගහනය වාර්තා වනුයේ කොළඹ දිස්ත්‍රික්කයෙනි. 2012 ජන සංගණනයට අනුව කොළඹ දිස්ත්‍රික්කයේ ජනගහනය 2,323,826 කි. එමෙන්ම ජන සනත්වය අතින් ගත්තද කොළඹ දිස්ත්‍රික්කය ඉදිරියෙන් සිටී. එහි ජන සනත්වය වර්ග කිලෝමීටරයකට පුද්ගලයන් 3,438කි (ජනලේඛන හා සංඛ්‍යා ලේඛන දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව, 2012). වැඩිවන ජනගහනයට සාපේක්ෂව නිවාස ඉදිකිරීම් වර්ධනය වීම, නිවාස ඉදිකර ගැනීමට නොහැකි ආර්ථික දුෂ්කරතාවන්ගෙන් පෙළෙන තවත් පිරිසක් පැල්පත් මුඩුක්කු වැනි අක්‍රමවත් ඉදිකිරීම් වෙත යොමු වීමත් එනිසාම ඇති වන සනීපාරක්ෂක ගැටළු රෝග වාහක මදුරුවන් බෝවීමට අවශ්‍ය පරිසරය සකසා දෙයි. මේ සාධක කොළඹ දිස්ත්‍රික්කය තුළ ශීඝ්‍රයෙන් ඩෙංගු රෝගය පැතිරීමට බලපා තිබේ. ඩෙංගු උණ හා ඩෙංගු රක්තපාන උණ රෝගය වර්ධනය වීම හා මානව ජනගහනයේ වර්ධනය අතර ඉතා සමීප සබඳතාවක් පවතින බව ගබ්ලර් හා මෙල්ට්සර් (Gubler & Meltzer) විසින් ද පෙන්වා දී ඇත (Gubler, 2002).

මේ අනුව බලන විට මානව ජනගහනය වර්ධනය සහ සංවර්ධනය සමග සමගාමීව යන ක්‍රියාකාරකම් සමාජ, ආර්ථික හා පාරිසරික වෙනස්කම් සිදු කරන අතරම රෝග වාහක මදුරුවන් බෝවීමට අවශ්‍ය පරිසර

නත්වයන්ද නිර්මාණය කරන බව පෙනී යයි.

**ඩෙංගු රෝගය පාලනය හා වැළැක්වීම**

ඩෙංගු රෝගය 21 වන සියවසේ ඉතාම බරපතල සෞඛ්‍ය තර්ජනය බවට පත්ව ඇත. එහි ඇති අවදානම අධික වනුයේ රෝගය මර්දනය සඳහා මේ වනතුරුත් කිසිදු ඖෂධයක් සොයා ගෙන නොතිබීමය. මේ නිසාම රෝගය පාලනය කිරීමේ ප්‍රධාන උපක්‍රමය බවට පත්ව ඇත්තේ රෝග වාහකයා විනාශ කිරීමය.

ඩෙංගු රෝගය ආවේණික රටවල වසරින් වසර මෙම රෝගයේ වර්ධනයක් දැක ගත හැකිවේ. මේ සඳහා ප්‍රධාන වශයෙන්ම බලපානුයේ කාර්යක්ෂම ඩෙංගු පාලන වැඩසටහන් ක්‍රියාත්මක නොවීමය. විශේෂයෙන්ම ඩෙංගු රෝගය පැතිර යන කාල වලදී ප්‍රමාද වී ප්‍රතිචාර දැක්වීම ආරම්භ කරන අතරම එම වැඩසටහන් පවතිනුයේ ඉතාම කෙටි කාලයක් පමණි. ශ්‍රී ලංකාව ගත්විට රෝගය පැතිරීම ආරම්භ වනුයේ නිරිත දිග මෝසම් වර්ෂා කාලය තුළ හා ඊසාන දිග මෝසම් වර්ෂා කාලය තුළය. ඩෙංගු මර්දන වැඩසටහන් ක්‍රියාත්මක වීම ආරම්භ වනුයේද ඩෙංගු රෝගය නිසා රෝහල් ගත කිරීම් හා ඩෙංගු මරණ වැඩි වන අවස්ථාවලදීය. වර්ෂා කාලය අවසන් වීමත් සමඟ රෝග වාහකයන් පැතිරීම අවම වන අතර එවිට රෝග මර්දන වැඩසටහන් ක්‍රියාත්මක වීමද අවසන් වේ. මේ නිසාම ඩෙංගු රෝගය පාලනය කළ නොහැකි රෝගයක් බවට පත්ව ඇත. රෝග පාලනය සඳහා බොහෝ රටවල් යොදා ගන්නා උපක්‍රමය වනුයේ වැඩිහිටි මදුරුවන් මර්දනය සඳහා ධූමායනය (කෘමිනාශක) යොදාගැනීමය. නමුත් මෙම උපක්‍රමයේ ප්‍රතිඵලදායී බව සීමා සහිත වන අතරම කෙටි කාලීනය. ඩෙංගු මදුරුවා ගෘහාශ්‍රිතව වාසය කරන බැවින් ධූමායනය හරහා නියමිත ප්‍රථිඵල ලබා ගැනීම අපහසු වී ඇත. මෑත කාලයේ ඩෙංගු රෝගය සාර්ථකව පාලනය කළ රටවල් දෙකක් ලෙස කියුබාව හා සිංගප්පූරුව හඳුනා ගත හැකිය. මෙම රටවල් දෙකම ක්‍රියාත්මක කරන ලද්දේ ඉහළ සිට පහළට හා පහළ සිට ඉහළට ගලා යන ක්‍රමවේදයකි(Parks, Lloyd, 2004).

