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Foreword

We are happy to present the Vol. 12. No. 2 of the Sri Lanka Journal of Advanced Research Studies in Humanities and Social Sciences (SLJARS) as the 2nd Volume of the Journal for the year 2022. While we have our fullest understanding that the ongoing dialogue of the new realms of Humanities and Social Sciences is to be continued with a broader view to enlighten our community on what our responsibilities and the duties for our society, we present the continuation of our esteemed journal to provide a strong platform for the ongoing conversation, since we believe that the vibrant knowledge on human life, behavior, fundamental needs and freedom of life has to be dealt and addressed to resolve its complexities in whatever the circumstances. Knowing that it is a challenging task, the NCAS expects that the insights and perspectives underlining the needs and requirement will be necessarily helpful in policy making and updating to suit for the modern requirement.

The very reason is that we are required to navigate the challenges of the 21st century, and the role of humanities and social sciences in fostering critical thinking, empathy, and ethical understanding. Such kind of collaborations can only be sought through the disciplines of Humanities and Social Sciences, especially to appreciate the richness of human experience, recognize the value of customs and the systems, and develop solutions that are both innovative and humane. The research presented in this journal is a testament to the enduring relevance and importance of the humanities and social sciences in our quest for knowledge and progress. We thank all the authors who presented their research finding in the particular journey of exploration.

The National Center for Advanced Studies in Humanities and Social Sciences (NCAS) being the only Research Institute of Sri Lanka governed by the Universities Act No. 16 of 1978, is happy to thrive and embark novel studies in Humanities and Social Sciences under its broader objectives to enhance the capacities and the equilibrium of such studies. Thus, the Annual Research Journal of the NCAS aims to be a beacon for scholars, researchers, and practitioners who delve into these profound and diverse areas of inquiry. Established in 2005, the NCAS commenced its first Journal in 2007, and continues to publish every year in two (02) Parts, with the blind review by the local and overseas subject experts. We are happy to announce that the Sri Lanka Journal of Advanced Research Studies in Humanities

and Social Sciences (SLJARS) has been recognized by the 'Sri Lanka Journals Online' since 2007.

A special note is endorsed with regard to the Vol. 12. No. 1 & 2 which was expected to be published in 2022. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the routine work and tasks were collapsed, and many of us joined on virtual platforms and accepted the virtual reality at its zenith. The research collaborations and field research are not exempted in the particular setting. The NCAS continued its tasks and performances at its best and obtained the research articles remotely from the scholars and researchers. However, the process was not that efficient due to certain other hindrances i.e. the Wi-Fi facilities and the economic crisis, yet we are happy to announce that now in 2023, we are ready to publish the Vol. 12. No. I & II consecutively, after publishing Volume 11, also following the same review process. SLJARS is peer reviewed and follows double blind review process.

I extend my deepest gratitude to the authors, reviewers, and editorial team whose dedication and hard work have made this edition possible. Their commitment to scholarly excellence ensures that this journal continues to be a vital platform for intellectual exchange and discovery. I am confident that the insights and findings presented in these pages will inspire and inform future research, contributing to the ongoing dialogue that shapes our understanding of the world.

Professor (Mrs.) Prashanthi Narangoda
Director/NCAS

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Framework for assessing Perceived Safety and Comfort in Urban Public Realm: A Study on Colombo, Sri Lanka

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Abstract

The feeling of safety and comfort is of vital importance in the use of urban public realm as it assures the mental and physical well-being of the users. The literature suggests that the psychological dimensions of safety and comfort can vary with numerous factors. Thus, this paper intends develop a framework for assessing the perceived safety and comfort in urban public realm of Sri Lanka through exploring the objective variables in the immediate surrounding which impacts on the experience of the users of urban public areas. The character of the urban context of Sri Lanka complemented with the literature survey has categorised the urban public realm of the country into streets, parks, civic spaces, and nature sensitive spaces. A five-step methodology (comprehensive literature survey, stakeholder meetings, content analysis, expert focus group discussion and a survey) have concluded seven main attributes visual qualities, spatial configurations, pleasurability (attractiveness), inclusiveness, convenience, activities and imageability) as the outline of the framework to assess the sense of safety and comfort. The explored attributes were later surveyed for their respective importance in the urban realm elements. A total of 85 respondents (35 experts and 50 public) were selected for this exercise. The results exposed spatial configuration as the most important attribute in streets and parks while convenience and pleasurability were recorded as the most important attributes for the civic spaces and nature sensitive spaces respectively. This proves that the focus should be different with each urban public space to provide better conditions for the safety and comfort of the users. The statistical analysis forecasted significant differences between the responds of experts and public in the attributes under nature sensitive spaces. The use of explored results in designing and improving the urban realm can enhance the quality of urban public spaces with the assurance of perceived safety and comfort for the users.

Keywords: *Perceived safety, comfort, urban, public, attributes,*

Introduction

The term 'public' is derived from a Latin word which refers to the relationship between people, society and the environment (Madanipour, 2010). The new notion of public space has been defined considering many different aspects ranging from small scale of neighbourhoods to large scale in global context. When considering the different media, the public space can be a physical entity like a neighbourhood park or virtual spaces like world wide web (Mehta, 2014). A public space creates social life which generates the value for the surrounding environment and enhances sense of place (Haas & Olsson, 2014). The urban public realm mainly relates to the built and natural environment in the urban context where people can access without any sort of restriction (Carmona et al., 2008; Heffernan et al., 2014). Similarly, the public realm is defined as a space which is not controlled by any private individual or organizations (Madanipour, 1996). Public space can be both outdoor and indoor where free use of the space is provided to the user. Accordingly, streets, open spaces, parks, squares, plazas, forecourts, public buildings like libraries, townhalls, shopping malls, religious buildings and many more can be considered as public spaces (Karacor & Akcam, 2016). These public spaces in the urban context are being recognized as a key component in the sustainable urban development (UN-Habitat, 2015).

Mehta (2014) develops a public space index which is designed to measure the inclusiveness of a public space. Here the index is designed especially for streets, plaza, square and parks (Mehta, 2014). Similarly, streets and squares are said to be playing an important role in communication, identity and defining the character of the urban realm (Santamouris et al., 2017; Thomas, 2002). It is also mentioned that the urban public realm consists of spaces like streets, square, parks, plaza which are predominantly used for commercial, residential and civic spaces (Moughtin, 2003). Streets are further documented as important within the framework of public realm as a space with highest usage by the urbanites for various purposes ranging from movements to gathering spaces. Streets are a major component where safety and comfort are assured in terms of non-verbal conversations with the other users. This can be with small gestures, facial expressions and other non-verbal signals (Rashid et al., 2017). Parks are more associated with the mental well-being of the urban users with the abundance of trees and other landscape elements. Presence of the trees

in urban contexts contributes to the aesthetic quality, thermal comfortability and enhances the physical and psychological health of the users (Gerstenberg & Hofmann, 2016). Apart from the parks, squares and plaza, are also considered as important elements in the urban context (Hashim et al., 2016; Lis et al., 2019; Santamouris et al., 2017). These squares and plazas are frequently seen in temperate countries where trees are not essential for a comfortable experience. In tropical countries the squares and plazas have trees for a comfortable use. Apart from all these, at present people tend to create resting and waiting spaces in all the available small spaces in the urban context in between buildings or other leftover spaces. Pocket parks and mini parks has been emerging as viable solutions for the scarcity of space within the urban context (Nordh & Østby, 2013; Zhang & Han, 2021).

These open public spaces are often catered for the free use of the urban users irrespective of their societal status, perceptions, and economic status. As a result of this mixed use of the space, reported crimes and many other factors, the users often experience risks and threats while utilizing these spaces (Arefi & Nasser, 2021; Hale, 1996). It is mentioned that this sense of discomfort or risk is mainly due to the psychology of an individual (Askari & Soltani, 2019; Dillon, 2005; Hashim et al., 2016). There can be instances, where users feel anxious and discomfort even without cues of any risk or threat from the surrounding environment. Direct crime victimization is the most obvious reason for this sense of danger and discomfort, but it is not the main reason when considering the majority of population in the world (L. Kawshalya et al., 2020). Thus, it is documented that many reasons ranging from physical, social and economic factors can affect the sense of safety and comfort in urban public spaces (Dillon, 2005).

Research Objectives

This paper aims to develop a framework to assess the sense of safety and comfort of urban public realm of Sri Lanka. To achieve the aim the following objectives are followed.

- Identify and examine the objective factors (which can be physically altered/ modified) in the immediate environment which contribute towards the perceived safety and comfort for the users of urban public spaces of Sri Lanka
- Develop a framework to assess psychological safety and comfort assessment of Sri Lanka based on the identified factors.

Research Problems

The study is carried out to investigate the following research problems.

- What are the objective factors which impacts on the sense of safety and comfort in urban public spaces.
- Is there any difference in the impact on the identified factors in different types of urban public spaces (streets, parks, civic spaces and nature sensitive spaces)
- Is there any difference in the responses from experts and general public.

Significance of the study

The awkward feeling of discomfort and unsafely will eventually create some spaces to be under-used as the users tend to avoid such spaces (Mak & Jim, 2017; Morgan et al., 2018). The development of an urban public spaces is a time consuming and an expensive process which impacts on the sustainable development of an area. Thus, proper identification of the factors which leads to the psychological safety is important to create sustainable urban public spaces. Thus, this study focuses on the factors related to the psychology of the users, which is considered as highly significant for the success of any public spaces conveys the importance of this study. Furthermore, although criminology related disciplines have studied comprehensively on the sense of safety; the attention on this in the urban design related disciplines are limited (Blöbaum & Hunecke, 2016). Specially the focus on the psychological aspects of users in the tropical context of Sri Lanka is very limited according to the literature. This study is an attempt to address this gap in the literature and provide the knowledge on the discipline for major causes.

Study Area

The study area considered for this study is Colombo Municipal Council (CMC) area which is the business capital of Sri Lanka. Being the executive and judicial capital of the country and the largest city by population, Colombo shows a rapid urban expansion of 6.42 percent per year in the period of 1995 – 2017; which is a remarkably high figure compared with the global standards (UN Habitat, 2018). As a result of this urbanization, Colombo is considered to be the most urban city in the Sri Lanka. Thus, this study has also focussed on Colombo as

the core study area. Increasing crime rates with the economic crisis in the country creates a need for the assurance of the safety and comfort of the users, specially in the urban public realm. Colombo experiences a tropical monsoon climate which is hot throughout the year. But within the monsoon seasons (April to June and September to November) heavy rains are expected (De Costa, 2008). The geography of urban Colombo is a mix of land and water where sea covers the eastern boundary of the city. The heart of the city is a lake (Beira Lake) which covers 65 ha (160 acre) of land.

The city of Colombo is also identified as a wetland complex which covers 2000 ha (4942 acre) and declared as a wetland city in the Ramsar convention on wetlands held in 2018 (Piyumani, 2018). With all these, the unique city withholds many open public spaces which are historically, culturally, and environmentally important for Sri Lankans. Although many developed countries have paid special attention to the public spaces in the midst of urban context, developing countries like Sri Lanka needs to pay more focus on this aspect (Lankadhikara & Ratnayake, 2022). Moreover, the urban public spaces in the Colombo urgently needs proper planning as a result of the unplanned settlements, accelerating population, land encroachment, environmental and air degradation etc. (Senanayake et al., 2013). CMC area has open public spaces which caters for the movements, enjoyment and relaxation. Well designed and managed public spaces arouse the users' sense of place, identity and sense of belongingness. Some of these public spaces would be the Viharamahadevi park, Beira Lake linear park, Galle face green, Diyatha Uyana, Arcade Independence square etc. Along with considering the literature and the open public spaces in Sri Lanka, four distinctive categories were identified in the urban public realm of Sri Lanka for this study. The open public spaces which are accessible by the urbanites freely in Sri Lankan context were considered in categorizing the urban public realm of Sri Lanka. Concluding to the fact, the streets, parks, civic spaces, and nature sensitive spaces were selected as the categories of urban public realm of Sri Lanka. The nature sensitive spaces were selected as one major category due to the abundance of marshes, wetlands, and the location of ocean in one stretch of urban Colombo. Unlike the other urban contexts, these natural areas have a major impact on the perception of the users in the context of Sri Lanka.

Method

This study is carried out for a long time (more than one year) with comprehensive steps to assure the best outcome of the developed framework. A series of qualitative data collections were done following a quantitative survey as the validation. The steps followed is shown below (Table 1) with objectives covered in each step.

Step 1	Comprehensive Literature survey	Identification of the factors which leads to psychological safety and comfort of the urban users.
Step 2	Stakeholder Meeting	Confirmation and verification of the identified factors. Exploration of additional knowledge on the issues related to perceived safety and comfort in the urban public realm of Sri Lanka.
Step 3	Identifying the attributes	Classification of the identified factors (in step 01 and 02) into codes (themes/ attributes) using comprehensive content analysis
Step 4	Expert focus group Discussion	Validation of the explored attributes
Step 5	Survey	Checking the practicality and importance of the developed attributes. Secondary validation through both experts and public

Table 1 –The steps followed in the exploration and validation of the attributes which impacts on the sense of safety and comfort of urban public spaces

Step 1 – Comprehensive Literature Survey

The relevant literature under the factors leading to the psychological safety and comfort of the urban users were referred and the data was recorded. This was done referring journal papers, reports, conference papers and many other relevant documents of trusted databases in the research domain in the discipline related to urban design, landscape architecture, Architecture, urban planning etc.

Step 2 – Stakeholder Meeting

The stakeholders of the reputed government/ non-government organizations gathered and discuss the current situation of the urban

public spaces of Sri Lanka. The explored factors in the step 1 were discussed with these stakeholders. The relevance of the explored factors to the Sri Lankan context were discussed comprehensively with these stakeholders. Apart from the explored factors, the stakeholders provided insights to the current condition in the country with respect to the safe use of the urbanites. Mainly practical aspects were discussed, and all the points were recorded, and these were used as raw data for step 03.

Step 3 – Identifying the main Attributes

The factors listed in the step 1 and step 2 were then categorized into themes/ attributes in this step. This was done following the process of content analysis. The factors were identified and then the initial coding was done with close reading of the data. Some factors with the similar meaning (from step 01 and 02) were combined whenever possible. The identified factors were assigned into themes. Later the themes were renamed as the main attributes and these attributes were then used for the assessment.

Step 4 – Expert focus group discussion

The finalised attributes were then presented to a panel of experts. This expert panel included architects, urban designers, landscape architects and many other with experience in working in Sri Lanka and many other countries. With the comments from this panel, the explored attributes were then modified and altered accordingly.

Step 5 – Survey

This is considered as the secondary validation of the developed attributes. The developed attributes were scored based on their importance with both the experts and the public for all four elements (streets, parks, civic spaces, and nature sensitive spaces) of the urban public realm. The experts in the fields of architecture, landscape architecture, urban designing, and urban planning of Sri Lanka are selected for the study through the snowball sampling method. Experts working in the field with more than 5 years of experience are considered for this exercise. The general public (mostly undergraduates related to design-based degrees) were selected through the convenience sampling. The data collection was conducted through a series of online focus group discussions. The authors

represented the explored attributes through a presentation and the attendees were asked to respond with the scores. A real time responses were obtained (based on the preference of the participants) or they were asked to submit the sheets within a particular time-period (2 weeks). The data collection was done through a customized excel sheet where all the necessary steps to be followed was comprehensively explained to the respondents in case the respondents couldn't make it to the online discussions. A total of 100 marks were asked to distribute to the seven attributes (discussed under results) under streets. The same procedure was repeated for the parks, civic spaces, and nature sensitive spaces. The differences between the parks, civic spaces and nature sensitive spaces were explained comprehensively along with the literature findings, to the respondents to have a better understanding of the context of urban public realm. The participants (both experts and general public) were asked to provide the scores for different urban public realm element considering the following aspects.

Streets – Assume an average street with both the built infrastructure and vegetation in the visual frames. Any typical segment of street as Galle Road or Baseline Road. Do not imagine areas with high percentage of vegetation or buildings. Assume a typical and well balanced (with both built mass and natural elements) street which is familiar to the participant.

Parks – Assume parks which are used for the recreational use of the urban users. Viharamahadevi, Crow island beach park, Beira Lake linear park, Diyatha uyana and other recreational based parks in the CMC area and nearby areas.

Civic Spaces – Although there are limited number of civic spaces in the country, this element should be considered as this is an vital element in the urban contexts. Existing Arcade independence square, Echelon square etc. should be considered in this aspect.

Nature sensitive spaces – Wellawatta beach, Galle face front, developed jogging tracks with marshes and wetland boundaries and other spaces catered for passive recreational functions.

The above description was communicated to the respondents to have a better insight of what is expected by the exercise.

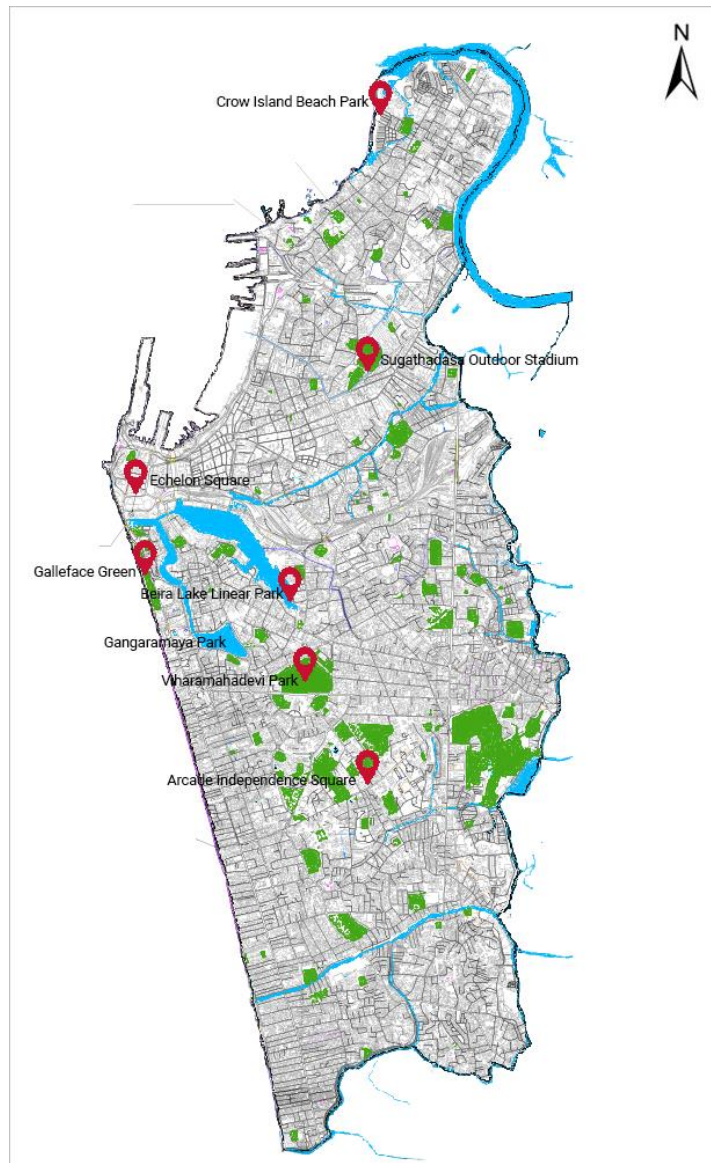


Figure 1: Some examples for the urban public realms in Colombo Municipal council area

Results and Discussion

The primary aim of this study is to compile a assessment framework with the explored variables which impacts on the sense of safety and comfort of the urban users. After a meticulous observation of the outputs of the literature survey and stakeholder meeting, the factors were finalised for the four selected urban realm elements (streets, parks, civic spaces and nature sensitive spaces). Under parks a

total of 58 factors were included, for streets and civic spaces 51 factors respectively were recorded while there were 48 factors under nature sensitive spaces. In the third step of the study these factors under each urban realm element were taken separately and categorized into the themes (later renamed as main attributes) using the process of content analysis. After carrying out this for all the selected urban public realm elements 7 main attributes were identified under each element. These seven attributes are namely, visual qualities, Spatial configurations, pleasurability/ attractiveness, inclusiveness, activities and imageability (Figure 1).

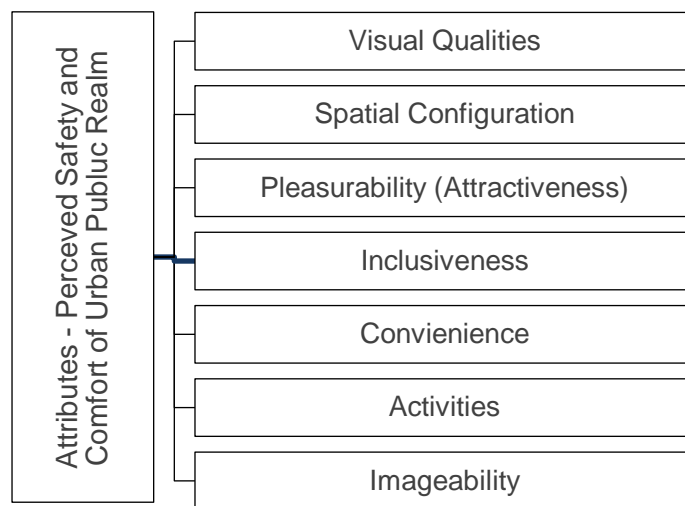


Figure 2: Developed attributes which impacts on the psychological safety and comfort in urban public realm

Visual Qualities

The attribute visual qualities assess the relationship between the human perception of safety with the qualities and aesthetics of the surrounding environment. Mostly the visual appeal of the space, patterns, rhythmic arrangements, visual density of the space, diversity of the visual frames and responsiveness of the elements to the context are mainly discussed and assessed under this attribute. The main basis for the factors listed under this main attribute is the 'Gestalt Psychology'. The Gestalt psychology proves that the unconscious human mind perceives visuals are a whole not as separate elements (Behrens, 1998). The basis of Gestalt Psychology has been used in many disciplines which mainly connects with the human as this theory summarizes the psychological aspects of the human. The repetition,

proportion, symmetry, colour, and contrast are being used by the designers like Architects, Landscape Architects, planners to enhance the quality of their design while making the spaces more user-friendly (O'Connor, 2013).

This pattern recognition is crucial in the perception of the environment as the process leads to detecting possible hazards enhancing the chance of survival (Mattson, 2014). Kaplan and Kaplan (1989) elaborates that the visual complexity of a landscape increases the opportunity of exploration for the users (R. Kaplan & Kaplan, 1989; Orzechowska-Szajda, 2014). More comprehensive studies on this aspect have explored that there is an inverted U shape with the preference and the complexity levels where the users preferred medium levels of complexity (Day, 1967; L. W. G. Kawshalya et al., 2022; Ode et al., 2008). The diversity of shapes of buildings as well as the softscape features like the diversity of vegetation were assessed in studies claiming the importance of these aspects in the perceived safety and comfort (Nasar, 1982; Stamps, 2003; Talbot & Kaplan, 1984). The rhythmic arrangements and order in the spaces using elements in the context which increases the readability of the spaces enhancing the safety and comfort (Sanoff, 1991). Similarly Berlyn (1974) forwards his theory of aesthetics and claims that human are happy with the medium levels of uncertainty and associated the visual complexity to the levels of uncertainty (Berlyne, 1974). Although these visual qualities are not directly experienced by the users, the unconscious mind of the urban users responds to these specific arrangements and the overall experience of a space has a great impact on these qualities.

