



Fresh Perspectives

*Exploring alternative
dimensions of poverty in Sri Lanka*

Edited by

Azra Abdul Cader & Fiona Remnant

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Foreword

Fresh Perspectives: Exploring alternative dimensions of poverty in Sri Lanka is a volume of papers that presents the experiences and knowledge on poverty gained through CEPA's applied research over the last five years. This is a flagship publication for the organisation as it synthesises CEPA's approach to defining and measuring poverty.

Despite a growing body of research and theories on alternative definitions and indicators of poverty, many countries, including Sri Lanka, continue to base their definition of poverty on income and consumption measures. The drawbacks and flaws in this approach are well known, but the difficulties of developing and applying alternative indicators have prevented widespread acceptance of new benchmarks. Over the past five years CEPA's own research and involvement with academics conducting cutting edge research on poverty in Sri Lanka has greatly contributed to framing the international debates on multidimensional poverty within a Sri Lankan context.

The book is addressed to a wide-ranging readership that has an interest in the multifaceted, acute and intractable issues of poverty - not purely professionals working in development. It is hoped that the alternative dimensions of poverty and approaches to poverty alleviation presented and discussed in this volume will contribute to the debates and discussions on understanding poverty in Sri Lanka. By encouraging a more comprehensive awareness and understanding of the issues it is hoped that this landmark publication will contribute to a better understanding of poverty in Sri Lanka and towards the improved formulation of policies to alleviate the multi-faceted dimensions of poverty.

Dr. Nimal Sanderatne
Chairperson, CEPA

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ADB	Asian Development Bank
CBN	Cost of Basic Needs
CFS	Consumer Finance and Socio-economic Survey
CKE	Colombo-Katunayake Expressway
CMC	Colombo Municipal Council
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DCS	Department of Census and Statistics
EPF	Employees' Provident Fund
ETF	Employees' Trust Fund
FGD	Focus Group Discussions
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HDI	Human Development Index
HIES	Household Income and Expenditure Survey
HPI	Human Poverty Index
ICT	Information Communication Technologies
II	Individual Interviews
JIMOD	Joint Initiative for Monitoring Development Trends
KI	Key Informant Interviews
LFSS	Labour Force and Socio-economic Survey
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NPA	National Plan of Action
NVQ	National Vocational Qualification
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PAY	Poverty and Youth Programme
PRIMUSS	Participatory Improvement of Underserved Settlements
SLIS	Sri Lanka Integrated Survey
STDP	Southern Transport Development Project
SWEIDO	Social Welfare Economical and Industrial Development Organisation
TAFREN	Task Force for Rebuilding the Nation
TI	Transparency International
TVEC	Tertiary and Vocational Education Commission
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme



FRESH PERSPECTIVES:

Introduction



Fresh Perspectives: Introduction

The Centre for Poverty Analysis celebrated its fifth anniversary in May 2006. This was an opportunity to reflect on the wide range of projects and studies that CEPA has been involved in over the years that have added to the organisation's growing knowledge and experience. CEPA is committed to disseminating knowledge on poverty issues as widely as possible, and this publication aims to share some of CEPA's analysis and findings with a view to contributing to contemporary debates on poverty in Sri Lanka.

The first half of the book focuses on the issue of defining and measuring poverty, and looks at both conventional and alternative poverty measurement methodologies to illustrate CEPA's approach. The advantages and disadvantages of using some of these different measures are demonstrated in a reflection on poverty in the Central Province which highlights the importance of using a comprehensive, balanced approach. The second half of the book uses CEPA's research and experience to explore alternative perspectives on interventions to alleviate poverty in four areas subject to much debate in Sri Lanka; conflict, youth, the estate sector and post-tsunami aid.

1 Perspectives on poverty: Definitions and measures

CEPA's expertise lies in combining qualitative and quantitative analysis to provide an alternative view on poverty and socio-economic issues in Sri Lanka. This multidimensional approach to poverty analysis is increasingly accepted as a more accurate means of assessing and tackling poverty in its various manifestations, yet many poverty reduction initiatives and institutional benchmarking exercises continue to rely on conventional income and consumption based indicators. This indicates that the shift from acceptance of the limitations of monetary based measures, to widespread implementation of multidimensional indicators is yet to occur.

The first chapter of the book, '*The Conventional Approaches: An overview of poverty in Sri Lanka*' highlights the dominance of quantitative and monetary measures through an assessment of poverty in Sri Lanka based on the most commonly used indicators. This section contributed by Alailima differs from the other chapters since it sets the context for the rest of the book and is not a presentation of CEPA's work. It provides an important baseline against which alternative dimensions of poverty in different areas can be compared and added, and is a useful overview for any reader working in or interested in poverty in Sri Lanka.

Broader, multidimensional definitions of poverty are becoming more widely accepted in Sri Lanka, although there are not yet many official measures. As the papers in this collection will highlight, this has serious implications for policies and interventions aimed at reducing poverty. Limited, primarily monetary based indicators of poverty often miss out large sections of the population who may be suffering alternative dimensions of poverty, such as poor health, exclusion and/or discrimination from services and society, insecurity or relative poverty (e.g. households whose income is above the poverty line, but much lower than other households around them).

A multidimensional approach takes into account people's own perceptions of poverty and recognises that poverty can be experienced in a number of different ways and caused by a number of different factors other than income; poor employment opportunities, infrastructure and housing; lack of access to cultivatable land, potable water and nutritious food; deprivation of basic freedoms, capabilities and mobility etc. Different pockets of poverty are highlighted through different measures, and some may fall off the radar if only one or two measures are used. These 'selective views' of poverty can also be used by implementing agencies and by governments to justify intervention or non-intervention in certain areas, so any assessment which relies on limited measures should be treated with caution.