මදුරුවන් බෝවීම පාලනය කිරීමේ වැඩසටහන් ක්‍රියාත්මක කළ හැකි වනුයේ ප්‍රජා සහභාගීත්වය තුළිනි. මේ සඳහා රජය, සෞඛ්‍ය



ආයතන මෙන්ම අනෙකුත් පාර්ශවකරුවන් සම්බන්ධ වූ ඒකාබද්ධ ව්‍යාපාරයක් පැවතිය යුතුය. කොලොම්බියාවේ (Colombia) බුකාරමන්ගා (Bucaramanga) නගරයේ පැතිරී ගිය ඩෙංගු රෝගය පාලනය සඳහා අනුගමනය කරන ලද රෝග මර්දන වැඩසටහන සාර්ථක විය. සමාජ සජීවීකරණය හා සන්නිවේදනය මෙම වැඩසටහනේ මූලික අංගයන් විය (Luna, Chain, et al., 2004). නගරයේ සෞඛ්‍ය ලේකම් විසින් අනෙකුත් පාර්ශවකරුවන්ගේද සහයෝගයෙන් පස් අවුරුදු සැලසුමක් යටතේ ඩෙංගු මර්දන වැඩසටහන් ක්‍රියාත්මක කරන ලදී. මෙම වැඩසටහනේ ඉලක්ක කණ්ඩායම වී ඇත්තේ ගෘහණියන්ය. රෝග මර්දන ක්‍රියාකාරකම් පිළිබඳ දැනුම අවබෝධය හා සන්නිවේදනය ගෘහණියන්ට ලබා දී පසු විපරම් කිරීමේ වගකීමද ඔවුන්ට ලබා දෙන ලදී. ළමුන්, පියවරුන් හා අනෙකුත් ප්‍රජාවට පැවරුණ වගකීම වූයේ ගෘහණියන්ට උදව් කිරීමය. පාසල් ශිෂ්‍යන් උපයෝගී කර ගෙන අධ්‍යාපනික වැඩසටහන් ක්‍රියාත්මක කරන ලදී. රෝග මර්දනය පිළිබඳ දැනුවත් කෙරෙන පොත්, අත්පත්‍රිකා සහ වීඩියෝ පට මෙන්ම නාට්‍ය, ගීත හා රූකඩ ජවනිකා හරහාද ඩෙංගු මර්දන පණිවිඩ සමාජ ගත කර ඇත. එමෙන්ම ගුවන් විදුලි මධ්‍යස්ථාන හරහා ප්‍රජාව දැනුවත් කිරීමේ වැඩසටහන් ක්‍රියාත්මක කර ඇත (Luna, Chain, et al., 2004). මෙම වැඩසටහනේ අන්තර්ගත ප්‍රධාන කරුණු වනුයේ ගුණාත්මක හා ප්‍රමාණාත්මක සන්නිවේදන උපක්‍රම භාවිත කිරීම, රෝග මර්දනය සඳහා පුද්ගල කැපවීම අත්‍යවශ්‍ය අංගයක් කිරීම හා පුද්ගල හැසිරීම වෙනස් කිරීමේ ශක්‍යතාවයකින් යුතු වීමය.

ශ්‍රී ලංකාව තුළ ඩෙංගු රෝගය පාලනය හා වැළැක්වීම සඳහා රෝගය අධික කාලවල විවිධ උත්සාහයන් ගෙන ඇත. නමුත් මෙම ක්‍රියාකාරකම් වල දිගු කාලීන බව අවම වූයෙන් වසරින් වසර රෝගය වර්ධනය වීමක් හා දිවයිනේ සෑම ප්‍රදේශයකටම පාහේ පැතිර යාමක් හඳුනා ගත හැකිය.

ඩෙංගු මර්දනයේදී වඩාත් වැදගත් උපක්‍රමය වනුයේ සමාජ සජීවීකරණයයි. ක්‍රියාකාරී ප්‍රජා සහභාගීත්වය ලබා ගැනීම, ප්‍රජාවට සෞඛ්‍ය අධ්‍යාපනය ලබා දීම, එක් එක් අංශ අතර අන්තර් පාර්ශව සම්බන්ධීකරණය පවත්වා ගැනීම මෙන්ම ජාතික මට්ටමින්, පළාත් මට්ටමින්, කලාපීය මට්ටමින් හා ගම් මට්ටමින් ඩෙංගු මර්දන වැඩසටහන් ක්‍රියාත්මක කිරීම හා එහි පසු විපරම් කිරීම සිදු කළ යුතුය.

මහජන ඡන්දයෙන් තේරී පත්වන සභිකයින්ගෙන් සමන්විත පළාත් පාලන

ආයතන ගණනාවක් ශ්‍රී ලංකාව පුරා ක්‍රියාත්මක වේ. බිම් මට්ටමේ අවශ්‍යතා හා ගැටළු පිළිබඳ මනා අවබෝධයක් එම මහජන නියෝජිතයන් තුළ තිබිය යුතුය. එහෙත් අවාසනාවකට මෙන් තම පළාත් පාලන බල ප්‍රදේශ පවිත්‍රව පවත්වාගෙන යාම සඳහා විධිමත් සැලැස්මක් එම ආයතන සතුව නැත. ඩෙංගු ඇතුළු වසංගත තුරන් කිරීම සඳහා ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදී මහජන නියෝජන ආයතන වලින් වඩාත් සක්‍රීය දායකත්වයක් ලැබිය යුතු බව අවධාරණය කළ යුතුව තිබේ.