Spatial configuration

The attribute spatial configuration assesses the sections of the visual and physical conditions of the spaces. The visual and physical connection between the spaces, the lighting levels of the spaces allowing the clear visual frames, the degree of visibility, openness and enclosure of the spaces and scale of the elements present in the surrounding. The factors under the attribute 'spatial configuration' is associated with many theories like Gestalt psychology, Information processing theory, permeability theory and prospect and refuge theory etc. (Appleton, 1984; Behrens, 1998; R. Kaplan & Kaplan, 1989; Stamps, 2005). The prospect and refuge theory and the permeability theory assess the perceptions of openness, enclosure and the spaciousness of

the spaces with respect to perceived safety of an individual (Ramanujam, 2007; Stamps, 2005). It is further documented that the spaces which allows to observe the surrounding environment without being noticed by the others is a crucial factor to perceive the surrounding with no anxiety or fear of danger (Dosen & Ostwald, 2016; Ramanujam, 2007).

Too much visibility to the surrounding will not be favourable for the user as the individual is exposed to the eyes of a possible perpetrator (Mahrous et al., 2018; van Rijswijk & Haans, 2018). Similarly, being too enclosed from the surrounding eyes will also be a risk as there will be no help in case of any possible danger (Jorgensen et al., 2007; Madge, 1997; Maruthaveeran & van den Bosh, 2015). Similarly, many studies have presented the importance of extended views and the enclosure, but the correct balance of prospect and refuge should be present for the ideal levels of sense of safety and comfort (L. W. G. Kawshalya & Dharmasena, 2019). The combinations and configurations of the elements in the urban context controls the view distance. This view depth is important as this provides more information on what is ahead of the walkway. With these information, the user can adjust themselves and take appropriate decisions, as whether to continue ahead or not (Anderson & Stokes, 1989; Schroeder & Anderson, 1984). The accessibility of the spaces is also considered to be of vital importance as this provides the escape routes in case of an emergency (Schroeder, 1982). This is important in the parks, civic spaces and other spaces catered for gathering. The users feel more secure when there is limited access (Andrews & Gatersleben, 2010). If any space is isolated without adequate level of visual access and lighting, then such spaces tend to be used for uncivilized activities causing sense of fear in the users (Yokohari et al., 2006). Unlike the daytime, the night-time lighting should be exclusively provided at the public gathering spaces. Inadequate lighting levels causes anxiety and increase possibility to encounter danger (Ratnayake, 2017). Furthermore, the scale or the proportion of the surrounding elements impacts directly on the perception of the users (Nasar, 1997). The relative scale is also important in psychological comfort in voids or open spaces. People feel more secure in relatively smaller areas with a cover overhead. Human feel more secure and comfortable in spaces where the surrounding elements are in a similar scale as of the size of

the human (Mehta, 2014). Many of these factors are vital in the perception as these factors determines the arrangement of a space.

Pleasurability/ attractiveness

The attribute pleasurability and attractiveness is based on the characteristics of the environment which provides happiness and pleasing visual frames to the users. The main attribute considers the presence of vegetation, water features, sky view, scenic backgrounds, pleasant scents and sounds along with the additional aesthetic elements. This attribute mainly considers aesthetic appeal to the sensory receptors while utilizing the urban public realm (Kaymaz, 2012). Some of the theories interwoven with the idea discussed under this attribute are place making theory, attention restoration theory, Biophilia hypothesis and sense of place (Burgess, 1979; S. Kaplan, 1995; Kellert & Wilson, 1993; Relph, 1976). The concept of Biophilia claims that human genetically is meant to be attracted towards the natural and living components. Similarly, the sense of place refers to the bond and the attachment of people in particular locations. The quality of urban green spaces or blue-green elements to restore the fatigue of the urbanites is being explained under the attention restoration theory (Tang et al., 2015). These all sums up the idea that the stimuli perceived through various elements of the surrounding environment provides the sensory experience of pleasure and attractiveness (Elsheshtawy, 1997; Porteous, 1996; Stamps, 1999).

The natural attraction of the human is being assessed with the presence of water features and the greenery in the considered urban public realm element. Similar to the open spaces, the presence of these blue-green components in the urban streets are of utmost importance to provide better environmental conditions and to enhance mental and physical health of the users (Kuo et al., 1998; Li & Yin, 2018). Similar to blue-green components, the visibility of the sky in the urban context is considered as an important spatial indicator in terms of outdoor thermal comfort perception (Zeng et al., 2018). The backgrounds of the visual frames across the urban areas are importance as the scenic and orderly backgrounds are pleasing to the eye of the user (Tveit et al., 2006; , 2021). Irrespective of the fact that, more than eighty percent of information of the surrounding space is grabbed through the visual senses, the auditory and olfactory senses are also of importance in perceiving the space. The stimuli are received mainly through these

three senses in the perception of space which ameliorates the perceived pleasure and interestingness of the urban public space (Kaymaz, 2012; Porteous, 1996).

Inclusiveness

The attribute inclusiveness implies the belongingness of an individual in a considered space assuring the safety and the comfortable uses of the space. The factors which assure the safety and comfort of the users with related to other users using the same space is assessed under this attribute. Surveillance in terms of natural and artificial aspects and other characteristics of the other users utilizing the space leading to the free use of public space is examined. The main concept or theory based in developing this is the concept of co-presence or 'eyes on street' first mentioned by Jane Jacobs in her influential book 'the death and life of American cities' (Jacobs, 1961). This concept illustrates that, more people in the same space will eventually lead to informal natural surveillance creating help in case of any danger (Ceccato, 2019).

Public spaces are a shared space for participation where people can express themselves regardless of their differences in age, gender, culture or societal status (Arefi & Nasser, 2021). The same intention of the public spaces has led to different conflicts and disparities between the groups of users. Incivilized behaviours like alcohol and drug use, mugging, sexual attacks, racial attacks and many more are witnessed by the users results in public spaces being perceived as unsafe spaces (Hung & Crompton, 2006; Madge, 1997; Mak & Jim, 2017). Due to these various reasons the natural surveillance is the best solution where there are a variety of users and there is help in case any incivility happens. The recent changes in the urban context related studies, proves that too much people in the space also causes unsafe surroundings (Hung & Crompton, 2006; Mak & Jim, 2017). This concept is more viable and practical in the urban streets. The 'eyes on the street' will be the vendors who frequent the space or shop owners in the adjacent façade of the sidewalk, three-wheel drivers, balconies open to street side and many more. Having more people is not sufficient to ensure the safety, the social trust is also needed to establish the safety and free use of the space. Presence of diverse users and presence of perceived trustworthiness with the co-users are essential in establishing the social trust (Hung & Crompton, 2006;

Westover, 1985). Apart from the natural surveillance, the presence of actual surveillance is also important in establishing the safety and comfort. This mainly applies for designated spaces like parks, plazas and squares where recreational based uses are implied (Fisher & May, 2009; Özgüner, 2011).

Convenience

This attribute considers the physiological and visual comfort in terms of the infrastructure present in the urban realm to provide the comfortable use of the space. The physiological comfort of the users directly impacts on the cognitive and physical conditions (Maslow, 1954). The presence of facilities for resting and enjoying the space are basically assessed under this attribute. The main theoretical foundation for this attribute is the concept of place making and sense of place (Burgess, 1979; Relph, 1976). The above theories defined in terms of urban designing and psychological aspects can be described as 'a collection of feelings like attachment and satisfaction with a spatial setting' (Boros & Mahmoud, 2021; Stedman, 2002). Both these concepts are centred around the idea of making public spaces convenient, sociable and healthy for the use of the people. Human beings living in different climatic zones have been thriving to live through many challenging environmental conditions. Satisfying basic physiological needs against the environmental conditions, protection from natural elements and need for shelter. The satisfaction of these needs results in the accomplishment of cognitive and aesthetic needs (Maslow, 1954). The thermal and psychological comfort are entwined with each other in the experience of urban outdoor spaces (Peng et al., 2021).

Similar to the provision of comfort against the microclimate conditions, it is also important to provide physiologically comfortable setting for the convenience use of the space. The settings and infrastructure to rest, engage in activities, and to enjoy should also be provided to the users (Muderrisoglu & Demir, 2004; Schroeder & Anderson, 1984; Talbot & Kaplan, 1984). Similarly, cleanliness of the space is of utmost importance for the convenient use. With the diverse uses of these urban public spaces, it is more likely to be littered. But the proper cleaning of these spaces daily and the long term maintenance is important in psychological safety and comfort of the users (Kuo et al., 1998; Mahrous et al., 2018).

Activities

The attribute 'activities' primarily assess the behaviours of the people using the urban public realm which impacts directly on the sense of safety and comfort of the users. Presence of unique activities which promotes the gathering of people which does not imply any threats, visual access to these activities, the character of the adjacent building façade with respect to their activities are some factors assessed under this attribute. The safety and comfort from the incivility/ crime in daylight and night-time is also assessed under this attribute. The theoretical basis for the attribute 'activities' is constructed on the place making theory and the concept of 'eyes on street' by Jane Jacobs (Burgess, 1979; Jacobs, 1961). Both these constructs imply the importance of meaningful activities to create better urban public spaces.

Meaningful activities as a collective experience for a group of users will create the place meaning leading to the intended safety and comfort levels (Mehta, 2014). When compared with the deserted spaces, having activities intend the copresence or the 'eyes on street'. The presence of more people and their civilized behaviours engaging in meaningful activities will imply the presence of trustworthy individuals in case of an emergency (Burgess, 1979; Mehta, 2014). Similarly, the meaningfulness of the activities intends the level of sociability where the users can participate in the activities with no anxiety (Whyte, 1980). Permanent shop owners, temporary street vendors, balconies open to the street is listed as the strongest 'eyes on street' compared with a strangers gaze (Jacobs, 1961). Oldenburg (1989) suggests that the coffee shops, book stores, cafes, hair salons and other hangout spaces which are named as 'third place' are essential for the healthy existence of the urbanites (Oldenburg, 1989). This is the same concept of active facades where adjacent façades of the street are active with movements and activities. Studies in the discipline of phenomenology and behavioural sciences suggest that, the activities which fulfils daily needs for shopping, eating, entertainment and many more will encourage repeated visits to the environment creating sense of place and enhancing place attachment (Buttimer & Seamon, 1980). Streets, sidewalks, store fronts, alleys, parks and other 'public and ambiguously owned private spaces' tend to create 'collective-symbolic ownership' (Hester, 1984). The sociable aspects of the urban public spaces are the main aspects concerned under this attribute.

Imageability

The last attribute of Imageability assess the ability of a public space to create strong visual images making the space more distinguishable and memorable to the user. The visual weight of the visual frames, the contrast and focal points in the visual frames, the perceived image of the space are assessed with this attribute. The foundation to this attribute is with the theories, spirit of place, genius loci and vividness (Bell, 1999; Litton, 1969; Lynch, 1960). These can be a collective product of the whole landscape considered or its elements individually. The image of the city by Kevin Lynch (1960) is considered one of the most influential theories in spatial cognition and behavioural sciences (Filomena et al., 2019). Lynch states that people perceive and represent a city with external infrastructure and the quality of these provides a strong image to the observer. Lynch further argues that the level of imageability directly affects the psychologically satisfying cities (Sundilson, 2002).

The visual weight of a scenery is the collective perception of the scenery where certain elements presents high level of importance in terms of mass or contrast (Hansen, 2019). Composition of these elements to create high visual weight will result in chaotic looks making the eye bounce from element to element. These sceneries are perceived as uncomfortable by the users. High visual weight is a result of characteristics like high variety of colours, unusual forms and shapes, bright colours etc. where low visual weight is created through dull colours similar sizes, forms and shapes etc. (Hansen, 2019; Ode et al., 2008). The overall visual weight of a scenery is important in creating a coherent image of the space. Similarly, the presence of landmarks and special features are also important in providing a legible and coherent image of the city. Presemce pf iconic, unique or spectacular built features, softscape features are assessed as the landmarks (Coeterier, 2002; Hammitt et al., 2006). The overall perceived image of the space is also important in the assessment of level of imageability of the space. The perceived image of the spaces is profoundly bound with the nature or the character of the space (Westover, 1985).

Survey Results

The expert and public survey was carried out for the streets, parks, civic spaces, and nature sensitive spaces to assess the

importance of each attribute. A comprehensive course of focus group discussions with experts and the general public were arranged and the responses were collected for two more weeks after the sessions. A total of 88 responses were obtained from both the user groups. 35 Experts and 53 general-public responses were collected. When comprehensively analysing the responses, three numbers of responses from public were discarded due to incomplete scores and neglectful scores etc.

The overall scores of the experts and public were analysed as a whole for the four urban public spaces namely streets, parks, civic spaces and nature sensitive spaces. The results are presented in the figure 2.

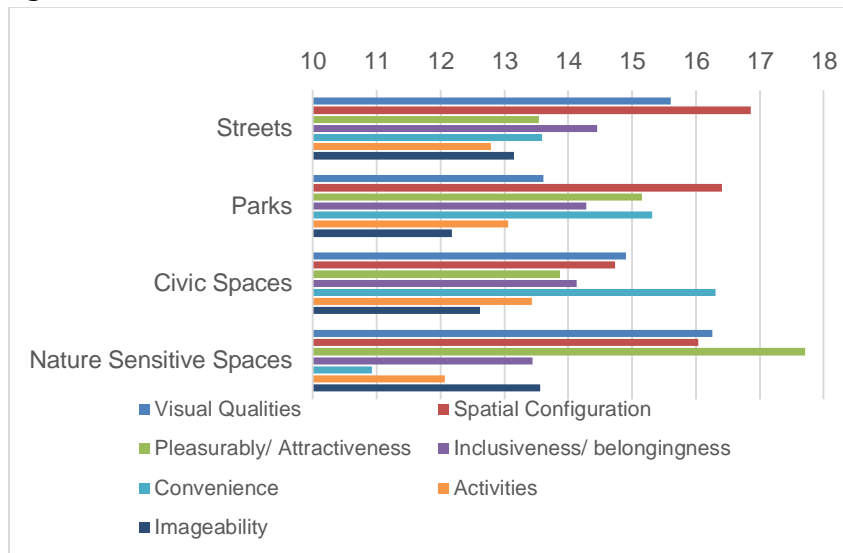


Fig. 3 – Importance of the explored attributes in each public realm element

The overall results for streets and parks depict that the spatial configuration is the most important in providing the sense of safety and comfort in streets and parks while convenience has been important in the civic spaces and the attractiveness in nature sensitive spaces. Spatial configuration, pleasurability, inclusiveness and convenience has been scored comparatively high illustrating the recreational use and the intended physical and mental comfort of the parks. Civic spaces are more of the convenience where people seek resting, gathering, and other sociable activities in the midst of the urban context. The convenience and activities were remarkably low in the case of nature sensitive spaces while the attractiveness, spatial configuration and

visual qualities has been scored high. This depicts that the nature sensitive spaces are more of the emotional bonding with the natural environment than the physical comfort or the different activities.

Further statistical analysis was carried out to inquire the differences of opinions between the experts and the public. SPSS statistical software was used for this exercise and the following results were produced (**Table 2**). A series of independent sample t – tests were conducted to examine the difference between the responses of experts and the public for the importance of the explored attributes under the four different public realm elements in Sri Lanka. Equality of variance were assumed ($p > 0.05$) or not ($p < 0.05$) depending on the Levene's test and the results were annotated appropriately. The significance values of the t-test results ($p < 0.05$) rejected the null hypothesis; there is no significance difference between the mean scores of experts and public. Hence concluded as there is a statistically significant difference between the scores of two groups and illustrated as a 'disagreement' between the groups.

	Streets	Parks	Civic Spaces	Nature Sensitive Spaces
Visual Qualities	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree
Spatial Configuration	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Disagree
Pleasantly/ Attractiveness	Agree	Agree	Agree	Disagree
Inclusiveness/ belongingness	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Disagree
Convenience	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
Activities	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree
Imageability	Agree	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree
<i>Agree – There is no statistically significant difference between the scores of experts and the public</i>				
<i>Disagree – There is a statistically significant difference between the scores of experts and the public</i>				

Table 2 – Summary of the independent t-test results (the difference in the scores between experts and public)

In the case of streets public claims, a high importance for the attribute inclusiveness is demonstrated by public scores compared with the experts in the psychological safety and comfort. In the assessment of urban parks, public expresses a high importance for the convenience when compared with the experts and experts claim a high

importance in the imageability than the public. The public expresses high importance than experts for spatial configuration and inclusiveness in the assurance of perceived safety and comfort in urban civic spaces. Under the imageability of civic spaces, experts assert a high importance than the public. The scores under the nature sensitive spaces shows a significant difference between the two groups of experts and public. The public expresses high importance than experts in the impact from spatial configuration, pleasurability and inclusiveness of nature sensitive spaces where experts denote more importance in the convenience and imageability of nature sensitive areas for the assurance of perceived safety and comfort.

Conclusion

The concepts sense of belongingness, psychological safety and comfort are being retrofitting to the contemporary basic needs of a human being (Maslow, 1954; Steele, 1973). The congested city lifestyles, deterioration of urban greens and other factors have ameliorated the need for a safer and comfortable spaces in the urban areas. A significant proportion of these needs are being covered by the urban public spaces which are providing physical and mental relaxation for the urbanites (Francis, 2009). The common use of these urban public spaces has created many opportunities for shared facilities among the urban users from various status (Arefi & Nasser, 2021). This same reason has resulted in the anxiety and discomfort in the public usage with the tendency of uncivilized acts and movements (Fisher & May, 2009; Madge, 1997; Mak & Jim, 2017). This has resulted in many disadvantageous situations where the designed public spaces does not perform the intended enhancement in the quality of urban living (Mehta, 2014). The presence of actual threats and crimes directly impacts on this insecure feeling in the use of public spaces. But there are instances, where people feel nervous and anxious without a definite cause. This feeling of insecurity impacts for a range of reasons from the subjective exposures to many other impressions from the immediate environment (Maas et al., 2009). The subjective factors explore a vast range from the demographic features to the style of living of an individual. This huge variety of the factors has lead to many discoveries and comprehensive studies around the world (Cobbina et al., 2008; Fisher & May, 2009; Foster et al., 2012; Fox et al., 2009). However, these results are very context specific and can be repeated only in a

specific region or a group of users. In contrary, this study intends to develop a set of attributes which impacts directly on the sense of safety and comfort of the users of urban public spaces in Sri Lanka focusing on the tropical context.

The most urbanized city of Sri Lanka and the central business district of the country has been selected as the base study area. The features and characteristics of Colombo along with the comprehensive literature on the classification of urban public realm identified four main elements in the urban realm of Sri Lanka. These four elements are namely streets, parks, civic spaces and nature sensitive spaces. A five-step methodology was followed to develop the attributes which impacts on the psychological safety and comfort of the users of Sri Lanka. A comprehensive literature study explored the factors frequently discussed in the studies from all over the world. A stakeholder meeting confirmed and verified these factors in the context of Sri Lanka and many more modifications were made to the list in this step. Then through a detailed content analysis, 7 attributes were developed. These were reconfirmed for the applicability in the general and context specific applications with an expert focus group discussions. A final survey was carried out for the further validation of the explored attributes for the four urban realm elements (streets, parks, civic spaces, and nature sensitive spaces). The first four steps of the study concluded seven main attributes under the assessment of perceived safety and comfort of urban public realm of Sri Lanka namely, visual qualities, spatial configurations, pleasurability/attractiveness, inclusiveness, convenience, activities and imageability. The visual qualities assess the visual aesthetics of the space in terms of arrangements, patterns, and diversity. The spatial configuration assesses the connectivity between the spaces and the other characteristics like scale, visibility, openness and enclosure etc. Pleasurability and attractiveness focus on the elements and qualities of the environment which pleases the senses of the users. The inclusiveness is mainly catered for the concept 'eyes on street' where the presence and the inherent characteristics of the co-users of the space are assessed. Convenience assesses the physical factors which assures the comfortable use in terms of the comfort from thermal conditions, maintenance and other facilities. Activities assures the safety and comfort from the appropriateness of activities and behaviours of the co-users in the vicinity of the urban space. The final attribute of

imageability assess the ability of the urban public spaces to create strong visual images to make the space memorable to the user. The framework developed based on these explored attributes summarized the objective factors which impacts on the sense of safety and comfort of the users in Sri Lankan context. These seven attributes were later surveyed for its practicality with the experts and the general public. A total of 85 responses were selected for the analysis. The comparison of the mean scores presented different perspectives for the four different urban realm elements. The visual and spatial qualities are of major importance in streets following the inclusiveness. The parks oriented for the spatial configurations, pleasurable and the convenience of the users when assuring the sense of safety. In contrast the civic spaces were more focussed on convenience along with visual and spatial qualities. Nature sensitive spaces cared more about attractiveness and pleasurable with its lush green and blues following the assurance of perceived safety with spatial and visual qualities. The independent sample t-test carried out for the seven attributes across the urban realm elements showed that; the importance scores for nature sensitive attributes had a significant difference across the two groups experts and public when compared with the other urban realm elements. The attributes explored through this exercise were analysed as important across all four public realm elements depicting the importance of the attributes in assuring the psychological safety and comfort for the users. The importance of each attribute in different urban realm element (streets, parks, civic spaces and nature sensitive spaces) is different based on the overall scores.

The current literature has explored a limited number of studies in the perception of feelings of the users in urban contexts. Although the facts are there the scientific exploration is limited in the disciplines of social sciences, perception, and behaviour-based studies. The users of urban public realm should assure their safety and comfort for these spaces to be liveable and convivial. Thus, further exploration of these facts based on the contexts are advised for the evolution of more refined frameworks. The outcomes can be utilized in the present modifications and the future designing of the urban public spaces.

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Learner Beliefs and Expectations of English Language Usage

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Abstract

In countries where English is not the national language, adapting English-medium instruction into the study programmes offered by the higher education institutes has created many unfavourable consequences to the undergraduates amidst all the other emotional turmoil they have to undergo as a result of the process of acclimatization from the school culture to the university culture. It was expected to investigate how learner beliefs and expectations of using English language, in a situation like this, impact on learners who have learnt in vernacular medium schools. Data for this purpose were gathered through interviews from eight participants from a Sri Lankan university. Findings were summarized into five major themes which are discussed in detail. Implications for teachers are also provided.