This is highlighted in Remnant's chapter '*Poverty in the Central Province*' which provides a detailed overview of a geographical area which CEPA has studied in some depth. The diverse levels and experiences of poverty across the districts, sectors and ethnic groups highlight the fact that conventional, macro indicators alone are insufficient for understanding the nature of poverty in the provinces. A closer look at the Human Development Index in the Central Province, for example, reveals that the GDP element of the index severely distorts the overall picture. Higher GDP levels in some districts mask the reality of poor health and education levels which severely affect living standards. Additional qualitative and quantitative data from a CEPA study is used to provide a more detailed picture of the complex dimensions and dynamics of poverty found across the province.

2 Alternative perspectives: CEPA's approach

CEPA's work focuses on five main dimensions of poverty; economic (consumption and assets), human development (education and health), socio-cultural dimensions (dignity and networks), political dimensions (power and voice), and protective aspects (conflict, natural disasters, risk of eviction) (Gunetilleke and Reichert 2005). This multidimensional approach and the combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis are the hallmarks of CEPA's work. Some examples

of the way CEPA actually operationalises this approach are presented in Abdul Cader's chapter, *'Pushing Boundaries: Understanding poverty in Sri Lanka using multiple methodologies'*.

Abdul Cader introduces the different methodologies used by CEPA, and brings them to life in an analysis of four CEPA studies. Each of these studies add to existing knowledge and contribute a valuable alternative perspective on the living conditions and wellbeing of people affected by caste, privatisation, urban poverty and development induced displacement. All the studies point to the fact that a lack of income is a key factor in poverty, but highlight other key factors that affected and exacerbated these communities' experience of poverty. These issues can often be ignored in the pursuit of growth and illusive 'trickle down' prosperity. For example, despite relatively higher income and consumption levels, a large number of people in urban areas live in poor quality, crowded housing and have little access to basic services such as electricity and water. CEPA's work on underserved settlements, one of the case studies in this chapter, drew attention to large numbers of people who experience non-income forms of poverty such as unstable livelihoods, lack of access to private sanitation, poor access roads, lighting and drainage, and high levels of drug and alcohol addiction.

The research on caste also highlighted the stigmatisation and discrimination which still exists against some low caste groups in Sri Lanka. This can trap people in a cycle of chronic poverty and social exclusion from which it is difficult to escape. Not only are their employment, and consequently earning opportunities limited, but many are denied access to schools, places of worship and community life. Their capabilities are limited by more than income alone.

Fernando's chapter on poverty in the estate sector, *'Dismantling an Institution: Addressing poverty in the plantation sector'*, echoes this sentiment. CEPA's background work on the estate sector for the World Bank's Sri Lanka Poverty Assessment 2007, and the global study *Moving Out of Poverty* highlighted the endemic flaws in the estate structure which trap many workers in a cycle of vulnerability. Income earning opportunities are *not* the main issue in the estate sector where workers have the chance to earn incomes above the poverty line in most plantations. This is confirmed by the statistics on income and consumption figures in the Nuwara Eliya district which are referred to in Remnant's chapter on the Central Province. A high proportion of the population in this district live in the estate sector, yet according to consumption based poverty indicators, Nuwara Eliya fares much better than the other two districts in the province, Kandy and Matale.

CEPA's research found that the closed nature of the estate structure influences workers' perceptions and the economic decisions that households make. Estate

workers tended to have a negative attitude towards work and life on the plantations. They saw it as restrictive and exploitative, and preferred to seek work outside the estates than maximise work on the estates, despite the risk of falling into poverty. Their experience of poverty is affected by marginalisation, isolation and poor access to facilities such as good education and health services. Tensions have arisen within the estate sector in response to the fact that it has been left largely untouched by the social, cultural and economic changes that the rest of the country has experienced. CEPA's recommendations, which have been fed into a number of consultations, suggest a 'fresh perspective' on resolving the problems in the sector. Interventions need to move beyond tinkering at the edges of the existing system and challenge the illusion of the paternalistic estate structure which looks after workers from cradle to grave.

Kuruppu and Abdul Cader's chapter, '*Youth in Sri Lanka: Progressive or regressive?*' also challenges a stereotype which has permeated policymaking for many years; the perception of young people as agitators with little inclination to work. The chapter attempts to look at the issues young people face from a more contemporary perspective, considering changing contexts and opportunities. Using evidence from CEPA's work on youth in a variety of studies, the paper examines education, employment and policies aimed at young people. Despite some attempts to address the problems young people face, the state, private sector and development agencies have failed so far to provide the right environment for young people to maximise their potential. CEPA's *Poverty and Youth Survey* demonstrated that young people are aware that the onus is on them to work hard at their education and to make an effort to seek employment. However, they expressed frustration that their efforts to gain employment are hampered by an inadequate education system which does not prepare them for work, and a non-merit based, and sometimes politically biased, selection process in state and even private sector employment. More effort needs to be made to build the capacity of the next generation and involve them in the country's socio-economic development.