ඩෙංගු රෝගය පාලනය හා වැළැක්වීම සඳහා ගෝලීය වශයෙන් ගත් උත්සාහයන්ද හඳුනා ගත හැකිය. ඩෙංගු රෝගය පාලනය කිරීම හා වැළැක්වීම සඳහා වූ ජාතික උත්සාහයන් කේන්ද්‍ර කර ගනිමින් හා සහසම්බන්ධීකරණය කර ගනිමින් 1995 දී විශ්වීය උපක්‍රම ස්ථාපිත කරන ලදී. මෙම උපක්‍රම විධිමත්ව සම්පූර්ණ කිරීම සඳහා අවශ්‍ය දේශපාලන සහයෝගය 2002 වසරේදී දැක ගත හැකි විය. එනම් 55 වන ලෝක සෞඛ්‍ය හමුවේදී (World Health Assembly) ඩෙංගු රෝගය පිළිබඳ යෝජනාවක් ගෙන එන ලදී. “ඩෙංගු උණ හා ඩෙංගු රක්තපාන උණ වැළැක්වීම හා පාලනය කිරීම” එම යෝජනාව විය. ප්‍රධාන මූලධර්ම 05කින් මෙම උපක්‍රමය සමන්විත වේ ( Parks, Lloyed, 2004).

- ◊ මදුරුවන් පාලන වැඩසටහන් ප්‍රජාව සමග අනුකලනය වෙමින් හා අන්තර් පාර්ශව සහභාගීත්වයෙන් සිදු විය යුතුය. මෙම පාලනය දිශාගත විය යුත්තේ රෝග පැතිරීම පිළිබඳ වැඩිම අවදානමක් පවතින භූගෝලීය කලාප වලය. මෙම පාලන වැඩසටහන් ආර්ථික ක්‍රමවේදයන්ට අනුව වියදම ප්‍රතිඵලදායී වන ආකාරයේ සුදුසු ක්‍රමවේදයන් සමග ඒකාබද්ධ වෙමින් ක්‍රියාත්මක විය යුතුය.
- ◊ රෝග පැතිරීම පාදක කර ගත් ක්‍රියාකාරී ශක්තිමත් සෞඛ්‍ය තොරතුරු පද්ධතියක් ස්ථාපිත කිරීම.
- සායනික හා රසායනාගාර පර්යේෂණ මත පදනම් වෙමින් රෝග පැතිරීම පිළිබඳ පූර්ව පරීක්ෂණ පැවැත්වීම හා රෝග වාහකයන් පැතිරීම පාලනය කරන වැඩසටහන් පසු විපරම් කිරීම හා ඇගයීම.
- ◊ හදිසි පූර්ව සූදානම. වෛද්‍ය ප්‍රජාවේ දැනුම, රෝහල් ගත කිරීමේ සැලසුම්, රෝග කළමනාකරණය සහ හදිසි රෝග පාලන වැඩ සටහන් පිළිබඳ පූර්ව සූදානම පැවතිය යුතුය.



- ◇ හැකියා වර්ධනය හා පුහුණුව. රෝග පැතිරීම පිළිබඳව, රසායනාගාර මට්ටමින් රෝග හඳුනා ගැනීම පිළිබඳව හා රෝග කළමනාකරණය හා රෝග පාලනය පිළිබඳ වෘත්තීය, තාක්ෂණික හා ක්ෂේත්‍රීය මට්ටමින් පුහුණු පැවැත්වීම.
- ◇ රෝග වාහකයන් පාලනය පිළිබඳ පර්යේෂණ පැවැත්වීම. රෝග වාහකයා පිළිබඳ ජීව විද්‍යාත්මක අධ්‍යයන, රෝගී සම්බන්ධතාවය මෙන්ම සමාජ ආර්ථික ඵලඹුම් හා ප්‍රතිඵල දායී රෝග පාලන වැඩසටහන් පිළිබඳ අධ්‍යයන හා පර්යේෂණ පැවැත්වීම.

මේ කරුණු පිළිබඳ සැලකීමේදී ඩෙංගු රෝගය පාලනය හා වැළැක්වීම සඳහා නිරන්තරයෙන්ම ප්‍රජා සහභාගීත්වය සහ සන්නිවේදනයන්, ක්‍රියාත්මක වැඩසටහන් පිළිබඳ පසු විපරම් පැවැත්වීමත් අත්‍යාවශ්‍යය බව පැහැදිලි වේ.