Key Words: *English-Medium Instruction, Transition from School to University, Learner Beliefs, Expectations, English Language Usage*

Introduction

Students in transition from school to the university are frequently subjected to emotional upheaval due to the difficulty in adjusting to the new environment (Pancer, Hunsberger, Pratt and Alisat, 2000). Especially, significant numbers of first-year students report moderate to high levels of loneliness (Cutrona, 1982), homesickness (Fisher and Hood, 1988), anxiety and depression (Regehr, Glancy and Pitts, 2013), stress (Campbell, Svenson and Jarvis, 1992) and difficulties in keeping up with their academic work (Levitz and Noel, 1989 as cited in Pancer et al., 2000). This transition from school where most of the students learnt in their mother tongue to the university where the medium of instruction is usually English¹ except

¹ Premarathna, A., Yogaraja, S. J., Medawattegedara, V., Senarathna, C. D., Abdullah, M.R.M. (2016). *Study on Medium of Instruction, National and International Languages in General Education in Sri Lanka*, National Education Commission. ISBN 978-955-9448-46-4

for a few degree programmes in Humanities and Fine Arts has made the life of undergraduates even more complex. In many countries where English is not the national language, there has been a shift towards English-medium instruction in higher education (Altbach, 2004; Hughes, 2008). Vidanapathirana and Gamini (2009) claim that adapting English-medium instruction into the study programmes is discriminatory not only to the learners who are socially and educationally deprived but also to the language teachers from whom an unrealistically high level of competency is expected in many countries where English is not the national language. This unfavourable condition has created many issues to the students and also to the teachers especially in higher education institutes. Regardless of those consequences, however, English is predominantly used and accepted as the academic language of the current period across the globe (Altbach, 2004).

In such a situation, beliefs and expectations of using English language within the university setting are said to have helped undergraduates survive and progress in their chosen field of study as well as in the English as a Second Language (ESL) classroom. It is also believed that learner beliefs and expectations of using a language make an individual a confident user of that language, thereby, making the individual perform better than those who are less likely to believe in their ability to use the language or have less or no expectations of using the language better.

There have been many factors that affect performance. Among them, efficacy beliefs and expectations are said to have a greater impact on student performance. Beliefs are accepted as true by the individual and they serve as a guide to thought and behaviour (Borg, 2001). Bandura (1977) claims that self-efficacy affects an individual's choice of activities, effort, and persistence. He further states that different levels of self efficacy may have different outcomes— those who have high sense of efficacy for accomplishing a task would participate readily whereas those who have a low sense of efficacy may avoid it. Individuals who have high efficacy beliefs are assumed to work harder and persist longer when encounter difficulties than those who doubt their abilities (ibid). Research findings of many scholars including Bandura (1986); Multon, Brown and Lent (1991); Schunk (1995) show efficacy beliefs and expectations influence performance. For instance, a meta-analysis of research in educational settings found that self

efficacy was related to academic performance and persistence (Multon, Brown, and Lent, 1991). Chemers, Hu, and Garcia (2001) have also investigated that self-efficacy directly and indirectly has shown a strong association to academic performance and personal adjustment of the first year college students. Further, the teacher expectancy effect on student performance is also associated with self-efficacy or competence which may influence academic performance of the students (Tyler and Boelter, 2008). Particularly, in relation to the English language usage, beliefs and expectations are considered having a larger impact on the language proficiency and performance of the university students. For example, Beliefs About Language Learning Inventory (BALLI) developed by Horwitz (1988) witness that views about language learning held by students may influence learner effectiveness in increasing their language proficiency.

Therefore, the worth of investigating the impact of learner beliefs and expectations of the first year undergraduates, whose medium of instruction changed from Sinhala to English, on their academic performance and successful usage of English can be highlighted. From this study, it was expected to investigate how the transition from school to the university impact on student learning in terms of the change of medium of instruction, how efficacy beliefs and expectations influence learning and performance and finally, how beliefs and expectations about the usage of English language help undergraduates survive and progress.

Methodology

This study was an up-close and a detailed examination of a common and a contemporary phenomenon among most of the fresh undergraduates in Sri Lanka. Therefore, it was established in a strong qualitative epistemological position. Furthermore, responses from a very few number of participants in a university which has a very unique environment were utilized to answer the research questions. Therefore, the inferences made from the study were found to be very much contextual. Also, due to the exceptional nature of the selected university, the findings from this study may not be generalizable to the undergraduates in other typical state universities. Hence, the study took the form of a case study. Case studies are generally used when "how" or "why" questions are being posed, when the investigator has

little control over events and when the researcher aims to investigate a contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context (Yin, 2011).

Self-efficacy researchers typically have adapted quantitative methods using between-conditions comparisons in short-term studies, thus, there is a need for data collected using other approaches: longitudinal studies, case studies, and oral histories (Schunk, 1991). The use of qualitative approach has continuously been neglected over the years in the field of research into the efficacy beliefs of the teachers which has unfortunately led to various misconceptions and misapplications of theory (Wheatley, 2005; Wyatt, 2014, 2015). If any particular methodological approach to research in efficacy beliefs is allowed to be dominant over the years, only certain kinds of explanations and interpretations may be established. Since this problem is widespread already, it was decided to deviate from the norm and utilize the case study method to conduct the research which produced a lot of rich data gathered through interviews.

The setting was a university in Sri Lanka where both fee-levying and non-fee-levying students read for their degrees. This study considered only the fee-levying undergraduates because there is a remarkable difference between the lifestyles of the two student categories. The non-fee-levying students are residential students and are governed by a set of rules pertaining to the military in addition to the rules stipulated by the university. These undergraduates read for their bachelor's degrees while undergoing a military training. Ultimately, they would join the military after the successful completion of their degrees. The fee-levying students, on the other hand, are non-residential students and are only governed by the regulations of the university. Therefore, the students belong to two different worlds and are less likely share similar characteristics. Hence, only the fee-levying students were considered for this study.

Due to the inconvenience of gathering data from the students of other faculties, the undergraduates only from each of these four Faculties: Computing, Engineering, Management Social Sciences & Humanities and Law were considered as the sources of information for the study. Two undergraduates from each of the said four faculties were selected using purposive sampling technique —only the first year fee-levying undergraduates who had learnt in Sinhala, their mother tongue, in the school were selected as participants. Taken together,

there were eight participants from whom the data were gathered through in-depth interviews.

Gathered data were coded, categorized and reported thematically. After the initial coding of interview data gathered, several codes were dropped and several were combined to create categories. Then, based on the interrelationships among the categories, themes were created to elicit the essence of the experiences of the respondents which will be explained in detail in the findings and discussion section.

Findings and Discussion

Five dominant themes emerged from the interview data analysis; adjusting to the new environment, teacher expectations on student performance, determination & willpower, emulating role models and transforming mistakes into learning opportunities. Findings are reported and discussed under each sub section.

Adjusting to the new environment

It was observed that all eight participants got adjusted to the university environment with difficulty and time. A majority (five) of the participants got adjusted with a moderate level of difficulty and the rest (three) with great difficulty. For those three participants, entering the university was a major life change. It was very difficult for them to cope with and get adjusted to the new change. In terms of time spent for adjustment, those five participants got adjusted within four to ten weeks whereas those three participants took almost a year to get adjusted to the new life. Amidst all the other reasons such as culture shock, homesickness, work overload, relationship issues, financial difficulties, family problems, the act of learning from a non-native language had negatively caused almost all the students at least to a certain extent. Most of them were with the view that learning from the mother tongue would have been more convenient than learning from a non-native language— especially they were discontent about their performance being affected just because of a language. They also stated that they liked when the lecturers used Sinhala to explain a subject matter. Irrespective of the faculties, all participants also liked when lecturers provided the Sinhala translations of the technical terms. Similarly, some of the participants in a study done by Nhapulo (2013) also have felt translation may help although in the same study, it is stressed that only English should be used as the language of instruction in advanced English classes. In contrast to the responses regarding the

use of mother tongue in the classroom, all respondents had a dream to speak 'fluent English' and write 'good English' which showed their preference to learn English.

The students also claimed that they have sufficient English language skills to understand a lecture but not to write properly or to do presentations which affirms the findings of a study conducted by Sercu (2004). The respondents further stated that their classroom interactions with the teacher and peers have become lesser when the English medium instruction is used. Klaassen (2001) has investigated how teaching style is affected when English-medium instruction is used and has generated quite similar results where it was found that the students change their study habits as a result of the use of relatively less interactive teaching style when the English-medium instruction is used. This finding of Klaassen suggests that teachers may also be affected by the change of medium of instruction into English. Therefore, the change of medium of instruction seemingly had a considerable impact on the poor learning and performing of the respondents which affected the smooth transition from school to the university.

Seemingly, the change in the medium of instruction has affected the process of acclimatization of almost all the participants.

Teacher expectations on student performance

It has been found that the teacher expectations on student performance have made an impact on the English language usage of the students. For example, responses of the students, irrespective of their faculty, revealed that high teacher expectations on students lead to high student performance. High expectations of teachers were likely to motivate students to have high efficacy beliefs. This was evident from the responses of almost all the participants. Respondents revealed that the teachers' low expectations on students made no difference to their performance relative to the previous instances or they affected almost negatively resulting in even low performance.

According to the responses, it was noted that there is a remarkable difference between the teachers' expectations which were clearly declared and the expectations implied. When teachers declare their expectations on students in front of the other class, students very much likely consider it as a challenge. However, the expectations implied were sometimes not understood by the students or most likely were ignored since they were not overtly expressed. It was also found

that the teachers are more likely to overtly declare their expectations on the students who have comparatively high level of language proficiency. The students said that the teachers seemingly believed in the capability of the students who had high language proficiency levels. Apparently, those students who had to struggle with the English language quite often have felt that they are weak. It was evident from the responses because a majority of the respondents mentioned about at least one instance that they suffered due to low proficiency levels. Four respondents stated that they have felt so embarrassed at times when they were unable to speak in English in front of the class and that made them believe less about their capacity to present something in English in front of an audience.

The findings of a study done by Vidanapathirana and Gamini (2009) also show that there is a direct and significant association between proficiency in the English language and learner performance. Their assumptions; the level of English proficiency influences the level of success of the learners; the level of proficiency in English generates social differentiation confirmed the findings of their study as well as the findings of the current study.

These findings suggest that teacher expectations on student performance have a link with the efficacy beliefs of the students.

Determination & willpower

It was obvious that determination and willpower were directly linked with the efficacy beliefs of the students within this setting. Irrespective of the faculty, all respondents liked and seemingly were motivated and determined to develop English language skills though almost all of them struggled with English as a medium of instruction. However, in their longitudinal study of first year student attitudes and motivation towards learning English, Berwick and Ross (1989) identified that upon entering university students are rarely motivated to learn English because motivation gradually diminishes once the primary objective; passing the examinations in college, was achieved. This scenario is quite similar to the situation of the selected set of students and generally to all the university students in Sri Lanka, because the students are really motivated to learn English towards the final years in the university. During the first year, though the need for English is very much known, the effort to develop English language skills is apparently less.

However, students related their experiences of feeling determined and persistent with their efficacy beliefs of performing better. The more they are confident about using English language fluently, the more they are determined and purposeful. This experience was said to be helpful in successfully conducting a presentation or writing an exam. The respondents also talked about how they were unsuccessful as a result of less or no motivation and determination. It was found that goal setting also played a part in having high self-efficacy beliefs. Both respondents from the Faculty of Engineering talked about the occasions where they believed highly about their ability since they had set clear and specific goals.

It was investigated that the personal factors such as determination and willpower moderated by the situational factors affect real learning. Therefore, real learning can be hampered from taking place not only due to the impact of personal factors but also due to the situational factors. Feeling of determination and willpower are mostly subjective, but, there is a possibility of a change of thoughts based on the attitudes of the in-group that the students belong to. This fact was affirmed when one student from the Faculty of Management, Social Sciences and Humanities disclosed that she once doubted her ability to speak in English without any fare reason from her side but solely because of the convictions shared within the members of the in-group that she belonged to.

Emulating role models

Morgenroth, Ryan and Peters (2015) claim that role models are often viewed as a way of motivating individuals to set and achieve ambitious goals, especially for members of stigmatized groups in achievement settings. Though the students who are with less proficiency levels in English were not as stigmatized as stated above within the university setting, the respondents said that they have sometimes felt that they were marginalized when they were grouped with the students who have high proficiency levels in English. A majority of them also said that most of the English teachers encourage them to have role models. They even talked about the instances where teachers showed videos of the speeches delivered by those role models to motivate students to follow role models as a means of developing English language skills.

Emulating role models were commonly seen among the relatively high performing students and seemed a very interesting thing to do. A majority of students had role models within the university; high performing seniors, teachers and outside the university; political leaders, actors, presenters, scholars. Emulating role models was remarkably had an impact on the better performance in speech activities and oral presentations. Respondents further spoke about how they imitated their role models when getting ready for speech activities.

Transforming mistakes into learning opportunities

This was observed as common to all respondents. A majority of the respondents were highly likely to convert their mistakes into learning opportunities. But there were instances where students got hurt as a result of the mistakes made by them. One student from Faculty of Law became emotional when she was recalling an instance where she was embarrassed for a mistake she made. But she stressed the way she converted it as a learning opportunity considering it as a challenge.

It was revealed from the responses that mistakes made in front of an audience activate emotional disturbances in the short run but in the long run they can be viewed as learning opportunities.

Conclusion

The inferences indicated that efficacy beliefs and future expectations of undergraduates play a major role in adjusting to the university environment, enhancing the level of confidence to use English and in performing well in English at oral and written examinations. Therefore, the change of medium of instruction seemingly had a considerable impact on the learning and performing of the respondents. On the whole, results indicated that the efficacy beliefs in performing well in English as well as in other modules and the future expectations of using English assisted all respondents irrespective of their field of study and the Faculties.

Further, implications for teachers such as maintaining healthy classroom emotional climate; declaring the expectations to the students; giving learning outcomes for each lesson; using different strategies to motivate and encourage students; telling success stories of famous or successful people; creating opportunities to learn from

mistakes and giving corrective feedbacks to students can be derived from the study for action.

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The Dynamic Relationship between Foreign Direct Investment Inflows and Interest Rate in Sri Lanka

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Abstract

This study aims to identify the dynamic influence and relationship between Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and interest rate in Sri Lanka over the period 1978 to 2020. The Augmented Dicky-Fuller (ADF) and Phillips Perron (PP) unit root tests have been used to test the order of integration. This study suggested that all variables are integrated with order zero and one and all lag length selection tests. Therefore, this study used the ARDL model for the analysis. According to the bound test, F statistics is greater than the upper bound value. Therefore, this study confirmed that there is co integration relationship between the foreign direct investment inflows and other explanatory variables. A negative and significant error correction coefficient (-1.289) of FDI inflows reveals that 128% disequilibrium is corrected each year which implies that FDI moves downward towards long-run equilibrium. This study found that there is no significant relationship between the interest rate and FDI inflows in the long run and a negative and significant relationship in the short run. Therefore, this study suggests that the government of Sri Lanka has to consider developing a monetary policy on maintaining the balance of interest rate and exchange rate. Because of the currency depreciation, the exchange rate negatively influences FDI.

Keywords: *Exchange rate, Foreign Direct Investment, GDP Growth, Interest rate*

Introduction

According to the World Investment Report, FDI is defined as an investment involving a long-term relationship and reflecting a lasting interest and control by a resident entity in one economy (foreign direct investor or parent enterprise) in an enterprise resident in an economy other than that of the foreign direct investor (FDI enterprise or affiliate

enterprise or foreign affiliate) (Duce and B. D. E, 2003). For a country, foreign investments come in several forms. But, portfolio investment, foreign loans and foreign direct investment are the main types of it. Therefore, FDI plays an engine of rapid growth and development of developing and emerging countries than developed countries. It helps to promote the host country's economic growth such as labour training, market development, financial inflow, technology transfer and skills. As well, it can minimize the shortages of financial resources and technology and contribute to human skill development that would lead to economic growth (Faroh & Shen, 2015).

An interest rate refers that the percentage of principal charged by the lender for the use of its money (AMADEO, 2019). An interest rate is a key tool in the monetary policy of a country and it is the most related variable to inflation and investment. As well as, the interest rate is determined in the money market by the demand for money and money supply. Keynes said that as a result of the increase in income for any reason, when demand for money increases, the interest rate goes up and vice versa. But, given the demand for money, an increase in the money supply causes a decrease in the interest rate and vice versa (Dwivedi, 2005).

Moreover, the interest rate is one of the key determinant factors of FDI. Generally, lower interest rates induce investors to invest more in economies. Because lower interest rates minimize the cost of production and maximize the higher returns. Consequently, better investment returns, security in the form of lower interest rates and a better business environment create an opportunity for high investment in an economy.

Nowadays, FDI is seen as the main key to the global economy and an essential source of socio-economic development. Still, advanced industrialized countries attract 59 percent of FDI inflows like the US and UK, while developing countries are attracting only 14 percent share of FDI, even though it supports the sustainable growth in developing countries.

FDI flows to ASIAN countries rose from \$123 billion in 2016 to \$137 billion in 2017. Inflows from Indonesia increased from \$3.9 billion in 2016 to \$23.1 billion, flows to Thailand tripled to \$9.1 billion and flows to the Philippines rose by 21 percent (ASIAN Investment Report, 2018).

In recent years, FDI inflows to Sri Lanka have increased steadily. Inflows to Sri Lanka reached USD 1.6 billion in 2018 by the ASEAN countries including China, India, and Singapore. According to the World Bank's Doing Business Index Report', Sri Lanka was ranked 100th out of 190 countries. The country has aimed to be achieved the 70th rank by 2020. FDI stock exceeds USD 12.7% billion in 2018. As well, China, Hong

Kong, India and Singapore have invested a large amount in 2018. Hence, the government expects to increase FDI to more than triple to USD 4 billion by 2022 (Doing Business Index, 2019).

Even though, nowadays Sri Lanka faces some struggles in attracting FDI inflows. Now, there is peace and security. But, these are only not sufficient conditions to attract the FDI inflows to Sri Lanka. But, ensuring an attractive investment climate, macroeconomic policies, good governance, economic stability, the guarantee of property rights, rule of law and absence of corruption and especially, economic policies and political stability are preconditions to attract FDI (Sanderatne, 2011). As well as, the real interest rate also determines the investment level. Because, changes in interest rate directly affect investment, output and employment. Consequently, real GDP decreases and creates inflation through price changes.

Unsustainable external debt has increased. This is because of the absence of enough exports and FDI. Attracting more FDI requires several ingredients such as political stability, ensuring property rights, a reasonable tax regime and less corruption and interest rate. Further, most of the FDI inflows are coming for infrastructure development projects. Hence, Sri Lanka must attract FDI inflows to the manufacturing and service sectors. Because, that only improve the tradable sectors, helps to increase the exports and leads to creating job opportunities (Dailymirror, 2019).

High-interest rates discourage FDI inflows. Because a high-interest rate increases the cost of investment. Therefore, investors need more funds over their funds to invest in new projects. Therefore, lending interest rates of a country are very sensitive and cost for foreign investors. Hence, high lending interest rates may increase the cost of capital investment in projects. Finally, it discourages FDI inflows (Jayasekara, 2014). According to the CEIC report, Sri Lanka Bank Lending Rate was at 16.380 % in April 2022. This lending rate increased from 9.710 % in Mar 2022.

Further, the COVID-19 pandemic employed significant downward pressure on global trade and the global economy. It leads to a decline in merchandise trade, foreign direct investment (FDI) flows, and tourism. The Sri Lankan economy has been impacted by the fluctuation of external sector performance. FDI flows saw a decline in 2020 by 42% 2020 compared to 2019. It affects capital flows such as tourism, migration and remittance flows. Therefore, this research seeks to find the relationship and impact of interest rates on FDI inflows in Sri Lanka and to make some policy suggestions to improve the FDI inflows.

Literature Review

Bett (2017) identified the relationship between foreign direct investment and GDP, interest rate, exchange rate and inflation in Kenya by using the descriptive analysis and multiple linear regression model. This study found that interest rate, economic growth, inflation rate and the exchange rate had a strong correlation with FDI. Therefore, the model was fit to explain the effects of interest rate on FDI inflows. However, this result revealed that individually, interest rate, economic growth, exchange rate and inflation rate are not significant determinants of FDI inflows in Kenya.

The influence of interest rate on FDI investigated by using the Ordinary Least Square method in Sierra Leone for the period 1990-2016. The results showed that interest rates had a significant impact on FDI inflows and discovered that trade openness and GDP growth are the major determinants of FDI (Fornah & Yuehua, 2017).

Thilakaweera (n.d.), identified the long-run relationship and causality between real per capita GDP, FDI and the level of infrastructure in Sri Lanka. These empirical results confirmed the unidirectional causality from the level of the infrastructure to FDI.

Jayasekara (2014), revealed that GDP growth rate, inflation, infrastructure quality, lending interest rate, labour force, exchange rate, and corporate income tax were significant determinants of FDI in Sri Lanka from 1975 to 2012. Further, they are directly associated with the cost of production for investors.

The relationship between the FDI inflows and interest rate is examined using the Vector Auto Regression technique over the period 1986 to 2012. This study suggests that the interest rate of Thailand, Indonesia, and Malaysia have a negative relation to FDI (Siddiqui and Aumeboonsuk, 2014).

Quazi and Mahmud (2004), found that economic freedom, economic openness, economic prosperity, human capital and incremental logged changes in FDI significantly increase FDI inflows in South Asia, while political instability significantly decrease it from 1995 to 2000.

Trade openness and exchange rates are the key determinants of FDI inflows have positive significant signs in the Sierra Leone economy found by using econometrics techniques from 1985 to 2012. Further, this study found that inflation, GDP and interest rate are insignificant variables causing the variability of FDI flows. Therefore, based on the acceptance of the null hypothesis of this study, this study concluded that interest rate does not affect FDI inflows in Sierra Leone (Faroh and Shen, 2015).

Anna et. al (2012), tested the hypothesis that a high-interest rate has a positive impact on FDI inflows in Zimbabwe by using the OLS

approach. This paper identified that interest rate had no significant impact on FDI inflows. Therefore, it cannot be used for policymaking purposes. And also, this study discovered that the GDP, exchange rate, and inflation are also determinants of FDI inflows and revealed that the political instability, war and failure to observe domestic rights are the risk factors and they are the major determinants of FDI in Zimbabwe.

Methodology and Data Analysis

Data Collection

This study is explained through secondary data which are collected from secondary sources. The data used in this study are annual time series data which covers the period from 1980 to 2017. The GDP growth rate, exchange rate and foreign direct investment data were directly obtained from the annual report of the Central Bank of Sri Lanka. The data on interest rates were collected from the International Monetary Fund e-library and a popular statistics database website called Knoema. The inflation data was obtained from the International Monetary Fund e-library and International Financial Statistics.

Econometric Models

To obtain reliable regression results, it is necessary to examine the stationarity or non-stationary of the time series variables to avoid spurious regression in the model. Augmented Dickey-Fuller (ADF) and Phillips-Perron (PP) unit root tests were used to determine whether the time series data were stationary or not. When time-series variables are non-stationary and used for the analysis of findings it may give spurious results. ADF and PP tests were applied to variables to distinguish if these variables were stationary or non-stationary at the level. The first difference is used When variables are non-stationary at the level.