Young people in the conflict affected areas of Sri Lanka suffer even less access to opportunities for education and employment, and along with others experience a range of dimensions of poverty, such as high levels of human insecurity, limited mobility and lack of access to services and healthcare. These issues are well documented in Sri Lanka, but Thalayasingam's chapter, '*Conflict and Recovery: Challenging prevailing wisdom*', moves beyond this to focus on the adaptive strategies of communities in conflict areas. Based largely on data from CEPA's work for the World Bank study, *Moving Out of Poverty in Conflict Affected Areas*, the chapter challenges the idea that a formal state of peace is necessary before people can start rebuilding their lives. Communities involved in the study demonstrated their resilience and ability to adapt to the changes in their living standards and environment and start their own process of recovery without

waiting for an external 'peace process' to run its course. The peace negotiations which take place at the macro national and international levels, and the micro developments happening on the ground in communities are less interdependent than is often assumed.

This chapter highlights important issues for organisations working in conflict areas, and probably validates what many have witnessed on the ground. There is no one size fits all solution to the redevelopment of conflict-affected communities which have been affected in different ways, and have developed different coping methods. Some found adapting to alternative livelihoods difficult, whereas others took advantage of new opportunities, even during times of conflict, to help them move out of poverty. Intervention in conflict areas needs to be sensitive to the timing, attitudes and needs of each community, and understand how different dimensions of poverty interact and impact development.

3 From research to practice?

The final chapter '*CEPA and the Tsunami*', comes back to CEPA's approach and methodology, and considers how this guided its response to the tsunami in December 2004. As a non-implementing organisation CEPA struggled to define its role in post-tsunami rehabilitation activities, and to reconcile the desire to balance its principles of sustainable, participatory planning with the realities of exigencies on the ground. Fernando and Remnant focus on some of the difficulties that CEPA and many other organisations experienced in trying to work with best practice principles, even after the initial emergency relief stage. These experiences hold valuable lessons for the way relief efforts are planned in future; the way early emergency relief is carried out at the initial stages can significantly impact the way rehabilitation is managed over the longer term, making it difficult to adhere to guiding principles. However, unexpected difficulties in relationships between stakeholders and planning co-ordination caused even the best planned relief to experience problems. The issues around the way aid agencies, communities and government interact in times of crisis is an area which needs to be explored in more detail.

Perhaps the most important lesson for CEPA was the recognition that the organisation cannot easily move into an implementing role, and should instead rely on other experienced implementing organisations to disburse the funds raised for tsunami work. CEPA's skills are best applied in a research and advisory capacity, but even in an advisory capacity there is much to be learnt about the transition from emergency to long-term relief. Best practice principles should not be abandoned or watered down as a result of these difficulties, rather there is a need to learn more about what details such principles and how this can be avoided in the future.

4 Conclusion

This collection of papers is designed to stimulate and challenge the reader, and hopefully lead to further debate on the issues presented. The overriding message contained in these chapters is the need to take a comprehensive and balanced approach to issues of poverty, using a combination of approaches rather than relying on one or two methods. Presentation of statistics or key messages can never be taken at face value, and using alternative methods of analysis may yield a very different perspective on the issue.

However, the papers also highlight the complexity and difficulty of applying and operationalising the multidimensional approach, a key reason why many institutions are slow to adopt alternative methodologies. The need to conform to international or national benchmarking, targets and comparisons, and the need to collect information as quickly and cheaply as possible are reasons often cited for not adopting the widespread use of qualitative and new or alternative quantitative approaches, but at what price for understanding and reducing poverty?

Readers who would like to know more about different approaches to poverty in Sri Lanka and internationally will find a list of further resources at the end of the volume, compiled by a panel of experts working in poverty in Sri Lanka. Readers can also find out more about CEPA's approach, studies and research in the Working Papers and Edited Volumes which provided the basis for many of these chapters. Please go to CEPA's website (www.cepa.lk) or check the bibliography at the end of each chapter for details.

හව විත්තන: හැඳින්වීම

දරිද්‍රතා විශ්ලේෂණ කේන්ද්‍රය (CEPA) සිය හයවන සංවත්සරය 2006 මැයි මස සමරන ලදී. ගෙවිණිය වසර කිහිපය පුරාවට ආයතනය විසින් සිදුකරනු ලැබූ එමෙන් ම, ආයතනික දැනුම සහ අත්දැකීම් පෝෂණය කිරීමෙහිලා දායක වූ ව්‍යාපෘතීන් සහ අධ්‍යයනයන් මාලාව පිළිබඳ සමාලෝචනයක් සිදුකිරීමට මෙය මහඟු අවස්ථාවක් වේ. අප ආයතනය දරිද්‍රතාවය හා සම්බන්ධ කරුණු පිළිබඳ හැකි උපරිම ආකාරයෙන් දැනුම ව්‍යාප්ත කරලීමෙහිලා කැපවීමෙන් යුතුව කටයුතු කරන අතර, එමගින් ම, දරිද්‍රතාවය ආශ්‍රිත සමකාලීන මතවාදයන් වලට යම් දායකත්වයක් සැපයීම පිණිස අප විසින් සිදුකරනු ලැබූ අධ්‍යයනයන් සහ ඒ ආශ්‍රිත ඇතැම් අනාවරණයන් ක්ෂේත්‍රයේ නියැලෙන අනෙකුත් කණ්ඩායම් සමග හුවමාරුකරගැනීම මෙම ග්‍රන්ථය සම්පාදනය කිරීමේ අරමුණ වේ.