**සාරාංශය**

යහපත් සෞඛ්‍ය මානව සුභ සාධනයට මානව යහපැවැත්මට මෙන්ම ආර්ථික හා සමාජ සංවර්ධනයටද අත්‍යාවශ්‍ය සාධකයකි. සෞඛ්‍ය සංවර්ධනය වීමට නම් පුද්ගල හැසිරීම, පරිසරය කෙරෙහි සිදු වන බලපෑම, සමාජ, සංස්කෘතික, ආර්ථික හා දේශපාලනික සාධක යන සියල්ලන්ගේම යහ පැවැත්මක් තිබිය යුතුය. නමුත් වර්තමානයේ සෞඛ්‍ය සංවර්ධනයට තර්ජනයක් වෙමින් ලොවපුරා විවිධ රෝග තත්වයන් පැතිර යාමක් දැක ගත හැකිවේ. ඒ අතරින් ඩෙංගු රෝගය ප්‍රධාන වේ. වාර්ෂිකව ලෝක ජනගහනයෙන් මිලියන 80ක් පමණ මෙම රෝගයට ගොදුරු වේ. අනෙකුත් කලාප වලට සාපේක්ෂව ආසියානු කලාපයේ වැඩි වර්ධනයක් හඳුනා ගත හැකිය.

විශේෂයෙන්ම අධික ජනගහනය, අවිධිමත් නාගරීකරණය හා නිසි සැලසුමක් නොමැති සංවර්ධන ව්‍යාපෘතීන් මෙම කලාපය තුළ රෝග වාහකයන් පැතිරීමට අවශ්‍ය පරිසරය සකසා දී ඇත. එමෙන්ම රෝග පාලනය හා වැළැක්වීම සඳහා ක්‍රියාත්මක කරන වැඩසටහන් වල පවතින කෙටි කාලීන බව හා පසු ඇගයීම් නොමැති වීම වාර්ෂිකව රෝගය වර්ධනය වීමට හේතු වී තිබේ. අනෙක් කරුණ වනුයේ පුද්ගලයා සතුව රෝගය පිළිබඳ පවතින දැනුම රෝග පාලනය සඳහා ප්‍රායෝගිකව යොදා නොගැනීමය. නිරන්තරයෙන්ම පුද්ගලයා තවත් කෙනෙකුගේ මෙහෙයවීමක් අපේක්ෂා කරනු ලැබේ. නැතහොත් නෛතික දණ්ඩනයන් පැවතිය යුතුය.

ආර්ථික සංවර්ධන ක්‍රියාවලියේදී පාරිසරික සාධක නොතකා හැරීමේ එක් අනිටු විපාකයක් ලෙස ඩෙංගු උවදුර හැඳින්විය හැකිය. හුදෙක් ආර්ථික වර්ධනය පමණක් ඉලක්ක කර ගනිමින් නිරෝගී සමාජයක් පවත්වාගෙන යෑමට කිසිදු රටකට නුපුළුවන. පිරිසිදු පරිසරයක් පැවතීම ඕනෑම ජාතියක සංවර්ධනය සමග එකට වෙලී පවතී. මනුෂ්‍ය වාසයට උචිත පරිදි නගර පවත්වාගෙන යාම, ක්‍රමානුකූල අපද්‍රව්‍ය බැහැර කිරීමේ ක්‍රමවේදයක් පැවතීම, වගකීමෙන් තොරව කසල බැහැර කරන්නන්ට එරෙහිව නීතිමය ක්‍රියාමාර්ග ගැනීම සහ පළාත් පාලන ආයතන ඇතුළු අදාළ ආයතන විසින් කාර්යක්ෂම සේවාවක් සැලසීම වැනි සාධක මේ සඳහා සෘජුව බලපායි. මේ අනුව බලන විට සංවර්ධනය හා සමගාමී වූ ක්‍රියාකාරකම් මෙන්ම පුද්ගලයාගේ සමාජ, සංස්කෘතික හැසිරීම ද ඩෙංගු රෝගය පැතිරීම කෙරෙහි බලපා ඇත.

**ආශ්‍රිත ග්‍රන්ථ නාමාවලිය**

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## **The Impact of Decentralization on Regional Development: an Enquiry based on the Provincial Council System in Sri Lanka**

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### **Abstract**

*Decentralization has become an important concept in the discourse of regional development in Sri Lanka. Over the last three decades the successive governments have taken several steps to decentralize powers to sub-national institutions aiming at regional development and ensure local participation in planning and development. Thus, Provincial Council System (PCs) was propounded as one of such dominant moves. It was expected that the Provincial Councils would increase emphasis on decentralized planning and greater opportunities of regional development. However, this expectation was not attained owing to the unitary nature of the political system and lack of autonomy to the Provincial Councils. The evidence of the study shows that the constitution itself limits the statute making powers and autonomous functions of the PCs to undertake regional development programs at the local level by exercising decentralized powers. Central government exercises even the concurrent powers without the concurrence of PCs. The study found that the PCs or decentralization did not largely contribute to regional development in Sri Lanka.*



## 1.0 Introduction

The Provincial Councils System (hereafter PCs) sets out the framework for the decentralization of political powers. Although originally designed as a response to meet Tamils' aspirations to political power in the North and East of the island, it has not been successful in attaining that objective due to a variety of ethno, political circumstances. In addition to that, there were also some other objectives in setting up of PCs; among them decentralizing political power to sub-national government tiers in order to undertake developmental works at the provincial level, promoting and ensuring local development by utilizing local human and physical resources, diminishing regional disparities, empowering local people and promoting local initiatives are noteworthy. These objectives also have not been achieved owing to a number of reasons.

The system indeed has been functioning in the last twenty two years without any significant outcome and have not made significant impact on socio-economic and political development and it did not even assist to address civil disturbances. In other words, there have been some key factors that impeded the optimal functioning of the PCs, in which financial constraints/capacity and institutional capacity and lack of powers are few imperative factors. This paper therefore intends to

elucidate the financial and institutional capacity of the PCs in Sri Lanka. Moreover, this paper will bring out the issues and relevant constraints in decentralizing full powers to the provincial councils.