Auto-Regressive Distributed Lags (ARDL) Bounds test was employed to find co-integration between variables in this study. The ARDL bounds testing approach to co-integration was proposed by Pesaran et al. (2001). The long-run relationship is examined using the values of bounds test.

ARDL test is performed when all variables are not in the same order of integration. That means variables are integrated in mixed order [I (0), I (1)] or a combination of both orders. The ARDL method allows the variables to have a different level of optimal lags.

Therefore, the ARDL model was used to investigate long-term relationships and short-term dynamics between foreign direct investment,

interest rate, exchange rate, trade opens, and gross domestic product in Sri Lanka. CUSUM and CUSUM OF SQUARES tests were employed to find the stability.

Model Specification

This study empirically examines the relationship between foreign direct investment and interest rate in Sri Lanka from 1978 to 2020. Where, foreign direct investment is the dependent variable and gross domestic product, inflation, interest rate, exchange rate and trade openness are independent variables. Hence, the econometric model is specified as:

$$FDI_t = \beta_0 + \beta_1 GDP_t + \beta_2 INF_t + \beta_3 IR_t + \beta_4 EXR_t + \beta_4 TOP_t + \varepsilon_t$$

Equation (01)

Where FDI represent the foreign direct investment, GDP shows the gross domestic product, INF denotes the inflation rate, IR represents the interest rate and EXR and TOP denote the exchange rate and trade openness. β_0 is an intercept/slope coefficient, β_1 to β_4 are coefficient parameters to be estimated. Eviews version 10.0 were used to estimate the econometric models.

$$\Delta FDI_t = \alpha_0 + \sum_{i=1}^n \alpha_i \Delta FDI_{t-i} + \sum_{j=1}^m \delta_j \Delta FDI_{t-j} + \sum_{k=1}^p \delta_k \Delta FDI_{t-k} + \varepsilon_t$$

Equation (02)

Where: Δ indicates the first difference operator. α_0 is constant. α_1 to α_6 show the short-run dynamic coefficients. δ_1 to δ_6 are the long-run multipliers. ECM is an error correction model. ε_t denotes white noise errors. 'n' is the optimal lag length which is selected by the model Schwarz information criterion (SIC) and Akaike Information Criterion (AIC).

The null hypothesis of no co-integration ($H_0: \alpha_1 = \alpha_2 = \alpha_3 = \alpha_4 = \alpha_5 = \alpha_6$) is tested against the alternative hypothesis of co-integration ($H_1: \delta_1 \neq \delta_2 \neq \delta_3 \neq \delta_4 \neq \delta_5 \neq \delta_6$). The bound test is used to determine the long-run relationship. The calculated F-statistic value is compared with critical bound values [lower bound I (0) and upper bounds I (1)]. If the calculated value of F statistics is greater than the upper bound value, the null hypothesis of no cointegration will be rejected against the alternative hypotheses of cointegration. If the calculated value of the F - statistic is smaller than the lower bound, the null hypothesis of no cointegration will be accepted. If values of the F - statistic lies within upper and lower bound values then the null hypothesis may either reject or accept.

Result and Discussion

Variables	ADF Test (Trend)		PP Test (Trend)		Order of Integration
	Levels	First Difference	Levels	First Difference	
FDI	-4.600986 (0.0007)***		-4.582612 (0.0007)		I(0)
EXR	1.557990 (0.9992)	-6.261590 (0.0000)***	1.789825 (0.9996)	-6.260909 (0.0000)***	I(1)
IR	-2.179076 (0.2169)	-6.239919 (0.0000)***	-2.286780 (0.1814)	-7.130068 (0.0000)** *	I(1)
GDP	-4.820639 (0.0003)***		-4.820639 (0.0003)***		I(0)
INF	-4.612867 (0.0006)***		-5.635895 (0.0002)***		I(0)
TOP	-0.924574 (0.7697)	-5.618687 (0.0000)***	-1.012733 (0.7393)	-5.604481 (0.0000)***	I(1)

Table 1: Stationary Test Result: Augmented Dickey-Fuller (ADF) Test and Phillips Perron (PP) Test

Note: *, **, *** indicate 10%, 5% and 1% significant levels respectively

Source: Computed in E-Views Software

Table 1 results indicate that trade openness, exchange rate and interest rate are non-stationary in their level in both ADF and PP tests. However, they become stationary in the first difference at 5 per cent significance level. At the same time, foreign direct investment, gross domestic product and inflation are stationary at 5 percent in both their level of ADF and PP tests and the first difference. Therefore, this study assumes that FDI, GDP and inflation are also non-stationary in their level and they become stationary in the first difference. Since the order of integration variables is I(0) and I(1), the cointegration Johansen method could not be used. Therefore, the ARDL bound test is performed to examine the short and long-run dynamism of the dependent and independent variables.

Critical Value	Lower Bond Value – I(0)	Upper Bound Value – I(1)
1%	3.06	4.15
5%	2.39	3.38
10%	2.08	3
F-Statistics	4.954134	
K	5	

Table 02: Bound Test

Source: Computed in E-Views Software

Table 02 indicates the critical values of the bound test. Calculated F – statistic (4.954134) is greater than the critical value at 1%,5% and 10% for the upper bound I(1). Therefore, this study confirmed that there is

cointegration. This suggests that there is a long-run relationship between FDI, GDP, inflation, exchange rate, interest rate and trade openness in Sri Lanka.

Constant	GDP	INF	IR	EXR	TOP
-1.139028 (0.1409)	0.089156 (0.0581)*	0.013213 (0.4890)	0.020724 (0.6987)	0.006402 (0.0279)**	0.016439 (0.0925)*

Table 03: Long Run Coefficients

Note: *, **, *** indicate 10%, 5% and 1% significant levels respectively

Source: Computed in E-Views Software

The coefficient of interest rate (-0.174389) has a negative and statistically significant impact on FDI inflows. There is a negative relationship between interest rate and FDI inflows. This implies that a 1 percent increase in the interest rate leads to an approximately 17 percent decrease in FDI inflows in Sri Lanka. The negative effect of interest rate on FDI advocates the view of Bett (2017), Jayasekara (2014) and Faroh et al. (2015) that a decrease in interest rate typically leads to an increase in FDI. Hence, by decreasing the interest rate, the Sri Lankan government can increase the FDI inflow into the country. Unfortunately, exchange rate depreciation against the US dollar in Sri Lanka leads to an increase in interest rates. Consequently, FDI inflows are affected. But, in long run, the interest rate has no significant relationship between the interest rate and FDI inflows.

Similarly, the coefficient of economic growth (0.076043) has a positive and significant impact on Foreign Direct Investment inflows in both the short run and long run. This implies that a 1% percent increase in GDP can lead to approximately 7 percent increase in FDI inflows to Sri Lanka. The coefficient of the exchange rate (-0.000399) has a negative and statistically significant impact on Foreign Direct Investment inflows. There is an inverse relationship between exchange and Foreign Direct Investment inflows. This implies that a 1 percent increase in the exchange rate can lead to approximately a 0.03 percent decrease in FDI inflows. Sri Lanka has a long history of exchange rate depreciation against foreign currencies and thus negatively impacts the inflow of FDI. This outcome has been supported by previous empirical studies by Anna et al. (2012) and Siddiqui & Aumeboonsuke (2014). Trade openness and inflation have no significant impact on FDI inflows.

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-Statistic	Prob.
C	0.022957	0.094056	0.244075	0.8090
(-1)	0.511290	0.165670	3.086192	0.0045
	0.076043	0.032638	2.329844	0.0272**
	0.000422	0.011510	0.036662	0.9710
(-1))	-0.174389	0.053251	3.274867	0.0028***
	-0.000399	0.018154	-0.022001	0.0826*
	0.015985	0.016144	0.990139	0.3306
ECT(-1)	-1.289023	0.241859	-5.329648	0.0000***
R-squared	0.613071			
Adjusted R-squared	0.516338			
F-statistic	6.337803			
Durbin-Watson stat	1.943738			

Table 04: Results of Error Correction Model (ECM)

Note: *, **, *** indicate 10%, 5% and 1% significant levels respectively

Source: Computed in E-Views Software

The Error Correction Term [ECT(-1)] calculates the speed of adjustment between the short-run disequilibrium and the long-run equilibrium. It has a negative sign and it is statistically significant at 1%. The speed of 128% disequilibrium in the short run will be corrected in the long run through the right policy reforms.

Diagnostic	P-value	Results
Normality: Jarque- Bera	10.65487	Error is normally distributed
Serial correlation: Bruesch-Godfrey serial correlation LM test	0.1284	No Serial correlation
Omitted Variable: Ramsey RESET Test	0.1114	No Omitted Variables
Heteroscedasticity: White Test	0.5139	No Heteroscedasticity

Table 05: Diagnostic Test Results

Source: Computed in E-Views Software

The stability of the model was analyzed using statistics of Cumulative Sum of Recursive Residuals (CUSUM). If the statistics were between boundary lines drawn as two separate lines, the null hypothesis will not be rejected. Therefore, this model was stable within 5% critical bounds.

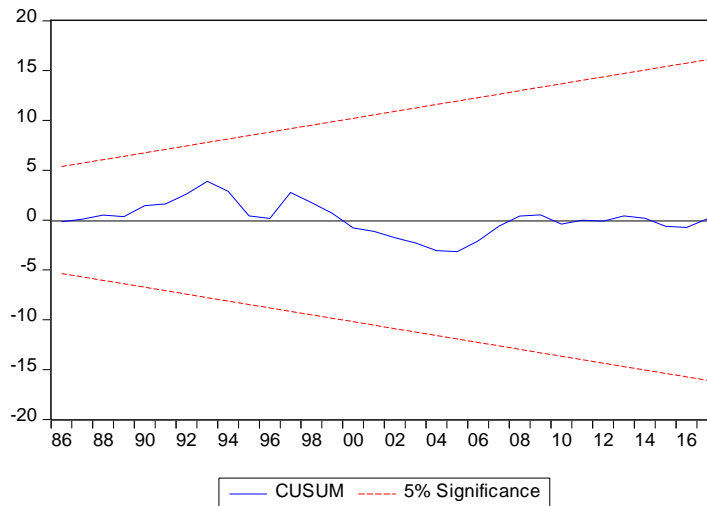


Figure 01: CUSUM Test Results

Conclusion

This study aims to identify the relationships and influence of interest rates on FDI inflows in Sri Lanka by using time series data for the period 1978 to 2020. Based on the literature review this study identified that the GDP, exchange rate, inflation rate, trade openness and interest rate are five important indicators which generally influence the FDI inflows in Sri Lanka. In this study, ADF unit root tests confirmed that all the variables are stationary at the level and their first difference. It is suggesting that all variables are integrated with order zero and one and all lag length selection tests. Therefore, this study used the ARDL model for the analysis.

According to the bound test, F statistics is greater than the upper bound value. Therefore, this study confirmed that there is co integration relationship between the foreign direct investment inflows and other explanatory variables. Long-run results show that GDP growth, trade openness and exchange rate have significant effects on foreign direct investment inflow in Sri Lanka whereas inflation and interest rate do not affect FDI inflows. There is a positive and significant relationship between GDP and FDI inflows. Whereas interest rate and exchange rate have a negative and significant relationship with the FDI inflows. A negative and significant error correction coefficient (-1.289) of FDI inflows reveals that 128% disequilibrium is corrected each year which implies that FDI moves downward towards long-run equilibrium. Finally, it can be concluded that there is a long-run equilibrium between the FDI and five explanatory variables.

Recommendation and Suggestions for Further Research

This study suggests that the government of Sri Lanka has to consider developing a monetary policy on maintaining the balance of interest rate and exchange rate. Because of the currency depreciation, the exchange rate negatively influences FDI. Government should support the private sector to mobilize and utilize the domestic resources for productive investment. Trade openness and reduction in trade barriers are important economic policies in developing countries like Sri Lanka, to motivate domestic economic growth, generate employment and invent new technology through foreign direct investment. Therefore, the Sri Lankan government should implement more liberalization policies to attract foreign investment into the country.

This study suggests that further research be conducted to incorporate human capital, innovation and technologies, political stability, money supply and so on. Because this will support policymakers to know the most suitable determinant to attract the FDI inflows. Researchers can be used the Granger causality test to analyze the various relationships between FDI and other macroeconomic variables.

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Drainage System and Settlement Pattern in the Yamuna-Hindon Doab: An Archaeological Perspective

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Abstract

The Yamuna-Hindon doab is a part of the greater Ganga-Yamuna doab, which provides vital geo-ecological settings for human settlements right from the prehistoric period. It has revealed several hundred sites associated with Pre-historic, Proto-historic, Painted Grey Ware (PGW), Northern Black Polished Ware (NBPW), early historic, Gupta, Post-Gupta and Medieval cultures. In the present work, a study of the drainage system of the Yamuna-Hindon Doab has been taken up in an attempt to study the settlement archaeology of the region.

Keywords: *Archaeology, Doab, Ecology, Ganga, Geology, Hindon, History, Settlement, Yamuna*

Introduction:

Generally, in ancient times, in their struggle for existence, within any region, people settled down in places that were close to sources of water and food, and as far as possible, that are safe and pleasant. However, there are exceptions to such generalizations. Makkhan Lal (1984 : 165) points towards Bylund's study in Central Lappland in North Sweden, to show that good land close to the established settlements and suitable for colonization may remain unsettled while other localities in remote districts and with inferior soils and poor resources may be colonized. Ancient Indian literature also does recognise the significance of rivers for humans. *Markandeya Purana* (LVII, 30) says, "All the rivers are sacred, all flow towards, the sea. All are like mothers to the world, all purge sins." It is not surprising that along the banks of the rivers and in close proximity to them we find the traces of ancient settlements, prosperous towns and fertile villages, religious shrines and peaceful hermitage. These rivers also constituted highways of trade and commerce.

The Yamuna-Hindon doab is a part of the larger Ganga-Yamuna

doab, and the region and its neighbourhood has revealed more than 500 sites associated with Pre-historic, Proto-historic, Painted Grey Ware (PGW), Northern Black Polished Ware (NBPW), early historic, Gupta, Post-Gupta and Medieval cultures. To understand the settlement history of the region, the author undertook a field survey of the Yamuna-Hindon doab in December, 2014 and May, 2015. In the present research paper, based on the findings of the field survey and study of primary and secondary sources, an investigation of the potential of the river bodies of the Yamuna-Hindon Doab to support human settlements has been taken up in an attempt to study the settlement history of the region.

The Yamuna-Hindon Doab:

The doab between the Yamuna river and the Hindon river is spread over an area of about 6,500 sq. km. It includes the districts of Saharanpur, Muzaffarnagar, Baghpat, Ghaziabad, east Delhi and Faridabad. To the west of the doab lie, Punjab, Haryana, and Delhi. Haryana is on the south-west of the doab. Saharanpur is on its north-west. To the east of the doab lie Muzaffarnagar and Meerut. Bulandshahr is on the south-east of the doab. B.C. Law (1967 : 13) has pointed out that according to Kavyamimamsa the land between the confluence of the Yamuna and the Ganges (including the Yamuna-Hindon doab) was called Antarvedi. Further he (1967 : 13) points out that Taittiriya Aranyaka (II.20) states that those who dwelt between the Ganga and the Yamuna were privileged.

Geology

The Yamuna-Hindon doab is a part of the larger north Indian plain, which was a deep basin in Pre-Tertiary times that has been filled by the Tertiary river-borne debris from the peninsular. The Upper and Post-Tertiary Himalayan debris known as alluvium later supplemented it. The deposition of alluvium started taking place during the last phase of the Siwalik formation and has continued all through the Pleistocene up to the present. The alluvial deposit is of two types: Bangar (older alluvium) and Khadar (younger alluvium). The bangar occupying the area above the existing flood plains (representing the present borders of the rivers) belongs to the Middle Pleistocene. Kankar (calcium carbonate nodules) are found in bangar land. The khadar occupies the flood plains. Its source lies partly in the fresh alluvium brought by the rivers and partly in the erosion of the bangar land. It is free from kankar and reh (alkaline soil).

Physical Features

The Yamuna-Hindon doab is a gently inclined alluvial plain dipping towards southeast. It is challenging to demarcate regional divisions in this featureless plain. The only reliefs seen are arms of river channels and existing rivers. The relief of the Yamuna- Hindon doab exhibits Bangar land rising upto 15-60 m above the adjoining floodplains, the Khadar. Bangar areas are beyond the floodplains and lie more upland, and compared to Khadar it consists of older alluvial soil which is higher in sandy loam content. Bangar areas are less prone to flooding but are usually more sandy and less fertile as well.

The Drainage System

The Yamuna, the Hindon and a number of their tributaries - the Katha Nala, the Krishni and the Kali Nadi, drain the Yamuna-Hindon doab. The archaeological significance of these streams and their catchment areas cannot be ignored, as a large number of sites, representing cultures from protohistoric to Medieval period have been located here. In the past, these streams were the main water sources for the settlements in the areas.

Yamuna

The Yamuna rises in the Himalayas; all other rivers and streams rise in the plains. The general direction of the drainage is from north to south, and the slope is very gradual throughout. The average gradient is less than 2 feet to a mile. This restricts the erosional capacity of the rivers and the streams.

On the western part of the doab, the Yamuna, one of the perennial watercourses of north India, forms the chief drainage channel. It rises from the slopes of the Himalayas below the mount Kamet. From Saharanpur down to Faridabad, it flows southwards parallel to the Hindon until it meets the Hindon at south of Surajpur village in Haryana. Its total length is 1,357 km. The total catchment area of the Yamuna is 3,71,870 km.

The Yamuna forms the Yamuna-Hindon doab starting from the west of Jatlana, Thaneshwar, Haryana. The areas that lie in the doab region include Nakur, Saharanpur, western Deoband, Kairana, Muzaffarnagar, Budhana, Baghpat, western Sardhana, and Ghaziabad. Out of these, Nakur, Kairana, Budhana, Baghpat, and Ghaziabad lie on the left bank of the Yamuna, while the Hindon transverses through the Saharanpur city, Deoband, Muzaffarnagar, Sardhana, Baghpat, and Ghaziabad.

The *Gazetteer of Meerut* (1922 :4-6) indicates that the bed of the Yamuna river in the study area lies so low that irrigation from it is impracticable, and its water is only used for melons, which grow on its sandy banks. Generally, the bank is much higher in the north than in the south, and in the study area steep and abrupt cliffs are frequently seen. In May, the melting of the snow within the drainage area of the Yamuna in the Himalayas causes considerable rise in the river; the stream is then very deep and strong, but it does little damage in the northern doab (upto Baghpat), where the small area of lowland on its banks is actually benefited by the alluvial deposits brought down by the stream. Towards the end of the cold weather, owing to the amount of water that is drained out by the canals, the Yamuna is fordable and there is generally only a couple of feet of water in the bed. However, further south, the absence of high bank causes frequent overflow and saturate a great portion of Pargana Loni, although the river is kept in place to a large extent by the training works of the Agra canal.

The Katha Nala

Katha Nala is an important tributary of the Yamuna-Hindon doab. It rises in Sangathera, Nakur, and after traversing through Nakur, it reaches Kairana. It meets the Yamuna at west of the city of Kairana. The Katha Nala follows a southwesterly course. The total length of the river is approximately 54 km

Yamuna Khadir

The *Gazetteer of Meerut* (1922 : 5) informs that the Yamuna Khadir is much wider in the south than in the north. The ridge that forms the high bank of the river disappears in the south of Baghpat. or rather bend inward towards the Hindon. Here the uplands terminate in a sandy fringe of ravines and undulating soil, a stretch of useless land in which nothing will grow except an inferior kind of thatching grass. Further south of Loni, the khadir sinks into a lowlying tract which contains a number of depressions which are nearly always covered with water to a depth of two or three feet. The southern Yamuna khadir can be divided into two, upper and lower khadir. The upper khadir is a khadir without water; a khadir that is safe from flooding now by reason of the numerous works that cross and enclose it - the Eastern Yamuna canal; the East Indian Railway, which rubs embankment the whole way from the Hindon to the Yamuna bridge; the Hindon cut, which carries the water of the Hindon across to the Yamuna to

feed the Agra canal; and the Okhla bund, which runs from the Yamuna railway bridge along the bank of the river: but a tract characterized by peculiarly infertile sandy soil, called by the people *dabkans-ki-zamin* and altogether of very inferior quality. The lower khadir is khadir proper, subject to floods, but resembling often in soils the upper khadir.

Hindon

The Hindon river forms the eastern border of the doab. It rises from the plains around north of Haraura in the Saharanpur district, closer to Dehradun. The Hindon runs southwards parallel to the Yamuna before emptying itself in the Yamuna, south of Surajpur village in Haryana. Its tributaries include the Kali Nadi on its east, and the Krishni (or Kirsani) Nadi on its west. The total length of the Hindon river is about 260 km. The river is very winding, has no defined banks and covers large areas. The land on its both sides is subject to flooding during monsoons. The river is only navigable in the rains. The land inundated by the river is occasionally cultivated for the *rabi* crops, and the harvests are of excellent quality. However, in times of heavy flood the khadir lands are liable to become saturated and affected by the saline efflorescence known as *reh*. The *Gazetteer of Meerut* (1922 :8) states, "of recent years there has in fact been a considerable development of *reh* in the Hindon khadir and large areas of land have not been ploughed for twenty years and more." The water from the river is used to irrigate the *rabi* crops and melons. The land east of the Hindon is "extraordinarily rich and uniform, fully irrigated and splendidly cultivated." Similar to the Yamuna river, the Hindon river also runs in a southeasterly direction in consonance with general slope of the region. Due to a gentle gradient, the erosion capacity of these rivers is restricted.

Kirsani or Krishni River

Between the Yamuna and the Hindon, the Kirsani River rises in the plains of south of Chilkana, the Saharanpur district. After traversing through Saharanpur, Deoband, Kairana, Budhana, it joins the Hindon just below the town of Barnawa at Sardhana. It follows a southwesterly course and takes a sudden turn towards east to join the Hindon. Its approximate length is 121 km. It is an unimportant stream, having no towns on its banks and being little used for the purpose of irrigation. It flows in a well-marked bed, the banks of which on both sides are broken by numerous ravines, and the land in its neighbourhood is of a sandy inferior quality.

Kali Nadi

The Kali Nadi rises in the plains of southwest of Badhai, Muzaffarnagar. After traversing through Muzaffarnagar, it forms a natural boundary between Budhana on the west and Jansath on the east. It joins the Hindon from the east at Pitlokkhar village of Sardhana. Its approximate length is 110 km.

Hindon Khadir

The khadir of the Hindon varies in width: at Malahra it extends for a mile on each side of the stream, while at Bamawa it is little more than one-fourth of a mile in breadth. Further south, it widens out on the west to join the Yamuna khadir in the south of Baghpat, and then the khadirs of the two rivers unite to form the sandy tract already described. As the *Gazetteer of Meerut* (1922 : 8) informs, the land east of the Hindon is “extraordinarily rich and uniform, fully irrigated and splendidly cultivated.”