කොටස් දෙකකින් යුතු මෙම ග්‍රන්ථයේ පළමු කොටසින් දරිද්‍රතාවය නිර්වචනය කිරීම සහ මැනීම යන තේමා පිළිබඳව අවධානය යොමු කරන අතර සාම්ප්‍රදායික හා විකල්ප දරිද්‍රතා මැනීම් ක්‍රමවේදයන් සම්බන්ධ අප ආයතනික ප්‍රවේශය පැහැදිලි කිරීමට මෙමගින් උත්සාහ දැරේ. තවද, මධ්‍යම පළාතේ දරිද්‍රතා තත්ත්වයන් පාදක කොට ගනිමින් ඉහත කී විවිධ ක්‍රමවේදයන්හි පවතින වාසි හා අවාසි පිළිබඳ වඩාත් පෘථුල හා තුලිත ප්‍රවේශයක් පැවතීමේ වැදගත්කම ඉස්මතුකොට ගැනීම සඳහා විමර්ශනයක් ද මෙහිදී සිදුකෙරේ. මෙම ග්‍රන්ථයේ දෙවන කොටස, දරිද්‍රතාවය දුරලීමේ මැදිහත්වීම් උදෙසා විකල්ප විත්තනයන් ගවේශනය කිරීම අරමුණුකොට ගනිමින් ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ පසුගිය කාලය තුළ වඩාත් මතවාදයන්ට තුඩුදුන් අංශ හතරක් වන: ගැටුම, තාරුණ්‍ය, වතු අංශය සහ පශ්චාත් සුනාමි සහනාධාර යන අංශ ඔස්සේ CEPA ආයතනය විසින් සිදුකළ පර්යේෂණයන් සහ ඒවායින් ලද අත්දැකීම් භාවිතයට ගෙන සැකසී ඇත.

1 දරිද්‍රතාවය පිළිබඳ විත්තන: නිර්වචන සහ මිනුම්

ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ දරිද්‍රතාවය සහ සමාජ-ආර්ථික තත්ත්වයන් සම්බන්ධ විකල්ප දැක්මක් ගෙනහැර දැක්වීම උදෙසා, ප්‍රමාණාත්මක හා ගුණාත්මක යන විශ්ලේෂණයන් සංකලනය කිරීම CEPA විශේෂඥතාවය වේ. මේ වන විට, විවිධ වූ ස්වරූපයන්ගෙන් පවත්නා වූ දරිද්‍රතා තත්ත්වයන් ග්‍රහණයකරගැනීමෙහි හා තක්සේරුකිරීමෙහිලා වඩාත් නිවැරදි මාධ්‍යයක් සේ මෙම බහුවිධමානික ප්‍රවේශය වඩා වඩාත් පිළිගැනීමට ලක්ව ඇත. වනමුදු, දරිද්‍රතාවය දුරලීම සම්බන්ධ වැඩසටහනු හා ආයතනික වැඩසටහන් සැලසුම්කිරීම, ආදායම හා පරිභෝජනය මත පදනම් වූ සාම්ප්‍රදායික ක්‍රමවේදයන් මතම තවදුරටත් යැපෙන බව පෙනේ. මේ අනුව පැහැදිලි වන්නේ, මූල්‍ය ප්‍රවේශය පදනම් කරගත් මිනුම්වල පවතින අඩුපාඩුකම් අවබෝධකොට ගෙන ඒ වෙනුවට බහුවිධමානික දර්ශකයන් භාවිතය සඳහා ආදේශවීම සිදුවිය යුතුව පවතින බවය.

'සාම්ප්‍රදායික ප්‍රවේශ: ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ දරිද්‍රතා තත්ත්වය පිළිබඳ පසු විපරමක්' මැයෙන් සඳහන් මෙම ග්‍රන්ථයේ මුල් පරිච්ඡේදය මගින් ලංකාවේ බහුලව භාවිතාවන දර්ශක පිළිබඳව සිදුකළ ඇගයුමක් ආශ්‍රයකොට ගනිමින්, ප්‍රමාණාත්මක හා මූල්‍යමය මිනුම්හි පවතින ආධිපත්‍යය ඉස්මතුකොට පෙන්වයි. අලයිලිමා (Alailima) විසින් සම්පාදිත මෙම පරිච්ඡේදය, ග්‍රන්ථයේ ප්‍රධාන පරිච්ඡේදවලට වඩා වෙනස් වන අතරම, මෙහිදී, දරිද්‍රතා විශ්ලේෂණ කේන්ද්‍රයේ කාර්යයන් නිරූපණයවීමක් සිදුනොවන අතර මෙය ග්‍රන්ථයේ සමස්ත අන්තර්ගතය සඳහා පසුබිමක් නිර්මාණය කරයි. තවද, මෙමගින්, දරිද්‍රතාවයට අදාළ විකල්ප පැතිකඩයන් සංස-

න්දනය හා නව එකතු කිරීම් සඳහා ප්‍රයෝජනවත් පදනමක් සැපයෙන අතර, ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ දරිද්‍රතා විෂය ක්ෂේත්‍රය සම්බන්ධ උනන්දුවක් දක්වන්නාවූ සියළුදෙනාට සංක්ෂිප්ත දැක්මක් සපයයි.