### 1.1 Objective of the study

The objective of the study is to identify how far and to what extent decentralization has been taken place in the Provincial Council system in favour of Regional Development and also to examine the institutional and financial capacity of the Provincial Councils in order to undertake regional development at the provincial level.

### 1.2 Methodology of the Study

A Large amount of data was collected through desk study by using published books and research articles, and unpublished working papers, government reports and other relevant materials in relation to decentralization, regional development and provincial councils. An equal importance was given to both qualitative and quantitative data operationalise the objectives of the study. As it is a survey research, the data collected was analyzed by using descriptive analytical method.

## 2.0 Financial Capacity of the Provincial Councils: an evaluation

From the provincial perspective principal source of widespread criticism of the Thirteenth



Amendment was with regard to its fiscal and financial framework. It was the invariable experience of all provinces that this particular framework of financing devolution was both structurally inadequate and in practice untenable for any meaningful notion of provincial autonomy. The constitutional framework severely limits the revenue raising capacity of Provincial Councils. Together with the limited tax-raising power vested in the provinces are the limitations placed on revenue collection, on obtaining loans and investment, and on seeking, or at least administering, projects financed by foreign aid and investment. A larger proportion of provincial revenue goes to the central government and the central imposes restrictions on PCs in raising revenues, seeking external funds, which impairs the financial capacity of the PCs. In other words, revenue generating or revenue raising sources have been controlled by the centre. Eventhough there have been twenty items of revenue sources assigned to PCs, three sources accounts for as much as ninety percent of the total revenue. These are Business Turnover Tax on wholesale and retail sales, Motor Traffic Fees and Stamp Duty and Court Fines that are collected and transferred to local authorities. The following table reveals the revenue status of PCs, central and local authorities.

**Table- 01:** Central, Provincial and Local Revenue -2008 (Rs. Million)

Central	Provincial	Local	Total
699,388	23,915	25,804	749,107
93.34%	3.21%	3.45%	100%

Source: Asoka Gunawardana, *Fiscal Devolution: Operational Issues*, 2010

**Note:** The above table reveals that local authorities receive relatively large amount of revenue than PCs.

Indeed, design of the fiscal framework for decentralization results in a significant gap between revenue and expenditure in terms of the revenue capacity to provide services. In general, there has been certain degree of gap in the PCs in terms of revenue and expenditure, which will be addressed through the transfer of resources from the central government's annual budgets. However, the fiscal transfer does not provide for revenue sharing or equalization grants, that make the provinces depend upon the centre, thereby giving the central financial control over the provinces<sup>1</sup>. More importantly, larger proportion of money has been allocated to the

**Table- 02:** Central, Provincial and Local Expenditure -2008 (Rs. Million)

Central	Province	Local	Total
945,247	101,173	23,894	1070,314
88.31%	9.4%	2.15%	100%

Source: Asoka Gunawardana, *Fiscal Devolution: Operational Issues*, 2010

1. There are four types of fiscal transfers to the PCs such as Block Grant, Criteria Based Grant, Matching Grant and Province Specific Development Grant. (see *Twenty two years of Devolution in Sri Lanka*, Institute for Constitutional Studies, Pp 116 -117, 2010

**Table- 03:** Revenue –Expenditure Gap -2008 (Rs Million)

	Revenue	Expenditure	Gap	%
Central	699,388	945,247	245,859	26.1
Provincial	23,915	101,173	77,258	77.3
Local	25,804	23,894	1910	7.9
Total	749,107	1070,314	321,207	30.0

Source: The authors' calculation based on the table number one and two

central, whilst a little amount goes to PCs, which creates significant fiscal gap to meet capital and recurrent expenditures of the PCs. The following table very clearly rationalizes the above statement.

The constitution does not specify adequately the means and modalities through which the structural vertical imbalance created by the vesting of expenditure responsibilities (i.e., subjects in the Provincial List) without the necessary revenue-raising powers for provinces. The dependency on central grants can only be justified if an effective system is in place to ensure that provinces are provided with adequate resources by the centre so as to fully discharge their expenditure responsibilities. This seems never to be the case, and provinces perpetually face a financial crisis whereby even recurrent expenditures cannot be fully met within the financial year (Sumanasiri Liyanage, 2001). This scenario creates huge revenue –expenditure gap.

The above table shows the revenue-expenditure gap is high at the

provincial level in comparison with the central and local. It is notable that, in 2003 provincial gap was 82.52. The PCs therefore have been struggling to meet its broader objectives and large amount of money goes for recurrent expenditure.<sup>2</sup> In short, PCs have not largely carried out development oriented activities, though provincial specific development grants given by the central government. The following table shows expenditure by subjects of Province Specific Development Grant.