Meanderings of the Yamuna

Caused by tectonic forces, the meanderings of the Yamuna through millennia have left their deep imprint on the physiography of the plains in the region. The work of A.K. Grover and P.L. Bakliwal titled, “*River Migration and Floods -A Study of a Section of Yamuna River through Remote Sensing*” (*Man and Environment*, volume 9, 1985 :151-3) suggests that the Yamuna once flowed into the Saraswati (identified with the modern Ghaggar-Hakra). Over a period of time, the Yamuna moved more and more towards the easterly course. Consequently, it abandoned the Saraswati and joined the Ganga. The remains of at least six palaeochannels of the Yamuna have been identified through the study of Landsat imagery. Traces of old courses of the river can be seen in various lakes such as the Najafgarh, Surajkund and Badkhal lakes. The remote sensing studies show that the migration of the river ranged from 100 km in the area north and west of Delhi to 40 km in the area south of Delhi. However, the Yamuna seems to have remained more or less static in its present course around Delhi in a span of 4000 years. In this process of meandering towards the east, the Yamuna deposited rich deposits of alluvium on either bank. With an average height of about 700 ft. above the sea level, the plains are considerably wider, more fertile and populous in the north and almost lose themselves in the regions of the historic capitals of Siri and Tughluqabad. Further south, the terrain becomes flatter and more open. The soil in this

region is light sandy loam and is good for agriculture. The meanderings of the Yamuna, and deposition of alluvium in the process over a larger part of the plains had very significant bearings on the history of ancient settlements in the region. Many stone age sites have been found in the hilly areas that were once traversed by the Yamuna. Also, several ancient sites grew up along the older courses of the river. It is in this background, one needs to study the large number of ancient sites have been identified in the Yamuna-Hindon doab and its neighbourhood.

Agriculture

In the context of agro-climatic conditions, rains are a very lean source of supply as these are scanty and erratic in occurrence. Both the total rainfall and the total number of rainy days in a year show much variation. The major sources of irrigation in the doab are the Yamuna and the Hindon itself together with their streams. Wells are also important sources of irrigation. According to the *Delhi Gazetteer* (1976 : 215), in 1965-66 there were about 17,954 wells in the Delhi region, which were sources of irrigation, and were mostly in the trans-Yamuna area. This shows importance of a well in agriculture. Here it must be pointed out that during my exploration in the region, it was noticed that the Yamuna-Hindon doab is full of wells. It was also noticed that for irrigation, farmers considered well water superior to that of canal, which was built during the 18th century.

Crops

During my field survey in the region, I noticed that double cropping was widely practiced in the entire Yamuna-Hindon doab. People are proud of the fact that the soil is very fertile and any crop could be easily grown in the area. In contemporary times, the cultivators divide the agricultural year (*fasli*) into three seasons each of which has its own distinctive group of crops: *kharif* (rainy season), *rabi* (winter), and *zaid* (summer). The two main groups of crops are *kharif* and *rabi*. The *Gazetteer of Meerut* (1922 : 39-47) states that the *kharif* generally covers a greater area than that sown in the *rabi*, except in the Ghaziabad Tehsil and occasionally in Baghpat. The *kharif* crops are diversified. The main *kharif* crops are millets (*jowar* and *bajra*), pulses, and rice. *Bajra* is the major *kharif* crop grown in the area. *Rabi* crops consist mainly of wheat, barley, and gram. In the remaining area potatoes, vegetables, oilseeds, cotton, tobacco, sugarcane, chillies, fodder, and other non-food crops are grown. The other subsidiary crops include

mango, guava, grape, strawberry, tomato, brinjal, radish, watermelon, cauliflower, calibage, cabbage, and onion.

Assessment:

The geo-ecological settings of the Yamuna-Hindon doab and its neighbourhood made the region ideal for cultivation, and hence for human settlements in the period prior to industrialization in India. The rivers bodies not only drained the area but also provided alluvial deposits that made the soil fertile. The empires and the invaders of the past were aware of the fertile land of the doab and its prosperity, and hence since ancient times, this area witnessed frequent attempts by these forces to control the doab. The ancient settlements sites along the Yamuna river were bigger as compared to those along the Hindon and other tributaries as the topography was high and hence it was easy to found an urban (petty fort-like) settlement along the Yamuna. Also, Yamuna was suitable for long distance navigation, hence it could have facilitated trade and commerce.

Therefore, it was more suitable to found an urban (petty fort-like) settlement along the Yamuna. On the contrary, the Hindon river was not suitable for long distance navigation and therefore, sites along this river remain a rural settlement. Also, it is to be noted that the floods in the Yamuna were more threatening to settlements than the floods in the Hindon. Therefore, while only high banks of the Yamuna were selected for settlements, along the Hindon, banks with even average heights were selected. The presence of the varied species of flora and fauna in the region and the fact that in the past the area had a much richer vegetation shows that the region, the Yamuna-Hindon doab, was easy attraction for human settlements. The rich vegetation together with rich agriculture (facilitated by the fertile alluvium soil and the perennial sources of water, the Yamuna and the Hindon) would have easily met the food requirements of the people. In fact, the vegetation of the area could provide at least the bare minimum subsistence to the people even when there were natural disasters, such as floods. Also, as the *Gazetteer of Meerut* (1922) highlights, the comparative vicinity of the mountains and the high altitude combine to render the region one of the healthiest parts of the plains of India. None of these factors worked in isolation, they together seem to create the ecological, social, economic and political bases determining the settlement pattern in the region.

At macro level, it appears that the Late Harappan settlements in the Yamuna-Hindon doab were established by way of migration from the adjoining Haryana and Punjab regions where the Harappan settlements had

been established from a much earlier period (Dikshit 1985 : 58). The Harappan culture complex at Alamgirpur and Baragaon were found more influenced by the material remains of Sutlej Valley, whereas Hulas appears to have its mooring in the Sraswati-Drishadvati complex of Haryana (Dikshit 1985 : 57). Thus, in the Yamuna-Hindon doab both these cultural waves are present and it appears that in the doab only late mature phase entered and survived. In the Yamuna-Hindon doab, the migration took place along the river system. The geo-ecological settings of the Yamuna-Hindon doab and its neighbourhood made the region ideal for human settlements and in this background one needs to evaluate the existence of large number of sites associated with Pre-historic, Proto-historic, Painted Grey Ware (PGW), Northern Black Polished Ware (NBPW), early historic, Gupta, Post-Gupta and Medieval cultures in the Yamuna-Hindon doab.

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Waste Management in Sri Lanka: Challenges and Opportunities

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Abstract

It has been an unmitigated fact that in recent times, many developing countries have been faced with a critical issue in respect of the proper management of solid waste within their territories, due to increasing urbanization leading towards many a menace of disease, odour, nuisance, fire hazards, atmospheric and water pollution, aesthetic nuisance and so on and so forth thereby leading towards many social and economic losses. In 2012, cities world over, generated 1.3 billion tons of solid waste per year, amounting to a footprint of 1.2 kilograms per person, per day needless to say that with the rapid population growth and urbanization, municipal waste generation is expected to rise up to 2.2 billion tons (MT) by 2025. Inadvertently with the current trends continuing, it is likely to rise from 3.5 MTs to 6 MTs per day, each person generating around 0.64 kg waste per day in Sri Lanka with an estimated 4.8 billion MT of waste collected per annum in the country.

The main objective of this study is to examine the present situation of solid waste management in Sri Lanka in determining the nature and extent of the problem, thereby identifying the challenges and opportunities towards maintaining a sustainable waste management system in the country. as a result, the respective study has identified that, several challenges such as the absence of waste segregation, poor waste collection mechanisms and lack of public commitment on waste management etc. to be the underlying causes of the prevailing issue. Thus the prevailing system on waste collection, transportation and disposal aspects is nevertheless believed to be an issue yet to be resolved, due to the lack of education and awareness of the public on waste management, the lack of technical knowledge and the absence of applying 3R principles and so forth.

In this context, awareness through educating and changing the attitude of the public can be specified as precautionary methods towards maintaining a sustainable waste management system in terms of which, the participation of the public is to be quoted as essential and it should be borne in mind, that this is not something that can be accomplished via a limited operation and soon be forgotten, but rather one which needs to be

continued and maintained by ongoing continual efforts in keeping the menace at a minimum. Thus, a new model for waste management is required for collection, transportation and the disposal of waste, which should not be harmful to the society nor to the environment. The existing waste management policy of the country should be further developed by considering the concept of zero waste, alternative waste management approaches like waste to energy, sanitary landfills and the acceleration of composting methodology etc. thereby leading the pathway towards more sustainability.

Keywords: *Waste management, segregation, zero waste and sustainability.*

Introduction

Solid Waste Management (SWM) has been becoming a major issue of economies and priority should be given to overcome the issue due to the rapid growth of the population as well as the increases of waste quantities in the Developing countries. Although the quantity and quality of solid waste generated by urban areas in developing countries are low compared to Western developed and industrialized countries, the municipal solid waste management still remains inadequate (Ilic and Nikolic, 2016). However, developed countries have already been applying different approaches such as composting, land filling and waste to energy etc. to overcome the issues. In this respect, it is appropriate to examine the strategies that they have applied to overcome the issue.

Waste is any subsistence materials derived from primary use or a useless defective. Solid Waste (SW) or garbage comprises of unwanted and discarded materials from houses, street sweeping, and commercial and industrial operations. The increase in the urban population and changing life styles lead to the generation of solid waste. Generally, solid waste is heterogeneous in nature such as the mixture of vegetables, food items, paper, plastics, rags, glass etc. If solid waste is disposed of on land in open areas, then it causes a negative impact on the environment, ground water and on health (Mundhe, Jaybhaye & Dorik, 2014). On one hand 'waste' has a value for someone while it doesn't for another. If it is possible to convert 'waste' into a valuable thing then no more would the 'waste problem' persist in the world.

Most of the countries in the world, in particular, developing countries, face the problem of proper management of solid waste within their territories. It has been creating different issues such as diseases, odor nuisance, fire hazards, atmospheric and water pollution, aesthetic nuisance,

social and economic losses. There have been many turgidity stories on collapsing waste dumps in several countries including Ethiopia and Sri Lanka. Many have pointed out, that, the developing countries haven't appropriate technology, with the lack of proper management and lack of leadership being the major defects of SW management of these countries.

Around the world, waste generation is being raised. The amount of waste generated by a country is proportional to its population and the mean living standards of the people (Grossmann et al., 1974). Further, Medina (1997) indicated that the waste generation rates have a close relationship with the income levels of people. In addition socio economic factors such as persons per dwelling, cultural patterns, education, and personal attitudes also play a role (Nilanthi Bandara, 2008). In 2012, the worlds' cities generated 1.3 billion tons of SW per year, amounting to a footprint of 1.2 kilograms per person per day. With rapid population growth and urbanization, municipal waste generation is expected to rise to 2.2 billion tones (BT) by 2025. If current trends continue, we are likely to go from 3.5 MTs to 6 MTs per day by that point. In South Asia, approximately 70 BT of waste is generated per year, with per capita values ranging from 0.12 to 5.1 kg per person per day and an average of 0.45 kg/capita/day (World Bank). The continuous indiscriminate disposal of SW is accelerating and is linked to poverty, poor governance, urbanization, population growth, poor standards of living, low level of environmental awareness (Rachel et al., 2009; Ogu, 2000) and inadequate management of environmental knowledge. However the waste generation rates will more than double over the next twenty years in lower income countries.

Even though human health and safety have been major concerns over waste management in the past at present, the society demands more than expected as in the past. society expects sustainable waste management which incorporates feedback loops, is focused on processes, embodies adaptability and diverts wastes from disposal. At a policy level decision making process, environmental consideration has played a major role in this sustainable system. Transitioning from a traditional unsustainable system to a sustainable waste management requires to identify and apply of leverage points which effect change (Jeffrey K. Seadon, 2010). Failure to do so may lead to ill-designed solutions that may not be effective enough to give any productive and sustainable results in waste management. Therefore, a system is required to control generation, storage, collection, transport or transfer, processing and disposal of solid waste materials in a way that best addresses the range of public health,

conservation, economic, aesthetic, engineering, and other environmental considerations.

Objectives

The major objective of this paper is to examine the present situation of the SW management in Sri Lanka and identify the challenges and opportunities for maintaining a sustainable SWM system in Sri Lanka. In addition, alternative strategies will be identified for better SWM in the country.

Waste Issue of Sri Lanka

Wastes have been an issue when an absence of or a weak management system for collection, transporting and disposal. Mostly, it generates at a household level while the rest from industries or other. The Waste problem is not a big issue in rural and sub-urban areas where space is available to dispose waste unlike urban areas of the country. It is a significant issue in the urban areas especially in the western province of the country.

A survey on Waste amount and Composition Surveys (WACS) done by the University of Peradeniya in 2014 revealed that nearly three fourth of total waste is generated from kitchens. It is a noted feature that, more than 85 percent of the total waste is degradable at the source (Table 01).

Table No. 01 shows the composition of the waste collection at the point of waste generation of Sri Lanka. However, the figures differ with the study conducted by the Central Environmental Authority (CEA) in 2014. Figure 01 shows the waste composition of Sri Lanka.

A Similar study done by the CEA also pointed out that, the waste composition of the source at the generated point is more or less comparable with the study done by the WACS. According to Fig. 01 about 62 percent of the waste is categorized as bio-degradable, while 7 and 6 percent belong to paper and wooden items which also come under bio-degradable waste respectively. Altogether three fourth of waste could be categorized as bio-degradable which is capable of being decomposed by the action of microorganisms. This study further identified that about 6

Category	% in wet basis
Kitchen wastes	74.6
Garden wastes	4.8
Paper and cardboard	7.8
Soft plastics	4.2

Hard plastics	0.9
Textiles	1.0
Rubber and leather	0.4
Metal	0.9
Glass	1.7
Ceramics	0.5
Hazardous wastes	0.4
E wastes	0.2
Miscellaneous	2.7

Table 01: Waste amount and Composition in Sri Lanka

Source; Waste amount and Composition Surveys (WACS), 2014

and 2 per cent of waste are polythene & plastics and glass items which fall under non-degradables respectively. Non-degradable waste like polythene and plastic do not break down for several decades, if not centuries, and have a general tendency to poison the ecosystem, as they are petroleum based.

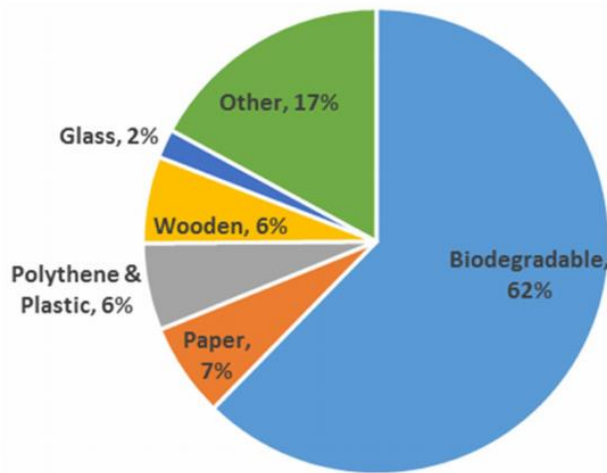


Fig. 01: Waste composition in Sri Lanka

Source; Central Environmental Authority (2014)

Sri Lanka has 309 local authorities of which 15 are Municipal Councils, 37 are Urban Councils and 257 are Pradeshiya Sabas. Approximately Sri Lanka generates 7,000 MT of solid waste per day. Most of the waste generated at the Colombo Municipal Council which is the largest local government authority in Sri Lanka covers a resident population of over 600,000. The Following table shows the waste generation by different local authorities of the country.

Provinces	Kg's p/p
Colombo Municipal Council	0.80
Municipal Councils	0.75
Urban Councils	0.60
Pradeshiya Sabas	0.40
Average	0.64

Table 02: Daily waste collection

Source; Central Environmental Authority (2014)

According to table 02, each person generates about 0.64 kg's per day in Sri Lanka. It is higher in urban areas such as Colombo and Gampaha. Most PS do not collect all the waste generated from their territories but part of it is collected. It may be estimated that about 4.8 billion MT of waste is collected per annum in Sri Lanka. However, the actual figure may be higher than the given figure. Table 03 shows the waste collection of the country by provinces.

Provinces	Generation amounts (ton/day)		Collection amounts (ton/day)		Collection rates	Number of final disposal sites
1. Northern	566	5%	178	5%	31%	16
2. Eastern	785	7%	347	10%	44%	40
3. North-central	616	6%	91	3%	15%	35
4. North-western	1,134	11%	187	5%	16%	45
5. Central	1,585	15%	304	9%	19%	47
6. Sabaragamuwa	835	8%	178	5%	21%	30
7. Uva	587	6%	116	3%	20%	24
8. Western	3,502	33%	1,793	52%	51%	52
9. Southern	1,158	11%	264	8%	23%	60
Total	10,768	100%	3,458	100%	32%	349

Source: Moratuwa University and NSWMSC, 2013

Table 03: Provincial level waste collection and Disposal sites

Table 03 shows the provincial level waste generation, collection and the final disposal sites of Sri Lanka. Accordingly, more than half of the total waste is collected by the Western province. Even though the Western province generates 33% of the total waste it collects more than 52% of the total waste of the country. All other provinces contribute less than 10% each. The Uva province occupies the lowest share of waste generation amounting to 6% while the Eastern, Central, North central and Southern Provinces produce more than 7% each of the total waste of the country.

According to table 03, it was estimated by the University of Moratuwa and the NSWMSC that 3,458 tons of SW are collected from the island per day. About 1,800 tons of SW are collected from the Western province per day. However, another study done by the CEA, revealed that, the total collection of solid waste by local authorities in Sri Lanka is around 2900 tons per day (CEA, 2014). Another study done by Hikkaduwa, and others of University of Moratuwa (2016), "Sustainable Approaches to the

Municipal Solid Waste Management in Sri Lanka” the collection of solid waste by all local bodies amounts to 3423 mt per day. Approximately 60% (1663 tones) of the total waste is collected in the Western Province which has about 30 percent of total population in Sri Lanka.

It is an interesting factor that a total of 349 sites have been selected for the final disposal of waste. Most of the sites do not provide a total solution for waste. Some of them have recycling facilities but it does not function in a proper manner.

Responsibilities of Waste Management in Sri Lanka

The Responsibility of waste collection from generated point to disposal sites are vested in local government authorizes such as Pradeshiya Sabha (PS), Town Councils (TC) and Municipal councils (MC). In Sri Lanka 111 local authorities have been functioning by the elected members of the particular area. These authorities are responsible for the collection, transport and the disposal of solid waste in a proper manner. The following table shows the range of waste collect by a number of local authorities.

It is clearly indicated in the Municipal council ordinance in 1947, the Unban council ordinance in 1939 and the PS Act in 1987. In addition, all disposal activities should be handled according to the national Environment Act no 47. However, several Ministries are also responsible for waste management in the country. They are Local Government and Provincial councils, Mahaweli Development and Environment, and Megapolis and Western Development. The Western province has a separate arm to handle solid waste within their province. Apart from the Ministries, several authorities are also responsible for different stages such as giving environmental concern by the Central Environmental Authority and providing approval by the Urban Development Authority and so on.

Ranges [Tones/ Day]	Number of local authorities
Up to 1	111
1-2	48
2-5	76
5-10	26
10-20	23
20-50	19
50-100	5
110-150	2
>150	1
Total number of local authorities	111

Table 04: Different Ranges of Daily SW Collection [tones/day]

Source; Central Environmental Authority (2014)

Further, the relevant Ministry of the Provincial Councils have the overall responsibility for the enforcement of rules and regulations in the Provinces. Further they are also responsible to regulate the operation of and the transportation and processing of Municipal Solid Waste and the management of final waste disposal facilities of waste without being a nuisance to the general public and/or to the flora and fauna of the Province.

Several waste management steps have been already identified by the Waste management Authority, of the Western Provincial Council (See; Municipal Solid Waste Management Rules-2005) for better handling and cleaning the environment of their area. They are as follows;

- A. Properly Manage the SW at Source i.e. segregation, reduction, reusing and recycling and prohibiting the dumping of solid waste on streets or public places and open burning of wastes are being considered,
- B. Proper Collection/Acceptance of MSW from the Source of Generation,
- C. Cleaning of Streets and Public Places,
- D. Abolition of Open MSW Storage Bins Abolishing of open storage waste bins from main roads, public places and introducing of close type appropriate waste receptacles are considered,
- E. Improving a System for Mass Transportation of MSW Under this step prohibition of waste transportation in open vehicles and optimizing the efficiency of the vehicle usage for waste transportation are considered,
- F. Treat the Collected MSW as a "Resource" Under this step encourage recovering of resources from collected MSW through re-using of MSW for composting, Power generation, production of biogas, bio-fuel, electricity, bio-gas and use of state of- the- art technologies for this purpose and also recycling are considered,
- G. Improving a System for the Final Disposal of MSW Under this step establishing of engineered and/or sanitary landfills and use of the state- of- the- art technologies for such events at zonal and/or regional level are considered.

Challengers of Waste Management in Sri Lanka

One of the biggest problems in Sri Lanka is to manage the MSW in a sustainable manner. The prevailing system on waste collection, transport and disposal are yet to be resolved. It is possible to identify these issues which are discussed below as the challenges of WM in Sri Lanka.

- a. **Waste segregation:** Segregation is the systematic process that waste is separated into different types. It can be done manually at the household level or mechanically. Basically, waste could be divided as dry and wet waste. Then it could be further divided into solid waste, bio-degradable, non-biodegradable, toxic waste and recyclable waste. Thus far we do not have a proper system or proper practice of segregation at the generation or collection points. Every individual has the responsibility to practice such a segregation system but only a few are practicing it
- b. **Waste collection and transport:** Waste collection, storage and transport are essential elements of any WM system and can be major challenges in towns and cities. As mentioned above, the collection of SW are done by the PS, TC and MCs. All 111 local bodies have been collecting waste to keep clean on their territories. The Waste management Authority (WMA) of the Western Province is responsible for more than 60% of the total waste collection of the country. The Collection of waste from House to house and entire industries, commercial areas and public areas have to be transported and unloaded either into processing sites or sanitary landfills by the above authorities. However it has not been done in a proper and sustainable manner.
- c. **Waste disposal:** The Absence of a proper arrangement for the disposal of garbage in towns and cities create many more challenges in the face of financial, technical and administrative incapacities of the relevant local bodies. From an individual to the top level institutions or Ministries related to WM should pay a good role in this regard. A few sanitary landfills and organic compose yards are available for the sustainable disposal of garbage. Unfortunately at present, solid waste is collected in a mixed scale and disposed in environmentally sensitive areas such as abundant arable land, marshy land, forests, wild life habitats, near water bodies, isolated hilly areas and so on. Most of the local bodies collect garbage and dump it at open lands which create many problems.
- d. **Pollution:** Different types of pollution arises when the waste collected in dumping sites keeps rotting, spreading odour, water and soil pollution, health related problems and aesthetic pollution is caused in the surrounding areas. Most of the dumping sites are located in open

spaces. They are burnt sometimes and cause the emission of toxic gases like carbon dioxide and carbon monoxide which create health issues.