ශ්‍රී ලංකාව ආශ්‍රයෙන් සළකා බැලීමේදී පැහැදිලි වන්නේ, නිල මට්ටමේ සම්මුතියකට එළඹ නොමැති වුවත්, දරිද්‍රතාවය පිළිබඳ බහුවිධමානික නිර්වචනය පුළුල් ලෙස පිළිගැනීමකට ලක්වෙමින් පවතින බවය. මෙම ගුණ්වයේ ඇතුළත් අනෙකුත් සටහන් මගින් ද අවධාරණය වන ආකාරයට, දරිද්‍රතාවය දුර්ලභ අරමුණකොටගත් ප්‍රතිපත්ති සහ මැදිහත්වීම් කෙරෙහි මෙම කරුණ විශාල ලෙස බලපෑමක් ඇති කරයි. සීමිත රාමුවක් පමණක් සැලකිල්ලට ගැනෙන මූල්‍ය ප්‍රවේශය පදනම්කරගත් දර්ශකයන් භාවිතය, වෙනත් දරිද්‍රතා තත්ත්වයන් නිසා පීඩා විඳින ජන කොටස් කෙරෙහි යොමුවිය යුතු අවධානය මගහැරීමට හේතු වී ඇත. සෞඛ්‍ය පහසුකම් නොමැතිකම, සාමාජිකය වශයෙන් බැහැරකරණයට ලක්වීම, අනාරක්ෂිතභාවය, සාපේක්ෂ දරිද්‍රතාවය (තම ආදායම දරිද්‍රතා ඉමට ඉහළින් පවතින මුත් තම අවට සිටින ගෘහ කුටුම්භවල ආදායම හා සැලකීමේදී ඉතා අඩු ආදායමක් ලැබීම) වැනි මූල්‍යමය නොවන වෙනත් විවිධ වූ හේතූන්ගෙන් පීඩාවිඳින ජන කොටස් මූල්‍යමය කරුණු පදනම්කරගත් දර්ශක වල ග්‍රහණයට හසුනොවේ.

බහුවිධමානික ප්‍රවේශය, දරිද්‍රතාවය පිළිබඳ පුද්ගල මත සැලකිල්ලට ගනු ලබන අතර, දරිද්‍රතාවය විවිධ වූ ස්වරූපයන්ගෙන් පැවතිය හැකි බව සහ ආදායමට ඔබ්බෙන් වූ විවිධ සාධක ගණනාවක් හේතුකොටගෙන ඇතිවිය හැකි බව පිළිගනී. රැකියා අවස්ථා දුලබවීම, යටිතල පහසුකම් සහ නිවාස නොමැතිවීම, වගකළ හැකි ඉඩම් හිඟවීම, පානීය ජලය සහ පෝෂ්‍ය ආහාර සපයා ගැනීමට ඇති දුෂ්කරතා, මූලික මානව නිදහස සම්බන්ධ අවහිරතා, ශක්‍යතාවයන් සහ සංවර්ධන සීමා යනාදී සාධක මින් සමහරක් වේ. එක් එක් විශේෂිත මිනුම්වලින් විමසන දරිද්‍රතා සංකේන්ද්‍රණ තත්ත්වයන් වෙනත් මිනුමක දී හසුනොවීමට ඉඩ ඇති බැවින් දරිද්‍රතා මිනුම් එකක් හෝ දෙකක් භාවිතාවෙන් නිවැරදි තත්ත්වය හඳුනා ගැනීමට නොහැකි වේ. එනිසා, රජයට මෙන්ම අනෙකුත් සියළු ක්‍රියාකාරී ආයතනවලට තම මැදිහත්වීම් තීරණය කිරීමේ දී මෙම 'දරිද්‍රතා විමර්ශන මත' භාවිතයට ගත හැකි අතර මේ අනුව පැහැදිලි වන්නේ සීමිත වූ මිනුම් මත පදනම්ව සිදුකරනු ලබන දරිද්‍රතා ඇගයුම් ප්‍රවේශමිකාරීව පරිහරණය කළයුතු බවය.

'මධ්‍යම පළාතේ දරිද්‍රතාවය' යන මාදයෙන් සඳහන් රෙමිනන්ට්ගේ (Remnant) පරිච්ඡේදය තුළින් මෙම කාරණය වඩාත් ඉස්මතු කර දක්වයි. දරිද්‍රතාවය ආශ්‍රිතව දිස්ත්‍රික්ක, ආංශික, ජනවාර්ගික වශයෙන් පවත්නා විෂම තත්ත්වයන් හා අන්දැකීම් තුළින් ඉස්මතු වන්නේ පළාත් මට්ටමින් පවත්නා දරිද්‍රතා ස්වභාවයන් තේරුම් ගැනීම උදෙසා හුදෙක් සාම්ප්‍රදායික සාර්ව මට්ටමේ දරිද්‍රතා දර්ශක ප්‍රමාණවත් නොවන බවය. උදාහරණයක් ලෙස, මධ්‍යම පළාතේ මානව සංවර්ධන දර්ශකය විමර්ශනාත්මකව සළකා බැලීමේදී, එහි දළ දේශීය නිෂ්පාදන අගයන් (GDP) පවත්නා තත්ත්වයේ යථාර්ථය විකෘතිකොට පෙන්වන බව පෙනීයයි. ඇතැම් දිස්ත්‍රික්කවල, ජීවන තත්ත්වයන් පහත වැටීමට තියුණු ලෙස බලපානු ලබන දුර්වල සෞඛ්‍ය හා අධ්‍යාපන තත්ත්වයන් පිළිබඳ යථාර්ථය යටපත් වීමට එම දිස්ත්‍රික්කවල ඉහළ දළ දේශීය නිෂ්පාදන අගයන් හේතුවී ඇත. එමනිසා, මෙම තත්ත්වයට වඩා සවිස්තරාත්මක දර්ශකයක් සැපයීම සඳහා මධ්‍යම පළාතේ දරිද්‍රතා තත්ත්වයන්හි සංකීර්ණ පැතිකඩයන් සහ ගතිකයන් පිළිබඳ සවිස්තරාත්මක විග්‍රහයක් සැපයීම පිණිස CEPA අධ්‍යයනයකින් උකහාගත් ප්‍රමාණාත්මක සහ ගුණාත්මක දත්ත මෙම පරිච්ඡේදයේ අන්තර්ගතයට පාදක කොට ගන්නා ලදී.