**Table-04:** Province Specific Development Grant Expenditure by subject Categories - 2009 (Rs. Million)

Subject	2009	%
Economic Infrastructure	3,198	27
Social Infrastructure	5,267	44.47
Community Service	1,180	9.95
Agriculture	835	7.09
Industry	213	1.79
<b>Regional Development</b>	<b>551</b>	<b>4.65</b>
Others	600	5.05
Total	11,844	100

Source: Asoka Gunawardana, Fiscal Devolution: Operational Issues, 2010/ Liyanage, 2001

The share for regional development is insufficient. Roads, health and

2. Salary and wages 64,552 Rs.million (58.09%) of the total recurrent expenditure in 2009



**Table -05: Provincial Revenue by Subject**

Source	2004	%	2008	%
Business Turnover Tax	5912	44.38	16,641	53.04
Motor Traffic Fees	1668	12.53	2812	8.96
Excise Duty	259	1.95	467	1.53
Stamp duty	3761	28.23	6023	19.19
Court Fees	579	4.35	1054	3.35
Other	1140	8.56	4373	13.94
Total	13319	100	31370	100

Source: Reports of the Ministry of Provincial Councils and Local Government, 2009, 2010

education are the main spenders of funds under Provincial Specific Development Fund. Very little amount goes to development related initiatives. Therefore PCs could not concern largely on regional development, which stimulates huge regional development disparity at the sub-national level. Apparently, limited revenue sources and high degree of centre involvement in revenue collection severely afflict provincial financial capacity as well as regional development. The above table shows the provincial revenue by subject.

It is noteworthy that, the revenue collection has relatively improved in the last four years, but overall provincial revenue accounts for approximately 22.7% of total expenditure. This creates vast revenue-expenditure gap, whilst making PCs heavily depend on the central to meet the expenditure, which impairs financial autonomy of the PCs.

Provinces have very little powers over making financial decisions on provincial imperatives (including

savings and investment), a situation that is exacerbated by the Governor (a presidential appointee) being vested with unusually broad powers in relation to provincial finance, which makes the Governor akin to the finance minister of the province. Informally, the administrative practices that have developed around this flawed and impractical framework have served to further eviscerate the financial wellbeing of Provincial Councils and thereby to deny meaningful devolution. The limited statutory power of variation of tax ratio (over minor taxes) allowed the provinces to be further restricted by the central Treasury (Asoka Gunawadana, 1996, 2010).

Moreover, the Treasury has consistently taken the position that the commendations of the Finance Commission are merely directory and not mandatory, with the result that it invariably releases less funds than are recommended by the Finance Commission to the provinces. The Treasury also holds back a percentage from the eventual disbursements as a financial services charge. There are also instances where allocated funds are not released, and on occasion discontinued mid-term. In general, there is great delay in releasing funds according to the PC's development proposals, which affects development oriented activities of PCs. Delays take place due to a number of reasons or procedures as follows;



**Table -06:** *Approval Process for Development Proposals of the Provincial Councils and Fund Allocation*

Stages	Actions
One	Submission of development proposals to the Finance Commission
Two	Commencement of Deliberations of the Finance Commission on the development proposals (evaluations on development proposals)
Three	Receiving the approval of the Finance Commission
Four	Preparations of estimates for development plans on the basis of observations conducted
Five	Calling Tenders and conducting evaluations
Six	Implementation of the programs

In each of the above steps great delay takes place, and finance commission and central government are responsible for this scenario. Therefore, PCs have been facing great difficulties in order to accomplish proposed development works within very short period of time and also PCs have no such huge capacity to undertake entire development programs as per the approved development plan. Eventually, a number of significant development plans could not be implemented by PCs and allocated funds also could not be expended for planned development projects. This is indeed, a serious matter for the PCs and they have been wasting relatively long period of time without any meaningful outcome.

Financial provision for local government bodies has also become unduly complicated because of the

variation of established funding arrangements. It was argued that the Provincial List clearly provided for provincial supervision over local government authorities, but that the central government's financing conditionalities had the effect of undermining the provincial role. It was also generally felt that the Finance Commission was insufficiently attentive to the financial needs of the provinces, that the provinces had neither representation nor access to the Commission, that it was unable to prevail over the dictates of the central Treasury over the interests of the provinces, and that it had not generally given sufficient attention to the wide economic disparities between Provinces. In short, despite the misgivings in relation to the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, it should be recalled that the original objectives of establishing the Provincial Councils were their solution to the ethnic conflict and the creation of a provincial level tier of government to address regional development.

It was felt, The Finance Commission needs to be reconstituted to have provincial representation, to have more powers over enforcing its recommendations, and to better execute its equalization mandate in addressing wide economic and developmental disparities between provinces (i.e., horizontal imbalances). The corrosive effect of inadequate or unprincipled financing arrangements is that they impair provincial service delivery,



leading to the erosion of public confidence in what are constitutionally established democratic institutions. This was a major challenge that had to be faced. Even if no further measure of devolution other than what is contemplated under the Thirteenth Amendment is proposed, even this scheme of devolution was destined to complete failure because of the bad and impractical financial arrangements (Sarvanandhan, 2007).

### **3.0 Fiscal Decentralization under the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment**

A key feature of devolution in Sri Lanka has been the dependency of provincial governments on the central government for finances and other resources. The misalignment between the decentralized revenue and the decentralized expenditure has resulted in significant gaps between the capacity to generate revenue and the expenditure obligations of provinces. This gap has to be bridged by central government grants, which has created a sense of dependency of the provinces on the central government. Furthermore, the Reserved List does not allow the PC from seeking foreign aid for its development projects. While the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment requires the provinces to raise its own revenue through various taxes, fees and fines; but, they are not sufficient to meet provincial expenditure. So much so, less than one-fifth of the provincial expenditure is funded through its own sources (Asoka Gunawardana, 1996).