Garbage from household and other sources fall into rivers and water bodies. It makes the water of the water bodies polluted. The Blocking of the drainage system in towns and cities create breeding sites for mosquitoes and other vectors which spread diseases such as Malaria, Dengue, Filarial and other health problems. In addition, the improper garbage spreading from place to place and dumping it could increase the population of flies and rats which create many more health issues.

Increasing garbage at households and outside or water bodies has become a serious problem to air, water and soil. Accordingly, physical properties of the soil could be changed, and thereby the growth of plants and other factors affect soil nutrition and could be badly affected.

Inappropriate and unsustainable waste dumping would also destroy or reduce the worth of the aesthetic value and the scenery and beauty of the surrounding areas.

- e. **Institutional set-up:** Several authorities i.e. Local government authorities, Waste Management Authority, Central Environment Authority, Ministry of Environment, Ministry of Megapolis and Western Development etc. have been dealing with the SWM in the country. In addition, several projects were also set up to support and to manage the WM issue in Sri Lanka. The Lack of coordination between institutions, the lack of Institutional capability with technical expertise and the lack of adequate funds etc. may beloop wholes.
- f. **Public commitment:** The Literacy of the Sri Lankans are much higher than other developing countries. It means that the literate people should work in a systematic manner in WM. Beginning, at the school level all students were being given training in systematic practice in WM in their surrounding environment. Unfortunately, when they became adults, most of them do not follow the principles of WM. It has become a serious issue in the country.
- g. **Political arena:** The lack of commitment of most of parties that involve in WM in the country. There are many obstacles arising when the

ruling party of a particular local body work on the waste issue. Simultaneously, the same in a different way will arise when the opposition takes over the next time in the same local body. Ultimately issues of WM will be stagnated in most of the local bodies.

The challenges would be able to be overcome by the commitment of the collaborative attendance of the public and private sector, government interference and the mindset change of the people of the country. The Following opportunities may be useful to overcome the identified challenges of WM in Sri Lanka.

Opportunities of Waste Management of Sri Lanka

- a. **Education and awareness:** Knowledge from education and awareness has been seen as a key factor affecting environmental action. It is a vital fact that, the environmentally relevant knowledge plays a significant role in changing environmental activities and human behaviour. A Change in habits, behavior and the participation of the people on 'what do you/ people think about waste' is a significantly important aspect of SWM. As all knew, most information and practices about WM start at school and influence their households. The WM process at a school level is focused to keeping the environment clean and recycling the bio-degradable items. This process would help to increase awareness and attitudes towards solid WM among children and their parents.
- b. **Improvement of technical knowledge:** The adoption and transfer of the technologies of WM either from developed countries or some others to the local level authorities and the people who are responsible for WM at the grass root level would be immensely useful for better practice. Technical aspects for a WM would have to be taken into account in many points from bottom to top, for planning and the implementation of different activities. Provisions of better technical knowledge would be directly supporting for sustainable WM practice in the country.
- c. **Apply 3R principles:** The principles of 3R i.e. reduce, reuse and recycle can be applied in an acceptable manner to cut down on the amount of waste people throw away. The simple logic behind the principle is easy to understand, if there is less waste, then there is less waste to recycle or reuse. Any items that can be used again for another purpose or in a different way is called 'reuse'. The people can reuse most items such as plastic bags, furniture, toys and repair some broken items that they

used. On the other hand they can sell or give to others for charity. Recycling is a process which will be transformed again into raw materials that could be shaped into a new product. All materials could be recycled or transformed except for a few items in the world. About 38% of the waste such as glass, paper, wood items and so on could be transformed into recyclable items in Sri Lanka.

- d. **Waste segregation:** Waste segregation is essential as the amount of waste being generated day today causes many more problems. Most of the bio-degradable waste could be transformed into fertilizers and only a small proportion of the waste has to be discarded. Unfortunately, the bulk of waste is not being segregated yet by the responsible people and the quantity of waste would be much higher. In particular, household waste can be separated into different baskets for the different categories of waste such as degradable and non-degradable which should be disposed separately.
- e. **Attitudinal changers:** Waste could be identified as 'two sides of a coin', which highlight the idea of the environment as a gift and a responsibility. People were open minded on the environmental impact on improper waste management.. Everybody should understand that waste is from nobody, it belongs to everybody. Therefore all have a responsibility to manage waste in a proper manner.
- f. **Independent Authority:** At present, there are many institutions which deal with WM in Sri Lanka. Therefore, a strong and independent authority is required to regulate WM if WM is to improve and be kept in a sustainable manner in the country. The Absence of clear regulation and enforcement will make improvement not activated in a timely and in a proper manner. The WM sector needs to include attractive and profitable businesses models with clear performance requirements imposed, with financial penalties applied when WM services are not working effectively.
- g. **Adequate funds:** Finance for WM authorities and funding for other WM activities should be raised through Waste Management Tax (WMT) which comes through Polluter Pay Principle (PPP). All polluters must be paid for, keeping the environment clean and fair. An average WMT of 1 Rupee per any transaction of non-degradable wrapped items sold by merchants to buyers would generate huge amount of money and

the collected funds could be used for proper waste management in Sri Lanka. In addition, PPT policy could be applied for the person who violates the waste management system of a particular city.

- h. Alternative strategies:** Several alternative strategies are being implemented by the respective authority in the country. Zero waste, Waste to Energy, sanitary landfills and large scale composting. At present there are several landfills being constructed at Aruwakkaru, Keeramale, Medirigiriya and Keerakkulama. In addition, two waste to energy project plants of 10 megawatts each, to incinerate, were started in the Western province. The Ministry of local government is also establishing several mega composting machines in selected districts.

Alternative Strategies for better WM practice

It is an important fact that the education on WM should be further expanded for all the sectors which start at the kindergarten schools. The role and responsibilities of WM of each individual should be communicated and instructed in a proper way. It may be one way of forming responsible citizens who manage waste as resources and also applying 3R principles and creating a zero waste or waste less society in the future.

It is a vital requirement that WM must involve waste segregation at sources such as households, market or industries to allow more efficient value extraction and recycling. It should be separated into dry/ wet or bio degradable/ non-degradable etc. Then the waste would have significant benefits for waste collectors and the people who are involved in the WM field.

Innovative and practical waste management regulations could be imposed. The WM sector needs to include attractive and profitable models with financial penalties from polluters and WM discipline breakers. Then the WM services include collection, transport and disposal which will be sustained effectively and efficiently.

Short term and long term comprehensive WM planning requires to overcome the WM issues in the country. The private sector involvement should be strengthened for most of the WM activities. Local level Provincial councils and the Ministry of Local Government could monitor and evaluate the WM practices. To achieve the targets, training and capacity building is required from the grass root to the top level people who are engaged in WM.

Conclusion and recommendations

The quantity of waste has been generating continuously due to the growing population and increase in development. The Modern way of life has led to serious waste problems in the country. Easy products require more packaging and habits of the people are also associated with generating larger quantities of waste, discarded wrappers from the inevitable fast foods, and the modern day waste contains a higher proportion of non-degradable materials which have caused an acute waste issue. The problem has been further worsened due to the extensive use of plastic products such as plastic bottles.

Despite the huge amounts of waste produced, the standards of waste management in the country are still poor. These include outdated and the poor management of waste and, the inefficient handling, and collection, transportation systems, disposal of hospital wastes and hazardous waste and also disposal or dumping of wastes. Waste at the roadside, drains blocked up with garbage and plastic items and rivers filled with filthy garbage indicate that solid waste is a major environmental problem in Sri Lanka.

This situation has been diminishing our environmental quality to sustain life. If the present rate of solid-waste production goes on without a proper waste management system, there will be significant negative impacts on the quality of our environment. In addition, the inadequate awareness and knowledge about solid waste management issues, and being ignorant about the effect that improper SWM has definitely worsened the problem.

Sri Lanka needs a long-term goal to establish a sustainable and effective SWM that are cost effective, economically viable and environmentally sound. Strategies that have been recommended for waste minimization are part of the waste management hierarchy and involve 3R principles such as reduce, reuse and recycle.

The situation could be managed in a sustainable manner through several implications. Providing awareness from schools up to the higher education level in different scales and standards would be ideal. It may be able to change the attitude and awareness of the masses through formal and informal education. Finally, everybody should think and understand that waste is from nobody, it belongs to everybody.

The Appropriate technical knowledge and equipment should be provided to the local government institutes. Technical training is also an essential component for the people who practically engage in SWM at the field. WM requires not only technological knowledge but also public

participation, consultation and stakeholder mutual understanding and dialogue on activities.

Waste segregation is a vital part of SWM and attention should be paid to impart all stakeholders to follow the principles of waste segregation. It should be practiced from the household level to top level institutions of the country.

It is necessary to establish an apex independent institution to regulate SWM in the country. The institution should control all other institutions which deal with SWM. The institution could apply a good market model for managing SW in a profitable manner. The Legal framework should also be established to raise the required additional funds for the efficient management of the institution and also the PPP would be an ideal concept to strengthen SWM.

The Available WM policy of the country should be further developed by considering the concept of zero waste, alternative WM approaches like waste to energy, sanitary landfills and accelerating composting methodology etc. which is required to manage the waste in a sustainable manner. Finally, making responsible citizens who regard waste as 'our waste' and 'our resources' would easily manage the waste and achieve the sustainability of the country.

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Inevitability of Inter-textual Characteristics of Artistic Cinema: *a brief survey*

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Abstract

The concept of inter-textuality first gained attention in literary studies and was later absorbed into other artistic streams. The main purpose of the present study is to envisage the inter-play that any creative work: texts, terms, thought patterns, echoes and reverberation taken from works written before it acculturation of a piece of art in any society. The more skilled the composer is, the more enlightened he is by the works and traditions of his predecessors that reveals his extraordinary creative skills. Music, dance, painting, literature, architecture and film all constantly interact with each other's works and with each other's arts. Through this process the historical, artistic, social and ideological features of the works are mixed and the concepts that have acquired historical values are broken and new concepts are born. To understand this concept which has been interpreted by researchers in many bilingual languages in east and west before, it is necessary to analyze how it has been applied in various art genres and the impact it has had on those works. Through those analyses, the aim is to investigate how this concept has been used creatively in the subject of film music.

Definitions of inter-textuality

The concept of intertextuality was mentioned in a book by the French philosopher Julia Kristeva (b.1941) in 1966, and the concepts of dialogue and lines in the "Word Dialogue and Novel" introduced by a Russian thinker Mikhail M. Bakhtin (1895-1975) are based on it. He suggests that the characters of a novel represent multiple elements such as social status, understanding of the world and ideology. "According to Bakhtin the central tradition of the novel is constituted by texts which are not unitary in their discourse ('monological') but multiple, polyphonic ('dialogic')" (Rimmon-Kenan 2002: 119). This means that the statement made by a character has more than one meaning. The meaning that emerges from Bakhtin's statement can be described by the word heteroglossia. It is a combination of the two words hetero and glossa,

which is related to the language. Hetero stands for other and glossa stands for language. Bakhtin thinks that this implies the disparity in the language. "at any given moment of its historical existence, language is heteroglot from top to bottom: it represents the co-existence of socio-ideological contradictions between the present and the past, between differing epochs of the past, between different socio- ideological groups in the present, between tendencies, schools, circles and so forth, all given a bodily form. These 'languages' of heteroglossia intersect each other in a variety of ways, forming new typifying 'languages'" (Mckeen 2000: 347). Bakhtin further describes the diversity here in 1981 as follows. "social dialects, characteristic group behavior, professional jargons, generic languages, languages of generations and age groups, tendentious languages, languages of the authorities, of various circles and of passing fashions, languages that serve the specific sociopolitical purposes of the day" (Bakhtin 1981: 262-263). As Bakhtin's view was that the novel is built with different styles and different dialogues and creates different feeling in the reader, Kristeva has been focused on building the concept of intertextuality. Kristeva introduces it as follows. "an intersection of textual surfaces rather than a point (a fixed meaning), a dialogue among several writings; that of the writer, the addressee (or the character), and the contemporary or earlier cultural context" (Kristeva 1980: 65). Thus, any text is a collection of different things. The reader will also give it many different meanings. "horizontal axis (subject-addressee) and vertical axis (text-context) coincide, bringing to light an important factor: each word (text) is an intersection of word(texts) where at least one other word (text) can be read. In Bakhtin's work, these two axes, which he calls dialogue and ambivalence, are not clearly distinguished. Yet, what appears as a lack of rigour is in fact an insight first introduced into literary theory by Bakhtin: Any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotation; any text is the absorption and transformation of another. The notion of intertextuality replaces that of intersubjectivity, and poetic language is read as at least double" (Kristeva 1980:66).

Intertextuality thus means placing dissimilar and similar text in close proximity with different representations and allowing them to intermingle. In this way the historical, artistic, social, political and ideological characteristics of those texts are mixed with each other and the historically important concepts are broken and new concepts are born. This transcends the existing limitations of understanding something and removes the specific roots that have influenced understanding something. It influences the perception of the text and also influences the way a text

should be read. This suggests a way of interlacing reading with each other rather than reading the texts individually. This happened on four occasions. "First, the focus of reading practices moved away from the supposed "originality" of a text and towards considerations regarding the nature of literature. Second, the act of reading conceded the irrelevance of biography (one author influencing another) and placed what the author is doing at the center of study. Third, the authority of the authority was displaced upon the reader, who is the vehicle of all acts of (inter)textuality. Last, context and ideology take precedence over a singular, univocal conception of textuality" (Taylor & Winquist 2001: 190).

The key feature of the postmodernist concept is the disregard for the nature of the original. This is because postmodernism is fed by other concepts. Also, postmodernist designs are not only nourished by other concept, but also appear for those nourished occasions. Allan's opinion on this is, it happens in two ways. That is, it questions the existing representational methods of culture and suggest that this method should be used further. Postmodernism relies on and depends on other literary periods (Graham 2000: 188-189). Allan points out that extrinsic text are not interpreted in isolation, there are interpreted in combination. And because these texts are variable and open-ended, the reader is free to draw his own preconceived nations, and there is no limit to the resulting definitions. And intertextuality can be discussed in two ways called parody and pastiche in relation to postmodernism. This can be introduced as follows, "a mocking imitation of the style of a literary work or works" (Baldick 1990: 185). "Pastiche refers to the propensity of many postmodern worksto imitate the style of another historical period" (Taylor & Winquist 2001: 275). Mixing of equal or dissimilar parts in creating the model happens in pastiche. This is where the taste of works of art that the designer has previously studied or enjoyed is included in the design (Claes 2011: 160). This is also seen as usurpation of creative and intertextual wrights. Critics accuse that postmodernist designers absorb the essence of old creations and lack of there originality in creations (ibid). American philosopher Fredrick Jemison (b. 1934) doesn't accept it as a positive concept. "Borrowing from Jean Bau-drillard's idea of the simulacrum — the copy that does not have an original — Jameson sees the return of older cultural styles not as the return of history butas, at most, the return of the desire for a history, after history proper has been remade in the empty image of late capitalism"(Taylor & Winquist 2001: 275). The belief that this would destroy the values of the past, and the fear of affecting the values of literary works of ancient cultural value have directly influenced

the critics' opinion of these encapsulations. But according to Paul Claes (b.1943) this represents the past while questioning it. He further asserts that if the work is truly the original work, the reader has nothing to gain from it and that any work gains meaning and significance from the nourishment of previous experiences (Claes 2011:126).

Intertextuality can be expressed in two cases, Deliberate intertextuality and Latent intertextuality. Deliberate intertextuality refers to the deliberate incorporation of features of other work by the author of a work. Latent intertextuality describes cases where the author intentionally doesn't use features of other works in his work (Mallikarachchi 2021). Since the author's mind cannot be read, it becomes difficult to identify whether the intertextual moments expressed in his works are deliberate or otherwise latent? That is two readers may have similarities and if the author doesn't reveal about it, it is difficult to understand whether it is intentional or accidental.

Recognizable instances of intertextuality in Stage Drama

Popular instances in intertextuality in creative literary works can be seen anywhere in Sri Lanka. This can also be interpreted from the popular drama *Maname* directed by Ediriweera Sarachchandra (1914-1996). Sarachchandra has received considerable influence and inspiration from the folk drama tradition while composing *Maname* drama. Also, traditional Nadagam melody have been used for the music of *Maname*. Sarachchandra comments on it as follows. "I have not tried to reproduce the old Nadagam style intact. But I used only its essence and certain elements" (Pieris 2015). However, at the glance it can be observed that there is a clear difference between *Maname* and old folk drama. What has happened there is the assimilation of certain things from the Nadagam tradition to build a dramatic form. "*Maname* was an outstanding combination of theatrical craft, poetic sophistication and dramatic concentration, in which the folk theatrical tradition was [successfully] adapted to the modern stage" (Dharmadasa 1992: 129). And the occasion coincides with Andre Obey's inspiration for medieval miracle play and W. B. Yeats's inspiration for Japanese Noh Drama. William Shakespeare also drew heavily on Ovid, Plutarch and other classical sources for his works. T. S. Eliot in his 1920, essay *Philip Massinger* mentions "Immature poets imitate; mature poets steal; bad poets deface what they take, and good poets make it into something better, or at least something different". On

closer inspection Maname can be identified with the characteristics of the ancient Dambadiva drama style, Chinese Peaking Opera drama style and Japanese Noh drama style. Moreover, it appears that the above theatrical characteristics of old dances such as Kolam, Sokari, Kavi nādagam, Thovil pavil, Gammadu, Pāmmadu, Pūnamadu, Kankari, Wadiga atuna, Amba vidamana, Ram amarilla, Ūrudane, Vaddan givissima, Gabadā kollaya performed in the countryside have some theatrical elements, Although in a certain developed and unorganized state (Gamlath 1996: 33-35).

Maname play was based on *Culla Dhanuggaha Jataka* from the Jataka book. Before the creation of Maname drama, this story existed as Kavi, Nadagam and Kolam drama (Gunathilaka 1964: 175- 195) see (Gamlath 1996: 38-39). the idea that this Jathakaya can be associated with a Sindu Nadagam came to Sarachchandra after watching the film *Rashomon* (1950) directed by Akira Kurosawa. The film *Rashomon* is based on the short story "Rashōmon" published in 1915 by the author Ryūnosuke Akutagawa. This story is similar in essence to *Culla Dhanuggaha Jatakaya*. According to these facts, it appears that Maname drama is significantly inspired by other texts. Here's Sarachchandra's take on inspiration. When composing Maname, "I tried to follow the style of language found in traditional Nadagams. Sarachchandra says that he was assisted by Charles Guru, who was a great intellectual in folklore, in writing the script of Maname play and producing the play, and when he explained about the melody he wanted, Charles Gurunanse sang some traditional old songs, from which he was able to final the rhythm that suited him". (Sarachchandra 2016: 165-166).

Princess Maname, one of the main characters of the play Maname, first comes on stage and sing the princess song which begins like this.

"Lapa noma wan sanda sé somi gunenā"

(Sarachchandra 1997: 20).

Translation: Spreading mildness like a spotless moon.

This is shown in the "*Salalihini Sandeshaya, Dhutha warnana*" written by Thotagamuwe Sri Rahula Thero as follows.

"Lapa noma wan sanda wan somi guna gihini"

(Gamlath 2004: 10).

Translation: Having mild qualities like a spotless moon.

This can be identified as intertextuality rather than inspiration or imitation (Gamage 2020). Although this is written from the writer's point of view, his point of view is also important in the reader's enjoyment of it.

To the extent that the reader has mustered his heritage and bibliographic literature, he is able to fulfill his role as a brilliant reader. This part can be depicted in the play *Maname* as another example.

*"Pipi thmbarana- Nada bamarana Piya rawdena
Liya kindurana"*

(Sarachchandra 1997: 24)

Translation:

Blooming lotus flowers, the buzzing wasps, Mermaids who speak sweet words.

While writing this, Sarachchandra's mind much have been memorized by the praise of the forest in the *Kavyasekaraya*. On the other hand, the poetry from *Kavya Kavyasekaraya* will surely echo in his mind like this if the reader who read the text of the play or the audience watching the drama or *Kavyasekaraya* properly consulted (Dissanayake 2004: 60).

*"Liyagee dhanu mandhu ra na
Liya kindhu ra na
Gumu gumu nadha bama ra na
Pipi thamba ra na
Piyaraw lana siyu ra na
Matha miyu ra na"* (සරාච්ඡන්ද්‍ර, 1960 පි.19).

Translation:

Catchy songs with beautiful tunes, there are mermaids, bees buzzed, There are many flowers in bloom, a forest with Paguru trees, there are red Ashoka flowers and ponds, they are also beautiful elephants that go to cow-elephants.

Also, a popular play, *Sinhabhahu* drama can be shown as an example written and directed by Sarachchandra in Sri Lanka. Here is a group of verse that sings the main character lion of this play.

*"Than Thanwala ma lagi san nan muwan ralā
Ganmin budhinnata rasa bojunā
Van neth andhun badhu dhuu puth ruwan dhakā
Man santhosin valandhami samagin"*

(Sarachchandra 1962: 18).

Translation:

Many herds of deer were in different places, take delicious food to eat, like eyes coated with sandalwood, seeing gems like daughter and son, eating

with them happily.

The rhythms contained in the following poem in "Salalihini Sandeshaya" written by Sri Raahula Thero must have been in Sarachchandra's mind while composing *Sinhabahu*.

<i>"sa n na n sihin gendhi sewanalu vali</i>	<i>thelenā</i>
<i>Tha n tha n wala ma sathapee siyumali</i>	<i>bavinā</i>
<i>Ra n wa n karal gena ena girawun</i>	<i>athinā</i>
<i>Ya n ma n thosin maga thorathuru niyama</i>	<i>danā"</i>

(Gamlath 1992: 13).

Translation:

On the Sandy plain in the shade of various Heengenda trees, it is lying in different places because it is delicate. From the parrots that bring the rice pods, go happily knowing the information on the road.