2 විකල්ප විත්තන: CEPA ප්‍රවේශය

CEPA ආයතනයේ අධ්‍යයන වැඩකටයුතු ප්‍රධාන දරිද්‍රතා මානයන් පහක් පිළිබඳව යොමුවී ඇත. එනම්, ආර්ථික (පරිභෝජන සහ වත්කම්), මානව සංවර්ධන (අධ්‍යාපනය සහ සෞඛ්‍ය), සමාජ-සංස්කෘතික මානයන් (ගෞරවය සහ සමාජ ජාල), දේශපාලන මානයන් (බලය සහ හඬ) සහ ආරක්ෂණ පැතිකඩ (ගැටුම, ස්වභාවික ව්‍යසන, අස්ථානගතවීමේ අවධානම) (ගුණතිලක (Gunetilleke) සහ රෙයිචර්ට් (Reichert) 2005). ස්වකීය කාර්යයන් හරහා පිළිබිඹුවන මෙම බහුවිධමානික ප්‍රවේශය සහ ප්‍රමාණාත්මක සහ ගුණාත්මක විශ්ලේෂණයන්හි සංයෝගය CEPA විශේෂත්වය වේ. CEPA ආයතනය විසින් මෙම ප්‍රවේශය ප්‍රායෝගිකව ක්‍රියාත්මක කරන්නේ කෙසේද යන්න පිළිබිඹුකරන උදාහරණ කිහිපයක් 'සාම්ප්‍රදායික රාමුවෙන් ඔබ්බට යෑම: බහුවිධ ප්‍රවේශයන් භාවිතයෙන් ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ දරිද්‍රතා තත්ත්වය අවබෝධ කරගැනීම' මෑයෙන් අබ්දුල් කාදර් (Abdul Cader) විසින් සම්පාදිත පරිච්ඡේදයෙන් ඉදිරිපත් කෙරේ.

CEPA විසින් සිදුකරනු ලැබූ අධ්‍යයනයන් හතරක් ඇසුරුකරගනිමින් අබ්දුල් කාදර්, CEPA මගින් භාවිතයට ගන්නා ලද විවිධ වූ ක්‍රමවේදයන් පිළිබඳව මෙහිදී හඳුන්වා දෙයි. මෙම අධ්‍යයනයන් පවත්නා දැනුමට වැඩි යමක් එක් කරන අතරම කුලය, පෞද්ගලිකරණය, නාගරික දරිද්‍රතාවය සහ සංවර්ධන ප්‍රේරිත විස්ථාපනය යනාදී විවිධ වූ හේතු සාධකවලින් බලපෑමට ලක් වූ පුද්ගලයන්ගේ ජීවන තත්ත්වය සහ ගුණසාධනය පිළිබඳ වැදගත් විකල්ප දැක්මක් දායක කරයි. මෙම සියළුම අධ්‍යයනයන් තුළින්, ප්‍රමාණවත් ආදායමක් නොමැතිවීම දරිද්‍රතාවයට ප්‍රධානම සාධකයක් වන බව දක්වන අතර, ප්‍රජාවගේ අත්දැකීම්වලට අනුව දරිද්‍රතාවයට බලපෑ හෝ ඉවහල් වී ඇති අනෙකුත් මූලික සාධකයන් ද ඉස්මතුකර පෙන්වයි. නමුත් මෙම කරුණු බොහෝවිට සංවර්ධනයේ ප්‍රතිඵලයන් අනෙකුත් අංශ කරා ක්‍රමයෙන් විස්තාරණය වේයැයි (trickle down) පවතින මිථ්‍යාමත හා භෞතික වර්ධනය හමුවේ නොහකා හැරීමකට ලක්විය හැක. උදාහරණයක් ලෙස, සාපේක්ෂ වශයෙන් ඉහළ ආදායම් සහ පරිභෝජන මට්ටම් ඇතත් නාගරික ප්‍රදේශයන්හි ප්‍රජාවගෙන් සැලකිය යුතු කොටසක් අඩු ගුණාත්මක තත්ත්වයෙන් යුතු නිවාස, ජලය, විදුලිය වැනි මූලික සේවාවන් පවා ලබා ගැනීමට අපහසු තත්ත්වයක ජීවත්වීම දැක්විය හැක. CEPA මගින් සිදුකල අඩු පහසුකම් සහිත ජනාවාස පිළිබඳ අධ්‍යයනය, සිද්ධි අධ්‍යයනයක් ලෙස මෙම පරිච්ඡේදයට අන්තර්ගතකොට ඇති අතර, එහිදී, අස්ථාවර ජීවනෝපායයන්, පෞද්ගලික සහිතාරක්ෂක සේවාවන් සපයා ගැනීමට නොහැකිවීම, ප්‍රමිතියකින් තොර ප්‍රවේශ මාර්ග, විදුලිය සහ කානු පද්ධති සහ මත්ද්‍රව්‍ය සහ මද්‍යසාර කෙරෙහි විශාල ලෙස ඇබ්බැහිවීම යනාදී ආදායම් නොවන දරිද්‍රතා තත්ත්වයන්හි බලපෑමට ලක්ව ඇති ප්‍රජාව කෙරෙහි අවධානය යොමු කෙරේ.