The availability of central government revenue for PC's activity has also been constrained due to the increased military expenditure which has resulted in high central budget deficits. This has made it difficult for the provinces to put pressure on the central government regarding the availability of finances. The resulting liquidity shortages have greatly hampered the work of the PCs and further undermined the public perception of this tier of government. Another important issue is the fact that there are huge variations in tax revenue depending on the economic size of the provinces. While the Western province raises up to 67% of its expenditure through its own sources, the Uva province generates less than 7%, while the newly operating Eastern province generates even less. This is to be expected given the fact that national income is not spread evenly across the provinces, with the Western Province accounting for 48.5% of national GDP (Asoka Gunawardana, 2010, Sumanasiri Liyanage, 2001).

Therefore, it can be said that the current system of fiscal decentralization in Sri Lanka has failed to meet the needs of a devolved system of government that is in line with the principle of subsidiary. These fiscal weaknesses have contributed to the limited efficacy of the PC system being an effective system of governance, and created substantial suspicions amongst the polity regarding the suitability of devolution of power in Sri Lanka.



#### 4.0 Status of the Finance Commission

The Finance Commission (FC) is set out in the 13<sup>th</sup> amendment to deal with financial matters of the PCs. 'The Government shall, on the recommendation and in consultation with, the FC allocate funds from the Annual Budget, such funds as are adequate for the purpose of meeting the needs of the Provinces. It shall achieve this sum by formulating such principles with the objective of achieving regional development of the country and the amendment goes on to state that, 'The President shall cause every recommendation made by the FC to be laid before the Parliament, and notify Parliament as to the action taken thereon'. Thus, even though in principle the idea of a FC is sound, it does have some structural flaws and weaknesses that undermine its operations in the following manners;

1. The FC has no representation from the PCs or even the regions, even though the amendment does call for a balance in ethnic representation in its membership.
2. FC can only make recommendations and does not have any decision making powers.
3. The chairman of the FC and its members are appointed by the President, and therefore may not enjoy the confidence of the PCs, which in turn leads to central favoritism.

4. Practical difficulties with the Provincial Council Finances

Even when funds may have been allocated in the budget for a province, they may not be released by the central government in a timely manner due to the liquidity constraints of the central government. This further undermines planning and development activities of the provinces.

5. Larger proportion of provincial budget is spent on recurrent expenditure, therefore, there is a lack of funds for the PCs to undertake development oriented work at the provincial level. (Asoka Gunawardana:1996)

The above factors very clearly reveal the actual working of the Finance Commission. In short, centralized fiscal framework, ineffective function of the FC, constraints on provincial revenues by the centre, inadequate fund allocation, lack of participation, transparency and accountability in provincial fiscal governance, central control on marginalized provincial finance, and inability of the FC in mediating in fiscal decentralization are highly affecting financial capacity of PCs.



### 5.0 Institutional Capacity of the Provincial Councils

Many of the familiar capacity problems that impact public administration in Sri Lanka are also encountered at the provincial level, but perhaps more acutely than at the national-level. Specific human resource issues relate to recruitment, the control over seconded officers and salaries. Recruitment of suitable staff is made difficult because of the lack of financial autonomy to make staffing decisions, and retention of qualified staff is difficult because of recurring problems such as delays in the payment of salaries, political patronage in the recruitment and occurrence of promotion and transfers based on political nepotism. This necessitates *ad hoc* solutions such as the temporary recruitment of retired officers on contract basis. Institutional capacity and the creation of technical expertise and experience suffer as a result. Officers with specialized expertise are retained by the centre. The line of reporting, supervision and disciplinary control for seconded officers continue to remain with the centre, and they may be recalled at any time by the centre (Nawarathna Bandara, 2001).

The chronic deficiencies in physical infrastructure not only make performance difficult, it has obvious human resources implications as well. Provinces do not have even remotely adequate research and development capacity and no capacity for generating and maintaining statistical and qualitative information vital to policy-

making and planning. Another issue is with regard to the implementation of official language policy. Even in those provinces characterized by a high level of ethnic and linguistic pluralism, Provincial Councils do not have the capacity to fulfill the commitment that every citizen has the right to transact business with public bodies in the official language of their choice. The dearth in capacity prevents implementation even where there is the political and bureaucratic will to do so (Amarasinghe, 2010).

More importantly, statute making powers of the PCs are largely constrained by the centre, which affects the PCs in order to make statute in favour of regional development. Though the powers devolved to carry out regional development programs, which has not occurred and even such attempts also futile in undertaking regional development programs due to lack of powers, restriction and rigid procedure in making statutes. In other words, institutional capacity of the PCs has been restricted by the central government to make statutes on their own. Though there are authorities and departments to undertake regional development programs at the provincial level, they are ineffective due to unceasing impediments in making crucial statutes either for their development or other needs. Besides, many sectors which are vital for regional development and to provide efficient services to the provincial community have remained untouched by the statute makers of most of the PCs (Samaraweera, 2007).



Up to now, twenty years after the establishment of the PCs, not a single statute has been made on construction activity, rehabilitation, animal husbandry, mines and mineral development, food supply, transport, market fair and so on, which are all items listed in the devolved list and mostly essential for regional development. Likewise, among devolved subjects of planning, fisheries, environment, indigenous medicine, one statute has been made until now only for Hindu culture. No significant impact therefore had been taken place in the above spheres.