Recognizable instances of intertextuality in Cinema

Quentin Tarantino's (b. 1963 "Kill Bill" film in 2003 demonstrates intertextuality with a number of examples. Even though Kill Bill is an American film, it is mostly recognizable by the characteristics of Japanese cinema. In addition, movie genres such as Mystery, Action, Thriller, Crime, Adventure, Spaghetti Westerns, Animation can be identified. Quentin Tarantino's audience will recognize features in 80 film from Alfred Hitchcock's "Marnie (1964)" to the Japanese film "Goke, Body Snatcher from Hell (1968)". There are three movies that are the main influences for the movie Kill Bill. Therefore, both movies "Lady Snowblood (1973)" and "Female Convict Scorpion: Jailhouse 41 (1972)" are Japanese movies and "Thriller: A Cruel Picture (1973)" is a Sweden movie. In particular, the Japanese film "lady Snowblood" is a clear example of the first volume of Kill Bill. ""Citizan Kane (1941)", "Sanjuro (1962)", "The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly (1966)", "Once Upon a Time in the West (1968)", "The Mercenary (1968)", "Twisted Nerve (1968)", "Goke, Body Snatcher from Hell (1968)", "First of Fury (1972)", "Thriller: A Cruel Picture (1974)", "Gone in 60 Seconds (1974)", "Deep Red (1975)", "Game of Death (1978)", "Circle of Iron (1978)", "Death Rides a Horse (1967)", "City of the Living Dead (1980)", "Blade Runner (1982)", "Pulp Fiction (1994)", "Jackie Brown (1997)", "Samurai Fiction (1998)", "Battle Royale (2000)", "Ichi the Killer (2001)" also parts of many other movies can be recognized in the movie Kill Bill (Agampodi 2021: 122). Tarantino isn't the first to reuse parts of iconic movies that are fading from memory. For example, the filmmaker of

the movie "The Matrix (1999)" used the features of Asian action cinema but hide it under Hollywood nomenclature. But Tarantino doesn't hide his quotes, or he lists it and reveals it. The result of this is that parts of many movies that weren't in the mainstream have gone mainstream. And many movies that were leaving the memory of the audience are coming back to the audience.

The postmodern concept of intertextuality can also be identified in the film "A Letter of Fire (2005)" by Ashoka Handagama (b.1962). The scene where the judge, who plays the lead role in the film and her son bathe in bathtub is reminiscent of the Jonathan Glazer's (b.1965) "Birth (2004)". Therefore, this can be recognized as a blending of two texts (ibid). In both films, the mother and child were naked in a bathtub. These characteristics can also be recognized in the case where the child stabs his mother, who is the judge, to death in the movie "A Letter of Fire".

Child: Sorry mom. This is an accident.

(Handagama 2005).

These words of the child remind the movie André Jurieux's death in the final scene of Jean Renoir (1894-1979) "The Rules of the Game (1939)". Marquis Robert mentions that it happened by mistake or accident (Jayarathne 2018: 15-19).

Based on the novel "The Piano Teacher" written by Elfriede Jelinek (b.1946) in 1983 and directed by Michael Haneke (b.1942) In "The Piano Teacher" movie, it can be recognized that there is an intertextual relationship between some moments in the movie "The Piano Teacher" and some moments in the movie "A Letter of Fire". Both scenes where the judge is raped by the museum guard in "A Letter of Fire" and in "The Piano Teacher" Erika is raped by Walter depict similar situations. Like the judge, Erika is asking for it to stop. Both appealed. Slaps. and are being abused in both films, the two women experience a sense of unfulfilled fulfillment in their lives in this compulsion in this abuse. This is how both women express their happiness in the end although abusive.

Magistrate: I feel like something that has been tightened in life has been released.

(Handagama 2005).

Erika: we'll play all the games you want.

(Haneke 2001).

Dae-su Oh, the protagonist of the movie "Old Boy (2003)"

directed by Park Chan-wook (b. 1963), returns after serving 15 years in prison and has sex with his daughter, not knowing that she is his daughter. The daughter is also unaware of it and events and situations in the film encourage them to have such a romantic relationship. It is a retelling of the Sophocles story of Oedipus, who joins Jocasta. At the end Oedipus blinds himself to hide from the truth that it was his fault and not to his daughters, the living proof of it while the narrator of "Old Boy" cuts his tongue to refuse to communicate the truth. Beg not to reveal that unpleasant truth. A similar content is found in the movie "A Letter of Fire". The relationship between father and daughter happens without knowing about their kinship. Some dialogues in the film reveal that they have enjoyed those sexual relations a lot. But since the day the truth is revealed, the father spends his life in a lonely world without feelings. He also follows a silent practice in many critical situations encountered in life.

Recognizable instances of intertextuality in film music

Music for films was first used in the film "The Jazz Singer (1927)". Along with the film becoming technically very advanced, the music used for it has also reached an advanced level. By re-mixing old musical scores with films, it is possible to rekindle the cultural and historical feelings in the audience and allow the audience to enjoy the characters and events of the film in a new way. The opportunity to enjoy in a new way is also provided. One of the issues that arise here is the issue of plagiarism, quotation and giving respect. Another problem is that the exciting enjoyment of old songs is changed by mixing them with new events and characters. However, the result is that the events presented in the image are further intensified and a new meaning is generated by attaching a different musical text to the image of a film. The music interacts with the intrinsic meaning of the sequence, as distinct from a surface-level meaning; it is addressed to what is implicit within the drama, not to what is explicit (such as the visual action), that is, to what you cannot see but need to think about (Burt 1994: 7).

This is common in Quentin Tarantino's movies. Tarantino often uses music as a strong contrast to the image. This is not an invention of Tarantino, but a technique that filmmakers have used for a long time. But Tarantino's uniqueness lies in his use of musical texts from different genres and eras to give the audience a deeper understanding of the events and characters of his films. The purpose of this is to provide enjoyment beyond the surface reality of the scene by creating a difference in the scene and music. For example, the song "Stuck in the middle with you" sung by

"Stealers Wheel" released in 1973 is used to intensify the moods of the film "Reservoir Dogs (1992)" Mr. Blonde's use of this in a knife-wielding police office scene changed the audience's understanding of the gangster character of a virtuoso criminal. The lyrics as well as the rhythm have influenced the formation of new enjoyment. And the use of the song "Don't Let Me Be Misunderstood" that "Santa Esmeralda" in 1964 featured for the fight scene between O-Ran Ishi and The Bride in Tarantino's movie "Kill Bill" is waiting for a long time and the excitement and acting of the dual fight and intensify. And there is a flashback scene in "Kill Bill" movie that shows O-Ran Ishi's past. The scene where she kills her father Infront of the little O-Ran, the music used is typical of spaghetti western. The uniqueness of this is, it evokes the interrelationship in the memory of the viewers about the genres and origins of the music and re-enjoys it with the event of the film.

In classic cowboy movies, flashbacks and innocent children returning to town as adults intent on avenging injustices are common. The interplay of western music re-connects the emotions in the pre-memory of the audience with the movie "Kill Bill". His film "Inglorious Bastards (2009)" is another work where the mixing of different music pieces with the image is common. The use of David Bowie's (1947-2016) song "Cat People (Putting Out Fire)" for the opening scene in the fifth chapter of the film "Revenge of the Giant Face" intensifies the moment both literally and rhythmically.

See these eyes, so green
I can stare for a thousand years
Colder than the moon
It's been so long

And I've been putting out fire With gasoline
See these eyes, so red

Red like jungle burning bright Those who feel me near
Pull the blinds and change their minds It's been so long

(David 1982).

In the film, Shosanna goes on a long and arduous journey to take revenge on the killers who destroyed her family. After waiting for a long time and preparing to go to the destination, a black veil is applied to her face as a foreshadowing of the events that may happen in the future. Mixing the world war with 80's song speed of the montage edit prepares

the audience for triumphant ending. And for his film "Django Unchained (2012)", James Brown's (1933-2006) song "The Payback" in 1973, mixed with 2-Pac's "Unchained" song was able to highlight the idea of liberation in the minds of the audience. The lyrical content of both songs enhanced the protagonist's attitude and motivation. The content and lighting of Rick Ross's (b.1976) "100 Black Coffins" song, which Django uses to knock down an opponent with a horse, creates a great personality in the audience's mind about the character of Django.

A hundred black graves so I can lay they ass in
I need a hundred black preachers, with a black
sermon to tellFrom a hundred black Bibles, while we
send them all to hell

I need a hundred black coffins, black coffins, black coffins (oh,
Lord!) I need a hundred black coffins,
black coffins, black
coffins (oh, Lord!)

(Ross 2012).

In Sri Lankan film music, mixing various musical texts, poems, free verse with films is commonly recognizable. "Sudo Sudo (1965)" directed by Robin Tampo (1930-2000) features the poem "Sudo Sudo" written by Sagara Palansooriya (1908-1961). It was early Kalalalle Ananda Sagara Thero who wrote poems later posing as Sagara Palansuriya or Keyas. This "Sudo Sudo" narrative poem was a Sinhala imitation of Alfred Tennyson's (1809-1892) narrative poem "Enoch Arden (1864)" (Gunathilaka & Ariyaratne 2019). The following poem from "Sudo Sudo" poem is the opening poem of the film.

Goda mada dekama saru sārāya pala barayā
Katu rodha gammané tharamak pitisarayā
É gama mandin galanā ganga manaharayā
Kadamandiya pihitiyé gama Kelawaraya

(Palansūriya 1984:1).

Translation:

A village called Katuroadha is located in a rural environment where farming is fertile and the fruits are heavy. A mesmerizing river flows through the middle of the village and there is market at the end of the

village.

This first poem from the Tampo poem is used as an establishing shot at the beginning of the film. The large paddy field cultivated by the Helmalu method, the river flowing over the rocks, the vast water courses, the straw huts between the jungle covered hills and bazaar with small huts with mud walls are depicted in the film with this poetry as pictures. Just as Palansuriya uses this poem at the beginning of the poetry, Tampo uses this poem in his film. To the reader who starts reading the poem and to the audience who starts watching the movie, the environment, social characteristics, economic background and climate in which these events take place are shown. This is one of the purposes of the establishing shot. An "establishing shot" prefaces a scene in a movie with a wide shot of the scene's location. It is meant to help viewers process a shift to a new location. Establishing shots can depict the actors in the space in which they will be acting, the exterior of a building, or the larger geographic context of the scene. (Brighter & Rader 2019). For Tampo movie, "Sudu Sudu poetry class has been used to convey the taste and feeling created by the poetry class to the audience from the movie with the same frames. But the reader who has previously associated with the poetry will automatically reconnect with the movie while watching the movie. In some cases, the enjoyable experience gained by associating with texts such as poems, novels, and short stories is not available from some movies even though they are based on those texts. As an example, for this is the movie "Gamperaliya (1963)" directed by Lester James Peries (1919- 2018). "In the novel Gamperaliya, Mahagedara is called decaying great house. Its pillars are too big for a man to embrace with arms. The doors and windows are so large that they are made of Jackfruit trunks. The rafters on the roof are too big. The walls are strong" (Wikramasinghe 1970: 109). The purpose of this part of the novel was to point out that just as the palace and its surrounds decay overtime, the people who live there fade socially. But Peries in Gamperaliya creates a satire in the audience in the portrayal of that part through the film. The reason is that the viewer watches the movie keeping the memories of the novel Gamperaliya in mind. "In other words, doesn't create the film with an idea and vision that shows the decay of Mahagedara, the family members trapped in its environment and the poverty of the middle-class people of the village" (ibid).

This characteristic can also be clearly identified in Vasantha Obeyesekere's (1937-2017) "Kedapathaka Chaya (1989)" film. One of the main features of Obeyesekere's cinema is the use of dialogues about past

events or future events in the film story for the frames shown in the film. In the film, the uses of the funeral drum with images at the time of Nandawathi and Piyathilaka's wedding and the mixing of images in a funeral home increase the audience's curiosity about the film. Also, the use of the song "Ran Dunuke Mala se" sang by Milton Mallawaarachchi (1944-1998) in the frames of the wedding is also unique. It is a song that is not used in an auspicious wedding. The presentation of the previously enjoyed song along with the film's wedding scenes adds to the intrigue of the film. The story of the film also contains a pre-signal about the upcoming events.

The film "Siribo Ayya (1980)" directed by Sunil Ariyaratna (b.1949) is based on the story "Siribo Aiya" by Piyadasa Palansooriya. Another example for this is the use of "Yashodharawatha" poems according to historical stories, these verses were sung.

Kale thibena koi dewath rasa wewā
Male banbaru lesa piriwara athi wewā
Awwe thibena ras mala adu wewā
Gawwen gawwa diwa maliga sadewā

(Siripala 2016: 51).

Translation:

"May all the forest fruits turn sweet for you. May men surround you as do bees a flower. May the sun dim his scorching rays for you. May gods create shelters for you as you walk.

(Obeyesekere 2009: 52).

In this set of verses queen Yasodharā does not lament about her own grief. She controls her sorrow and calls forth blessings on her husband. She asks how one who grew up amid the sheltered comforts of a royal palace can live in a forest. What can he eat? Can he sleep in comfort? Will he suffer from the heat of the sun? These verses reveal the genuine love of a village woman for her husband and child and a concern for their needs without a thought for herself. The reader's feelings are drawn to her for this reason (Gamlath & Wickramasighe 1995: 65-67). This is the 100th poem of the "Yashodharawatha" interspersed with images of Siribo brother, who is being loved by Weladanhamine in the film *siribo ayya*, wishing him good luck and giving him the opportunity to marry a woman of his choice. This shows Weladanhamine's sense of love and sacrifice, in sacrificing his love for Siribo brother and wishing him a success in life.

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Reactivation and The Sri Lankan Social Formation

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Abstract

A powerful insight of Newton Gunasinghe's 1970s study of the Kandyan social formation in Sri Lanka is the insistence on the formation's historically contingent nature. Ostensibly traditional and unchanging, the formation's elements of caste, kingship, land tenure, and temples cannot be dissociated, argued Gunasinghe, from the long history of European imperialism and colonialism. Employing critically Louis Althusser's concepts of survival and overdetermination, Gunasinghe explored what he termed 'reactivation' to explain the peculiar way the social formation could be at once old and new. In doing so, Gunasinghe opened powerful lines of inquiry into how Sri Lanka explores its past, celebrates its traditions and marks out a space for the perpetuation of these traditions in the future. In this article, based on my 2012 Gunasinghe Memorial Lecture, I argue for the ongoing importance of this perspective by conceptualising reactivation as the recursive repetition with and within difference of not only elements of the social formation, but also in related areas of practice.

Keywords: *Sri Lanka, reactivation, repetition, social formation, Gunasinghe Lecture*

Introduction

Newton Gunasinghe's major study of the Kandyan social formation is a landmark work in Sri Lankan sociology applying Marxist social theory to historical and ethnographic analysis (Gunasinghe 1990). *Changing Socio-Economic Relations in the Kandyan Countryside* explores from an historical perspective the modes of production comprising the social formation that developed in the sometimes land locked Kandyan kingdom as the kingdom resisted European colonial conquest until the 19th century. For notwithstanding multiple attempts during well over

200 years by the Portuguese and the Dutch, island-wide suzerainty by a foreign power was not achieved until Kandy's formal annexation by the British in 1815 and progressively amid rebellions through the 1820s. The reasons for the British success in the face of their predecessors' failures are not only many and complex but also well documented (De Silva, C. R. 1953; De Silva, K. M. 2005; Dewaraja 1988). They did not simply reveal a greater appetite on the part of the British for intrigue and the military wherewithal to defeat the Kandyan's favoured mode of guerrilla warfare, but also, as Gunasinghe argues, the cumulative effect of Kandyan resistance in a changing world system. In maintaining independence, the nature of the Kandyan social formation became in part a caste feudalism overdetermined by an almost continuous threat of conquest that if anything intensified in the last decades of Dutch power in the island ahead of the British annexation of Dutch territories in 1796.² That threat, moreover, was itself transforming in relation to European capitalism, industrialization, and the growth of bureaucratic state power during what Eric Hobsbawm (1977) has dubbed the 'age of revolution'.

Put differently, one could say that the Kandyan's favoured mode of guerrilla warfare, which deployed certain aspects of local social organisation and the *corvée* labour/service relations of the institution of *rājākariya* (regal service) enabled Kandyan resistance but also changed the nature of this social system through the overdetermining threat of war which is to be seen as an aspect of the modes of production themselves. Ultimately, that system was worn-down, not simply by new military technologies, frictions within the Kandyan elite exacerbated by Dutch territorial gains in the 1760s, and the British adeptness for intrigue and the amplification of these frictions, but also by the guerrilla-like nature of a growing mercantile capitalism that kept picking away at the Kandyan social formation, eventually unravelling its potential for resistance as the modes of existence – Kandyan and capitalist – morphed together.

Less of a conquest let alone a decline and fall than a process of assimilation, what the Portuguese missionary chronicler Fernão de Queyroz had once called the 'temporal and spiritual conquest' of the island was arguably not achieved until, as it were, the spirit of capitalism

² For a discussion of caste feudalism see Roberts (1994, 2004). See also Bandarage (1983) who draws upon Gunasinghe's analysis.

was established in the 1800s.³ Those Portuguese efforts of the 16th and 17th centuries described by De Queyroz were of course not without impact, for like the more extensive activities of the Dutch, they drew the island into the thrall of European mercantile capitalism, private landownership, and the bureaucratic administration of movement, of both people and commodities (Dewasiri 2008). These are the features that Gunasinghe argues characterise the Kandyan social formation.

Gunasinghe thus insists on the contemporariness of this social formation with colonialism, and thereby develops an implicit critique of the conservative sociology of Sri Lankan society as simply divisible between the traditional and the modern, between caste and caste feudalism on one side and colonial capitalism, class, and associated status groups, including the categories of ethnicity, on the other. This amounted to a critique of a sense of singular crisis or turning point, of radical disjuncture and threshold of modernity as a motif of certain 20th century Sri Lankan social science as well as, and more importantly, nationalist thought. The idea of a pristine traditional society hit over the head by the truncheon of modernity wielded by Europeans and dragged kicking and screaming into the present; a present now filled by ethnic antagonisms made possible by colonial cadastral surveys and the doctrine of rule by division over which the hapless natives had (and have) no control.⁴ Instead of that single hit, Gunasinghe identifies the multiple blows and with those blows the punch-drunk stupidity of any *bumiputra* nationalists who imagine themselves as cultural and religious revivalists commanding and demanding a return to heritage and righteousness. Such people, as both politicians, activists, and scholars, display that great characteristic of nationalist thought, what Benedict Anderson (1991: 5) calls the paradox of the power of nationalism set against the intellectual poverty of its key protagonists. Gunasinghe towers over these people and

³ The title is drawn from De Queyroz's three-volume account translated from Portuguese by Father S. G. Perera and first published in Colombo in 1930 (De Queyroz 1992). My play on its title and the famous work of Weber is intended to highlight the dynamics of the term 'spirit' in relation to the broader argument of the paper.

⁴ Steven Kemper's *The Presence of the Past* makes this mistake in what is otherwise an interesting account of the role of the Sinhala Buddhist chronicles in the old and new politics of Sri Lanka. Kemper's critique of Bruce Kapferer's (2012) study of Sinhala Buddhist nationalism, for example, identifies a simplistic trajectory from traditional to modern that the concept of reactivation easily avoids. Another well known example is the modernisation thesis of Richard Gombrich and Gananath Obeyesekere's *Buddhism Transformed* (1988).

for this reason his work deserves our continuing attention. For not only is he more insightful, but also an antidote to the nationalistic tendencies to which even the best scholars are prone from time to time.

Gunasinghe's critique of antiquarian social science and nationalist ideology was, moreover, characteristic of the work of his fellow members of the Sri Lankan Social Scientists' Association—an association founded by a generation of post-independence scholars who did so much to create the best features of Sri Lanka's university system and to bring together Sri Lankan and foreign social scientists in lively debate and analysis in a time that refused to surrender the national project to cynical self-interest. As Serena Tennekoon (1987, 1990) describes, this also made them targets of verbal attack by the *bumiputras* both printed and more threatening. For Sri Lanka's circumstances of a 30-year civil war involved a state taking war as its object, losing its memory through substitution by imagined histories, and making social criticism increasingly unwelcome. Here by 'state' I mean not only the conventional figures of politicians and state functionaries acting within and outside the law, but also those reactionary figures and groups situated on the edges of the state who, at times of crisis, become shadow state functionaries, advisors, and the like. Often stifling debate by threats and intimidation, these shadow-state figures gained considerable notoriety at different stages of the civil war (Bastin 2009, 2014).⁵ Gunasinghe became a target of their resentment and, sadly, this contributed to his early death. And while he is not normally counted among the fallen – the assassinated academics, journalists, and heretics – many of his students and colleagues know that he was indeed another casualty.

Gunasinghe's work remains important not just for this reason but also because it is insightful and can continue to mitigate the nationalist ideologies that permeate in often more subdued but, for that, more pernicious scholarship emerging from the universities and the think tanks of the neoliberal corporate state. It can, for example, inform an understanding of the extended historical trends of Sri Lankan state formations and imperialist conquests. Such continuities are marked always by small crises that cannot be ignored but must always be treated as distractions from the larger trend. For indeed, it is only with a sense of

⁵ While Gunasinghe's early and untimely death in 1988 was from natural causes, along with others he had been targeted with death threats by extremist groups in the midst of the 1987-1991 insurgency associated with the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (People's Liberation Front).

this trend, what Fernand Braudel calls the *longue durée* of capital and market commodification (Braudel 1985), that these crises can be addressed in the best way possible. This is not to deny the relevance of critical events, for indeed history is composed of such events. But certain patterns or orders of history occur and remain germinal within such events and the broader conjunctures of events.

In the *longue durée* approach, one can begin, for example, to rethink the political economy of Sri Lanka's natural resources (starting with its geographical location) as well as the largely trade-free biases of Sinhala Buddhist historiography to be found in the Buddhist chronicles and thereafter in the scholarly periodization of history that lends itself to a postcolonial development regime. Here I note especially the work of another SSA stalwart, the historian Leslie Gunawardana (1984, 1995, 2008) who was also one of the most original thinkers on the history of the *longue durée* in Sri Lanka. His work informs, for example, Karthigesu Indrapala's excellent study of the formation of Sri Lankan Tamil identity in its insistence on a south Indian and Sri Lankan regional perspective; a recognition that bodies of water like the Palk Strait may be barriers to armies but facilitators of commerce in both people and ideas (Indrapala 2005). Unsurprisingly, Indrapala's book is condemned by the *bumiputras* who like to imagine that, like the demon-king Ravana, they have always been here. But instead of imagining themselves as members of Ravana's retinue, they should be challenged to stop imagining their mythologies as their histories by being prompted to rethink those mythologies, but to do so from a comparative regional perspective.

The task is difficult, not least because there are south Indian *bumiputras* as active and as intellectually challenged as their Sri Lankan counterparts. But it is work that must be done and to do it we must all start with a critical reflection on our own ideological inclinations and on the kind of historical detail that nationalist historiography identifies and deploys. For only then will we recognise our own sympathies and tendencies to *bumiputra* thinking. This is avoidable if one remains attentive in the manner of Gunasinghe to the constituent elements of the social formation and how these elements are themselves modified and reformed in their interaction within the formation itself.