Eventhough powers have been constitutionally devolved to the PCs to make statutes in relation to rural or regional development, in practice PCs are not able to make statutes due to a number of constraints and long procedures. Therefore rural or regional developments are mirage under the PCs. Moreover, devolved powers in the concurrent list are also closely related to regional development. Of them, tourism, environment, social services, fishery and cooperatives are notable. However, owing to prevailing constraints in making statutes, significant impact has not taken place on the above sectors. It is worth mentioning here that, not a single statute had been adopted by any PCs on concurrent subjects such as animal husbandry, social forestry, youth employment, trade and commerce, soil conservation, price control and agro-linked industries (Amarasinghe, 2010).

All these subjects are very close to the day to day needs and interest of the people and could make positive impact on regional development. Further, these matters can be easily manageable by the PCs. Ironically, nothing has happened on these fronts as expected owing to constant restrictions in making of statute. In sum, statute making is the key to PCs in order to access powers on devolved subjects. But, in practice, statute making has been a very challenging task for PCs which in turn hinders the institutional capacity of the PCs in undertaking regional development programs. (CPA, 2008, Asoka Gunawardana, 1996).

Apart from statute making, absence of highly skilled and capable human resource has also equally hindered the optimal working of the PCs. Though a large number of staff members are engaged in the running of the PCs, they do not have capability or ability required to develop or design better programs and make appropriate decisions with regard to assigned tasks. On the other hand, essential trainings have not been provided to enhance their skills related to their tasks. This scenario afflicts staff development which eventually impairs the institutional capacity of the PCs.

Likewise, a bulk number of staff members including top level officials do not have ample knowledge and experience in utilizing information technology to make decisions or to speed up their work, which inevitably creates red



taping in administrative work and socio-economic development and thus making the utilization of information technology by PCs far from satisfaction (Samaraweera, R: 2007).

More importantly, there is no separate unit in any PC for research and development (R&D), which can be considered as a pre-condition for both national and regional development in the twenty-first century. It is indeed imperative for the PCs, because, doing research on different issues and subjects i.e. socio-economic, development and other issues would largely support to find out new issues, innovative ideas, inventions and solutions for development related issues. Based on such research findings, better socio-economic and development policies can be formulated. Furthermore, vital statistics and information on different subjects could be derived through research units, which undoubtedly will be more useful for making policies.

This missing component impairs the institutional capacity of the PCs. The PCs are therefore not in a position to initiate and undertake own development work due to poor institutional capacity. This is one of the remarkable reasons for the ineffective working of the PCs towards, regional development. Therefore, there is an increasing necessity to enhance the institutional capacity of the PCs by addressing existing flaws lying in institutional capacity, which will pave the way for regional development.

## 6.0 Findings of the study

In Sri Lanka, PCs, which were established with varied objectives, have been functioning for the last twenty two years with numerous flaws and challenges. Therefore, PCs have been unable to provide expected outcomes during their two-decade long existence for various reasons such as;

- ◇ Some in-built flaws and deficiencies in the system (PC) i.e. lack of adequate powers, constraints on exercise of powers, financial inadequacy, powers of Governor on financial matter, limited revenue sources and restrictions in seeking extra or external revenues.
- ◇ There has been a lack of political and bureaucratic will on the part of the Centre to empower and improve status of PCs in relation to making of important status within their constitutional and legal framework.
- ◇ Provincial communities have profound distrust on the services and performance of PCs due to its ineffective working and service provision.
- ◇ There is high degree of central interference in making essential statutes for development, centralized planning system, command and control approach of the centre, top-down regional development planning, negligence of provincial needs, aspirations, nature of area and weather conditions while formulating plans at the centre.



- ◇ There exists limited resource allocation, legal issues in getting approval for certain development programs, absence of research and development and training facilities within the PCs, high degree of sense of dependency, non availability of skilled personnel.
- ◇ Unitary characteristic of political system discourages PCs in exercising powers in the concurrent list, and institutional deficiencies hamper the work of PCs.

Indeed, Provincial Council framework itself consists of several flaws, which impairs its efficient working. From the initial period the PCs have been trapped with these issues and thus they could not attain their broader objectives as per the devolved subjects. Therefore, not only regional development through PCs has not occurred but also provincial communities have profound distrust on PCs. Although the establishment of PCs was seen as a landmark move towards decentralization in the country, in reality PCs have failed to address ground level issues related to regional development.

### **7.0 Conclusion**

It is clear that in the last twenty two years the PCs have not made any significant contribution to regional

development due to above mentioned flaws and deficiencies that are in-built in the system in relation to decentralization of power. This in turn has made the general public and the provincial communities to perceive the PC system less meaningful with regard to regional development. On the contrary it has paved the way for re-centralization of power by diminishing the role and importance of PCs with the absence of effective and efficient structures in catering community needs and interests. It has theoretically accepted that, decentralization would expedite rural/regional development, but that part has not happened in Sri Lanka owing to unsatisfactory and weakened decentralization. So, it is pertinent to conclude that, Provincial councils have not paved the way to regional-development or rural development. Instead PCs have encouraged re-centralization. Finally, prevailing ingrained culture of centralization and its attendant attitudes, perceptions, assumptions and practices are also equally account for malfunctioning of the PCs with regard to regional development. Therefore, it is high time to bring about structural changes that aiming at improving the institutional and financial capacity of Provincial Councils in favour of regional development.





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