The twin concepts of royal science and nomadology are useful here (Deleuze and Guattari 1987) with the former characteristic of the State modality of power while the latter corresponds more closely to the war machine. Tied to the State, royal science strives for fixed points in

the manner of geometry and associated boundaries within which the space – social, economic, political, etc. – is conceptualised as consistent. The intellectuals who serve the interests of such States, such as Buddhist monks, thus produce a form of knowledge organic to the State and its sense of itself. But such a perspective as one that imagines bodies of water as the equivalent of a castle moat – a perspective appropriate to a war elephant reluctant to get its feet wet – does not capture the phenomena in all their complexity. In particular, it does not capture a sense of the modalities of power that use the water for speed of movement and continually rupture the planes of consistency – the *vamsa* or threads – imagined by the State and its organic intellectuals.

I am stressing, then, both the importance of the *longue durée* approach and the insistence on the currency of the social and cultural institutions and practices we observe in any one moment. This may appear to be contradictory: arguing for the identification of enduring patterns of current uniqueness. Indeed, it sounds very like the old refrain of French modernism '*plus ça change plus c'est la même chose*' (the more things change the more they remain the same thing). But this is a critical point in the analysis of the social formation. It requires some further discussion in relation to Gunasinghe's work specifically his critical engagement with the work of two Marxist theorists Antonio Gramsci and Louis Althusser.

Dedicated followers of intellectual fashion may recoil at the very mention of Gramsci and especially Althusser, not least because it dates Gunasinghe's work in the 1970s. Hopefully, in what follows I will be able to convince those fashionistas otherwise and show not only the continuing relevance of Gramsci and Althusser in Gunasinghe's treatment but also their relation to more contemporary theorists who will themselves be cast one day (if not already) into the shadows.

Hegemony, Blocs and the 'Southern Question'

Writing in the 1920s, Gramsci argues that class factors are compounded by culture and geography to form the division of Italian society and politics into an industrial northern and an agrarian southern bloc. He thus draws Marxist theory away from a more formalistic analysis of class to examine through the concept of the bloc a social assemblage marked by cross-cutting ties that obviate or suppress internal class differences and thereby establish systems of rule or hegemony that derive their power from the kinds of tension that have been established

both within and between blocs.⁶ In Italy, the northern industrial bloc maintained hegemonic control over the South precisely as the latter defined itself in opposition to the former in terms of the rural-urban divide in late 19th and early 20th century Italian politics. The very nature of the antagonism in the South towards the North was thus an expression of the North's hegemony and not necessarily a foundation for revolutionary mobilisation unless it could be thoroughly deconstructed and have its internal contradictions of hegemonic power fully understood. What Michel Foucault (2008) would later identify more broadly as a feature of power – resistance – was thus identified by Gramsci as central to the nature of hegemony and not its immediate adversary. Hegemony, that sense of rule that appears as if it were the natural order of things, must be understood, therefore, as more deeply entrenched than its surface appearances of struggle and resistance. For such resistance could amount to little more than an expression of what the 19th century philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche (2014) has called '*ressentiment*' – the celebration of victimhood at the hands of another who is wrongly perceived to be the only source of one's suffering.

Along these lines, for example, political parties and trade unions could easily fall into the role of serving the interests of dominant class groups through their acts of resistance to these dominant groups and especially when these acts of resistance are fuelled by *ressentiment* or what Nietzsche described as a slave morality. Writing from prison during the heyday of Italian fascism, these issues of complicity in resistance were especially important to Gramsci. They revealed how working-class movements could be enlisted to serve the interests of the ruling elites precisely as these movements appeared to be opposing those elites or worse as their *ressentiment* was channelled into other ideologies like racism and fascism.

Immediately one can see why Gramsci's work would appeal to someone trying to understand the Sinhalese social formation in 19th and 20th century Kandy. For what Gramsci advocated is a form of grounded theory that at the same time remains true to the basic Marxist principles of dialectical materialism and the quest for the creation of a more equitable society. In particular, describing the Italian social and political formation in terms of blocs and doing so especially in terms of hegemony

⁶ An important development of this concept of the bloc can be found in what the Deleuzian theorist Manuel DeLanda (2006, 2016) calls 'assemblage theory'. In the concept of the assemblage (see also Deleuze and Guattari 1987).

(and resistance), Gramsci's 'Southern Question' powerfully informs Gunasinghe's analysis of the Sri Lankan civil war (its 'Northern Question' so to speak) and his abiding interest to analyse the agrarian bloc in Sinhalese politics. The starting premise in such an approach is the complete disavowal of ethnicity as anything but an emergent ideology informed not only by class interests but also by ideological obfuscation drawing upon cultural geography. Out of this emerges the agrarian bloc where class becomes fractionalised and peasant social movements are restricted by cross-cutting ties based heavily on kinship and caste, but also patronage across caste lines and extending through family histories and elite formation. How these patterns of elite and class fraction are reproduced remains the critical fulcrum of both the conflict and its lack of resolution. The greatest mistake in the analysis of Sri Lanka's civil war, therefore, is to depict it as an ethnic conflict. For in the very act of doing so, one not only plays into the hands of the unthinking opportunists on both sides of the violence but also assists in its perpetuation. Here too a possibly even greater mistake than the depiction of the civil war as an ethnic conflict is the assumption that the war has ended. Far better, then, to consider not how war is the continuation of politics by other means but instead how the state is the continuation of war by other means (Tiqqun 2010: 79).

In more recent analyses of Italian politics, the rise of the new right-wing movements like the Lega Nord (Northern League), the associated new regional movements, and the intensifying opposition to migrants and especially refugees characterise a world in which Gramsci's concepts of hegemony and bloc remain current notwithstanding the shocking circumstances of war both hot and cold that brought it about in the years following Gramsci's death in 1937. Put differently, notwithstanding the fact that so many of the moments of the 'age of extremes' (Hobsbawm 1994) occurred after Gramsci's death at the hands of the Italian state, his insights remain powerful. The class fractions, social formations, and cross-cutting ties remains strong if perhaps focused on new types of political mobilisation involving region and locale (Gómez-Reino Cachafeiro 2016). To this we can also add the recent suggestion by Kajsa and Jonathan Friedman (2011, 2022) to abandon left/right characterisations of political parties and their ideologues and note instead the concentric circles of relative access to wealth in an increasingly (vertically and horizontally) polarised world of rich and poor.

Gramsci's concepts of the bloc and hegemony were thus very important to Gunasinghe's analysis and a major reason why we should continue to remember his work well after his death during the second JVP insurgency when these very tensions and their associated ideological blindness were so potent in their exposure of the war as a civil war. For in the current moment many of us who enjoy the sense of peace prevailing since the extermination of the Tamil Tigers in 2009 must remain sensitive to the fact that a Sri Lankan 'Southern Question' remains, not simply as the political aspirations of ethnic minorities but as the tension in the social blocs and their cross-cutting ties. For while one war may appear to be over, another war persists and continues to fracture Sri Lankan society. Reading Gunasinghe, in short, is not to reminisce about recent history but rather to inspire us to rethink what we mean by peace in our times.

Consider, for example, the growth of Buddhist clerical militancy, the emergence in the early 2000s of the formal political party known as the Jathika Hela Urumaya and its offshoots like the Bodu Bala Sena and the Ravana Balaya. It is easy to characterise these movements as reactionary, extremist and right-wing (Deegalle 2006), but a more careful analysis would focus on the nature of the contemporary Sri Lankan social formation and the location of the protagonists of these movements in that formation (Gunasinghe 1996b).

There is precedent for this in the excellent work of Kitsiri Malalgoda (1976) on the Buddhist revitalisation movements of the 19th century, but what is also needed is a less parochial and more comparative approach that revisits, not only Gunasinghe's discussion of Gramsci's analysis of the Italian 'Southern Question' but the rise of populism more broadly and how in many populist movements the protagonists are voicing their sense of alienation from the promises of life which they thought they were about to inherit. There are, in short, some striking commonalities between the Trumpians in the US who stormed the Capitol in 2021, the 'Gotagogama' protesters who stormed the Presidential Residence in Colombo in 2022, and the BBS monks who demanded the body of their colleague who set fire to himself in front of the Temple of the Tooth in 2013 immediately after recording a statement decrying the slaughter of cattle and the threat of Muslim terrorism. Knee-jerk reaction would refuse such comparison and prefer instead to deplore these people as deviants instead of being people with a grasp of their social situation that, notwithstanding its inadequacies and its

ressentiment must be taken seriously for any kind of defusing reconciliation to occur.

Survival and Reactivation

The other Marxist theorist informing Gunasinghe's work is Louis Althusser who shared with Gramsci a critical perspective on the Russian Revolution and its implications for a Marxian theory of history. Althusser (1977) seeks to develop Lenin's account of the revolutionary climate established in Tsarist Russia in 1917 when an imperialist formation replete with facets or elements of a feudal mode of production, most notably the bondage of labour to land and an associated incapacity to value that labour as a thing in itself – wage labour – struggled in the conditions of modern industrialised warfare. Through the survival, argues Althusser, of these fragments of the feudal mode of production in the conditions of industrial capitalism, a heightened state of contradiction remained, albeit not of the order Marx imagined. Such contradiction, Althusser continues, led to the conditions for revolution. His argument, first published in 1962, had strong parallels to other political ideologies and social movements active in East and Southeast Asia at the time. One could say, however, that where Althusser displays greater optimism about the revolutionary moment, Gramsci enables one to be more circumspect and mindful of how many forms of direct action serve rather than subvert the dominant interests of the dominant class.

Gunasinghe asks similar sorts of question to Althusser of the Kandyan social formation and the modes of production that developed through the 19th century. Instead of survivals, however, Gunasinghe finds *reactivations*. Share-cropping and small-owner cultivation, for example, are reactivated; crafts are typically eliminated or only partially reactivated. *Rājākariya* (service or corvée labour) initially banned by the British and then re-established, served to reactivate caste feudal structures of patron-client relations that had the appearance of tradition while forming the basis of an elite transformed into what Gunasinghe termed (taking another term from Gramsci) a 'subaltern elite' of the new colonial state. Concomitantly, the British achieved their position through crushing the old Kandyan state: 'dissolving its integral linkages among various instances and tearing it apart for capitalist penetration and dominance *by absorbing some of its exploitative relations*' (Gunasinghe

1990: 210, emphasis added).⁷ What had once served in resistance to colonial powers thus became an agent of complicity in the colonial state and its plantation economy.

The incidence and nature of localised rebellions over the 19th century wonderfully well documented by another great of the SSA, Kumari Jayawardena (2010),⁸ reveal that the shift from resistance to complicity was neither immediate nor without violence. It also reveals how other factors such as improved military communications were also important to the colonial conquest of the entire island. Nevertheless, argues Gunasinghe, the transformative potential of reactivation is not to be overlooked, especially when one considers the enduring power of the Sri Lankan elite and the authenticity of its members' often overstated claims to being the champions of the downtrodden.

Here I can pause to consider the now infamous crimson scarf (*sataka*) that was modelled on the colour of the deep south Sri Lankan staple *kurakkan* (finger millet) by the founder of the Rajapaksa political dynasty Don Mathew Rajapaksa, a politician and MP from 1936 until his sudden death in 1945. Known by some as the Lion of the Ruhuna, D.M. Rajapaksa was a friend to Dr S.A. Wickramasinghe, the founder of the Ceylon Communist Party who was also related by marriage to the extended political family associated with the Senanayakes, Wijewardenes, and Jayawardenes (Jiggins 1979: 103). When D. M. Rajapaksa died, he was succeeded by his younger brother Don Alvin and subsequently by his own sons Lakshman and George whose cousins Chamal, Mahinda, Gotabhaya, and Basil have also been MPs, ministers and in two cases heads of state. At the time of Gotabhaya's flight from office in mid-2022, it was estimated that some 40 members of the family were associated with government. That *sataka*, which had once symbolised the poor rural peasantry of the agrarian bloc, had come to symbolise a political dynasty and more accurately a kleptocracy that, until its *walauwa* (manor house) was burnt down by an angry mob in May 2022, still proclaimed its representational status as the champions of the downtrodden.

⁷ Note that *corvée* labour is an imprecise gloss for *rājākariya* which embraces public works but also caste-specific obligations. Patrick Peebles (1995) argues that *rājākariya* is the critical and definitive feature of the Sinhalese caste system and also the fulcrum of colonial transformation. See also Jayawardena (2000, 2010) for discussions of the subaltern elite.

⁸ The title of her book *Perpetual Ferment* is taken from Gramsci's 'Notes on the Southern Question.'

The enormity of colonial capitalist impact on the development of the modern Sri Lankan social formation has thus entailed recursive folding of the social formation back upon itself creating not survivals but reactivations. *Rājākariya* and the subaltern elite are the chief among these. The analysis of the social formation, a world of multiple modes of production coexisting and often, but not always, creating friction or contradiction, is not to be a study in antiquarian provenance grounded in a notion of tradition (or even 'invented tradition' when of course all traditions are invented and all heritages are imagined) but rather a rigorous analysis of current moments informed by a sense of the long term trend involving the market commodification of everything whereby every act of containment – the regulation of the market as the fundamental apparatus of the state – both amplifies the process and condemns each apparatus be it the city-state, the nation-state, and now the corporate state, to an eventual failure.

Following Deleuze (1994) and his critique of Hegelian dialectics, I describe such reactivations as repetitions with and within difference. In this argument the repetition is always different; its difference being not simply an immanent identity or simply temporal variation wherein one thing eventually becomes its precursor, but a substantive difference that the precursor could never predict and only the repetition as a simulacrum can reveal in its moment of actualisation. The repetition thus reveals an essence of the original (which is itself a repetition) but not *the* essence of the original, because no phenomenon ever consists entirely of its essence, but always carries its potential to move in different directions – to 'differentiate' (Deleuze 1994: 207). Such a potentiality, moreover, is never contained in the thing itself but belongs instead to a world of multiple strata in which its boundaries are porous. The world is thus virtual, albeit not in the sense of a virtual reality (as the almost but not quite real) but rather the play of possibility including, and especially relevant here, the folds of recursivity or repetition within difference.

Just as the map is not the territory and the thing is not the thing named, so too do the territory and the thing become different when they are mapped and named (e.g., by 'royal science'). We can apply that same point to caste and to caste feudalism and recognise too how our analyses create their own feedback onto the very things we study, collate, and compare.

Applied to Gunasinghe's analysis, the critical point about reactivations like *rājākariya* is that they were not the same as the

contradictory survivals Althusser imagined for Russia and elsewhere. In Deleuzian terms this kind of survival would correspond to a generality and be of less importance to any repetition within which the transformative difference is concealed. When we say less important, however, we are referring to this transformative potential that the survival or repetition of sameness simply masks via its generality.

The reason why this matters is because it is very easy to confuse a repetition with a survival and a generality with an essence. *Bumiputra* nationalists such as advocates of cultural heritage, and the *bandaras* or custodians of tradition including archaeologists, museologists, and historians, are some of the most adept at this. They hide their ideology behind their methods, and they appeal to the mob as they control the ways the mob has been educated to believe that the generalities are survivals – ‘traditions’ – rather than repetitions.

Karl Marx famously begins his essay on the 1851 coup by Louis Bonaparte with the quip that while Hegel argued that everything in history occurs twice, the first time it is tragic and the second time it is a farce. Commenting on this in 2007 in relation to the nature of contemporary power, Jean Baudrillard (2010) argues that it is when the farces begin to repeat that we once again see history. The farces must, in other words, be taken seriously, and here we can see the importance of addressing the ideas of survival and reactivation as Gunasinghe describes them and of extending Gunasinghe’s ideas into more recent events.

Repetitive Kingship

I will illustrate this point and conclude this paper with a brief example I have discussed elsewhere (Bastin 2012). The Sri Lankan president, Ranasinghe Premadasa, who rose to power amid the civil war that was slowly killing Newton Gunasinghe and some tens-of-thousands of others, was well known as having low caste and urban working-class roots. These personal circumstances mirrored those of his first political mentor, A. E. Goonesinha, the founder of the Ceylon Labour Party (Jayawardena 2004; Roberts 1994). And just as the Labour Party disappeared through its failure to transcend ethnic division and extend its representation beyond the urban working class and into the plantation sector and more importantly the broader agrarian bloc, so did Goonesinha’s protégé end up making a career as a client politician under the patronage of those members of the subaltern elite who formed the United National Party. Modelled closely, too closely, on the British Labour

Party, Goonesinha's Labour Party lacked relevance as it failed to command the multiple modes of production constituting the social formation. It was not alone in this, for none of the left-wing parties was ever able to cut across the dominant cleavage of the Sri Lankan social formation – ethnicity – and create a proper form of adversarial democracy giving expression to class struggle. Party politics replete with high voter turnout were thus the greatest obfuscation of democracy in Sri Lanka. Lauded as a model third world democracy by self-interested political scientists and politicians, Sri Lanka then turned into a train wreck leaving these same people scratching their heads trying to find the cause of the disaster when all along it has been staring them in the face.

Consequently, Goonesinha and his protégé Premadasa were drawn into the patron-client relations characterizing the UNP at that time. But Premadasa was a nationalist and a politician not restricted by personal gain. When the modicum of peace in post-independence Sri Lanka, a peace marked by burgeoning ethnic antagonisms tied to the island's 'Northern Question' but also to the profound tensions within the subaltern elite, gave way to civil war from the early 1970s, Premadasa became a key figure in reconstructing the UNP on less elitist lines. In this way he acceded to the prime ministership when the subaltern elite UNP leader J.R. Jayawardene created the executive presidency in 1978 via the country's third constitution since independence and fourth constitution within less than fifty years. A decade later, with the civil war in full swing and the Indian Army occupying the Tamil north and east, Premadasa eclipsed his elite rivals in the UNP and secured the nomination for the presidency that he subsequently won with a very slim majority in one of the lowest voter turnouts in the electoral history of the country. Empowered, nevertheless, Premadasa then set about the task for which his political career and marginal social position had prepared him – the eradication of those political groups for whom the Sri Lankan state was, for one reason or another, illegitimate. This did not make Premadasa a *bumiputra* nationalist in the manner of some of his contemporaries whose own histories of caste feudalism and the social groups they represented were part of a different order; indeed, a reactivated order in which ethnicity acquired an overdetermining power of cross-cutting patron-client ties.⁹ It made him, instead, a nationalist of a different kind

⁹ Janice Jiggins' detailed account of a 1943 by-election in Balangoda involving the Ratwattes and Bandaranaiques on one side, the Jayawardenes and Senanayakes on the other side, as well as the Mathew and, to a small extent, the Rajapaksa

who was able to articulate with the patterns of structural violence informing the *bumiputras* and their ideologies but remain separate from them. Premadasa could thus flush out the shadow state the war had formed and unleash the state of exception – the paramilitary groups – to rebuild the state. That period in Sri Lanka between 1989 and 1991 corresponds in its way with the Great Terror in France roughly 200 years earlier.

Having let loose the paramilitaries, many of them trained in counterinsurgency by British and Israeli operatives, Premadasa then began to act like a king. He commissioned a replica of the throne that had been a gift from the Dutch governor to the King of Kandy in 1692, a throne repatriated in the 1930s from Windsor Castle where it had been taken after the great Kandyan rebellion of 1818. Along with replicas of the Colombo Town Hall, the throne accompanied Premadasa on official visits to inaugurate new model villages in his Village Reawakening development program. The critical point was that everything was a simulacrum, even the ‘awakened’ villages themselves. For Premadasa’s opponents, especially the subaltern elite for whom his usefulness had expired to the point where they began to accuse him of human rights violations and even sorcery with nefarious Indian sorcerers, he had gone too far. His simulations of kingship required a rebellion, and so, that state of civil war that has been the state of Sri Lanka ever since independence was allowed to continue. The kingship may not have been allowed in the manner Premadasa imagined but as a larger ideological formation it was reactivated in its very usurpation. Best of all, by bringing together his copy of the throne and a representation of the seat of Colombo urban politics – the Town Hall – which had been the seat of Goonesinha’s and later Premadasa’s power, Premadasa was ‘reawakening’ (read reactivating) the agrarian society in a new and highly urbanised form. The repetition of farce was indeed making history.

families, among others, is a highly illustrative account of caste and family politics in mid-20th century Sri Lanka (Jiggins 1979: 96–111). Published well before the anti-Tamil riots of 1983 in which a prominent member of the Mathew family played a major role, Jiggins’ account explains both the history of association in Balangoda between the high caste Ratwattes and the subordinate Vahumpara Mathews and the history of enmity born of this association. *Caste and Family in the Politics of the Sinhalese 1947-1976* is thus a compelling read in conjunction with Gunasinghe’s account of the Kandyan social formation and the concept of the subaltern elite.

In his description of Premadasa's activities, the anthropologist H.L. Seneviratne (1999: 224 n59) can barely disguise his scorn. This is understandable when one considers the brutality of the regime and sheer absurdity of Premadasa's travelling circus. However, we should not allow any sense of outrage to prevent a deeper analysis of the social formation that can generate such violence as well as our reactions to it. For what Premadasa exposed with his stage props was what an earlier commentator on Sri Lanka's first prime minister D.S. Senanayake had called a 'comico-repulsive replica of the English ruling class' (Halliday 1971: 63). But instead of Senanayake's suits and morning horse rides on Galle Face Green, Premadasa pretended to be a king and a Buddhist one at that. Summoning the structural violence of the status bloodbath of caste, these replicas of the English ruling class replete with their badges of membership of the Oxford Union, expressed their disdain with all the fury of kitchen pots calling the kettle black. In other words, they reproduced in their sniggers the same vitriol they had themselves endured when acquiring their symbolic capital from the centre of Empire. As Anderson (1991) shows in his study of the origins of nationalism, it was in this cultural violence of mockery in the imperial centres of Europe that the native subaltern elite discovered their roots and desire for independence. They then failed to recognise their own capacity to create new monsters along the same lines.

For indeed, who were these imperial snobs at the centre of Empire dismissing the 'coconuts' and children of convicts if not the descendants of bullies and brutes whom Gandhi had described as needing to be civilised?

Sri Lankans who know I am an Australian of British ancestry may object to my identifying simulacra like Premadasa and Senanayake before him, or even of being dismissive of the Rajapaksa *sataka*. I simply respond that in the theatre of power, especially state power, every emperor is to be recognised for wearing new clothes and then called out by naïve bystanders for the nakedness and absurdity of power. In other words, the task is not to be offended but to be appalled in the manner of the subjects of Jean Rouch's 1955 film *Les Maîtres Fous* which depicts members of a West African spirit possession cult known as *hauka* entering trance and mimicking British colonial rulers in ways that expose the absurdity of these rulers' trappings of power. In Gunasinghe's terms, the *hauka* thus reactivates British rule through imitation that then enables the members of the cult to reflect on the nature of power and powerlessness in the

hegemony of the everyday world. The film is decried these days as being offensive both by the British and by Africans, albeit for ostensibly different reasons that a more careful analysis of contemporary identity politics and the power relations they disguise would expose. The task, therefore, is neither one of mockery nor offence but rather the careful analysis with a view to achieving a more equitable society. It is not a simple task especially in the current climate of essentialism and the censorious identity politics of 'PC Worlds' (Friedman 2019). But that only makes it all the more pressing.

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