කුලය පිළිබඳව සිදුකළ පර්යේෂණයකදී ද ඉස්මතු වූයේ ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ සමහර පහත් යැයි සැලකෙන කුලවලට වෙනස් කොට හෝ පහත්කොට සැලකීම තවමත් පවතින බවය. මෙවැනි තත්ත්වයන් හමුවේ එවැනි පුද්ගල කොටස් නිදන්ගත දරිද්‍රතා වක්‍රයට හසුවීම හා සමාජයීය බැහැරකරණයට ලක්වීම පමණක් නොව ඔවුන්ට එම තත්ත්වයෙන් පිටතට පැමිණීමට ද ඉතා අසීරු වේ. මෙම කොටස්වලට ස්ථිර ආදායම් මාර්ග, අවස්ථා සීමා වනවා පමණක් නොව බොහෝ දෙනෙකුට පාසල්, සිද්ධස්ථාන සහ නිදහස් සමාජ ජීවිතයට ප්‍රවේශවීමට පවා ඇති ඉඩකඩ ඇතිරේ. එනම්, ආදායම හැරුණුකොට ඔවුන්ට තම ශක්‍යතාවයන් දියුණුකර ගැනීමට ඇති ඉඩකඩ ද සීමා වී ඇත.

'ආයතනික විච්ඡේදනයක්: එතු අංශයේ දරිද්‍රතාවයට විසඳුම් සෙවීම' නමැති ප්‍රනාන්දුගේ (Fernando) පරිච්ඡේදය තුළින් මෙම මතය නැවත නැවතත් සනාථකර පෙන්වයි. දරිද්‍රතා

විශ්ලේෂණ කේන්ද්‍රය ලෝක බැංකුව සඳහා මෙහෙය වූ ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ දරිද්‍රතා තක්සේරුකරණය 2007 සහ දරිද්‍රතාවයෙන් ගොඩ ඒම පිළිබඳ ගෝලීය අධ්‍යයනය යන අධ්‍යයනයන් තුළින් වතු අංශයේ සේවකයන් විපතනත්විතභාවයේ වක්‍රයට ගොදුරුවීමට ඉඩසැලසෙන ආකාරයට සැකසී ඇති වතු ක්‍රමයේ ආවේණික වූ දෝෂයන් ඉස්මතු කර දක්වයි. ආදායම් උත්පාදන මාර්ගය වතු අංශය තුළ පවතින ප්‍රධානම ගැටළුව නොවන අතර බොහෝමයක් වතු වල සේවකයන්ට දරිද්‍රතා ඉමට වඩා ඉහළ ආදායම් ලබාගැනීමට අවස්ථාව පවතී. මධ්‍යම පළාත පිළිබඳව සාකච්ඡාවන රෙමිනන්ට්ගේ (Remnant) පරිච්ඡේදයේ සඳහන් පරිදි නුවරඑළිය දිස්ත්‍රික්කයේ ආදායම් සහ පරිභෝජන අගයන් මෙම තත්ත්වය තහවුරු කරයි. නුවරඑළිය දිස්ත්‍රික්කයේ ජනතාවගෙන් බහුතරයක් පීචන් වන්නේ වතු අංශයේ වන නමුත් පරිභෝජනය පිළිබඳ දරිද්‍රතා දර්ශක සළකා බැලූවිට, මෙම දිස්ත්‍රික්කය මධ්‍යම පළාතේ අනෙකුත් දිස්ත්‍රික්ක දෙක වන නුවර සහ මාතලේ දිස්ත්‍රික්කයන්ට වඩා ඉදිරියෙන් පසුවන බවක් පෙනී යයි.

CEPA පර්යේෂණ තුළින් වතු අංශයේ පවතින ආවෘත ව්‍යුහය එහි සේවකයන්ගේ හැඟීම් සහ ගෘහ කටුම්භවල ආර්ථික තීරණවලට බලපෑම් ඇතිකරන බව අනාවරණය විය. වතු අංශයේ සේවකයන් තමා නිරතවන රැකියාවන් මෙන්ම තමා ගතකරන පීචිතය පිළිබඳව සෘණාත්මක ආකල්ප දැරීමේ හැමියාවක් පවතින බව එහිදී පැහැදිලි විය. එය තම පීචිත සිරකර තබන්නේය සහ එමෙන්ම වතුළින් තමා සුරා කෑමට කාපනය වන්නේය යන මතය ඔවුන් තුළ පවතින අතර, වතු අංශයෙන් උපරිම ප්‍රතිඵල ලබාගැනීම වෙනුවට, දරිද්‍රතාවයට පත්වීමට ඇති අවදානම පිළිබඳව පවා තැකීමක් නොකරම, වතු අංශය තුළ සේවය කිරීමට වඩා ඉන් පිටත සේවය කිරීමට ඔවුන් තුළ කැමැත්තක් ඇති බව මෙහිදී පැහැදිලි විය. හුදකලාවීම, ආන්තිකකරණයට ලක්වීම, යහපත් අධ්‍යාපන හා සෞඛ්‍ය වැනි සේවා පහසුකම් ප්‍රමාණවත් නොවීම වැනි කරුණු තුළින් ඔවුන්ගේ දරිද්‍රතාවය සංයුක්ත වේ. රටේ සෙසු පළාත්වල සමාජ, සංස්කෘතික හා ආර්ථික වෙනස්කම් හා සැසඳීමේදී වතු අංශය තුළ ඇති පසුබැම හේතුකොටගෙන මෙම අංශය තුළ සමාජ ආතතිය ඉහළගොස් ඇති බව ද පෙනේ. මෙම අධ්‍යයනයේදී CEPA ආයතනය විසින් ඉදිරිපත් කරන ලද නිර්දේශ, මෙම ග්‍රන්ථය ඔස්සේ වතු අංශයේ ගැටළු වලට පිළියමක් සපයන 'නව දැක්මක්' සේ ඉදිරිපත්කොට ඇත. වතු අංශයේ සංවර්ධනය, පවත්නා තත්ත්වයට පිළියම් යෙදීමකින් ඔබ්බට ගොස්, පවතින පිතෘ මූලික වතු ව්‍යුහයේ එනම්, ළදරුවාගේ සිට මරණය දක්වා සේවකයා රැකබලාගන්නේය යන මතයේ සාවද්‍යතාවයට අභියෝග කළ හැකි මැදිහත්වීමක් විය යුතුය.

'ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ තාරුණ්‍ය: ප්‍රගාමීද? පසුගාමීද?' යන්න විමසීමට ලක්කරන කුරුප්පු සහ අබ්දුල් කාදර් (Kuruppu and Abdul Cader) ගේ පරිච්ඡේදයෙන් ද වසර ගණනාවක් පුරා ප්‍රතිපත්ති සම්පාදනයේදී තරුණ පරපුර සේවයේ නිරතවීමට එතරම් පෙළඹවීමක් නොමැති කලබලකාරී පිරිසක්ය යනුවෙන් පැවති මතය අභියෝගයට ලක් කරයි. මෙම පරිච්ඡේදය, පවතින අභියෝගාත්මක පරිසරය හා ඔවුන්ට ඇති අවස්ථා සළකා බලමින්, වඩාත් සමකාලින දැක්මකින් යුතුව තරුණ ප්‍රජාව මුහුණ දෙන ගැටළු දෙස බැලීමට උත්සාහ දරයි. තාරුණ්‍ය සම්බන්ධයෙන් CEPA සිදුකල අධ්‍යයන ගණනාවකින්ම මතු වූ සාක්ෂි පදනම් කරගනිමින්, තරුණයන්ගේ අධ්‍යාපනය, රැකියා සහ අදාළ ප්‍රතිපත්තින් පිළිබඳ විමසීමක් මෙහිදී සිදුකරනු ලබයි. තරුණ ප්‍රජාව මුහුණදෙන ඇතැම් ගැටළු සඳහා විසඳුම් සැපයීමට ගත් ඇතැම් උත්සාහයන් විනා, රජය, පෞද්ගලික අංශය මෙන්ම සංවර්ධන කාර්යයයේ නියුක්ත ආයතන යනාදී එකදු අංශයක්වත් තරුණ හැකියාවන් ඉස්මතුවන ආකාරයේ නිවැරදි පරිසරයක් නිර්මාණය කිරීමෙහිලා මෙතෙක් අපොහොසත් වී ඇති බව පැහැදිලිවේ. CEPA මගින් සිදුකළ 'දරිද්‍රතාවය සහ තාරුණ්‍යය' පිළිබඳ සමීක්ෂණයෙන් පිළිබිඹු වූයේ උත්සාහයන් යුතුව අධ්‍යාපන කටයුතුවල නිරතවීමේ මෙන්ම රැකියා සොයාගැනීමෙහිලා දැඩි උත්සාහයක්

දැරීමේ වගකීම තමන්වෙතම පැවරී ඇති බව තරුණ ප්‍රජාව මැනවින් අවබෝධ කොටගෙන ඇති බවය. කෙසේනමුත්, රුකියා පරිසරයකට ඔබින සේ නොසැකසුණු අධ්‍යාපන ක්‍රමය, දක්ෂතාවයට මුල්තැන දීමට වඩා දේශපාලන පක්ෂග්‍රාහිත්වය වැනි කරුණු මත පදනම් වූ රාජ්‍ය අංශයේ පමණක් නොව පෞද්ගලික අංශයේ රුකියා ලබාදීමේදී පවා පවතින අසාධාරණ තේරීම් ක්‍රම හමුවේ තම උත්සාහයන් ව්‍යවර්ථවීම පිළිබඳව තරුණයන් ස්වකීය ඉවිචානංගත්වය ප්‍රකාශකර සිටී. එබැවින්, ඊලඟ පරපුරේ ශක්‍යතාවයන් ගොඩනංවාලීමෙහිලා මෙන්ම ඔවුන් රටේ සමාජ-ආර්ථික සංවර්ධන ප්‍රවාහයට සම්බන්ධකරගැනීමෙහිලා අදට වඩා උත්සාහයක් ගත යුතු වේ.

ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ගැටුම් පවතින කලාපයන්හි තරුණ ප්‍රජාව පිළිබඳව සලකා බැලීමේදී, ඔවුන් අධ්‍යාපනය සඳහා සහ රුකියාවන් සඳහා යොමුවීමේ අවස්ථාවන්වලට ඇති ප්‍රවේශය වඩාත් අඩුවීම නිසා පීඩාවට පත් වී ඇති අතර ඊට අමතරව, දැඩි මානව අනාරක්ෂිතභාවය, සංවලනයට ඇති දැඩි සීමා සහිත භාවය සහ සෞඛ්‍ය සහ වෙනත් සේවා සැපයුම ආශ්‍රිත හිඟබව යනාදී දරිද්‍රතාවයේ විවිධ වූ පැතිකඩයන් තුළින් ද පීඩාවිඳින බව පැහැදිලි වේ. මෙම ගැටළු තත්ත්වයන් මේවන විට ශ්‍රී ලංකාව තුළ බහුලව සාකච්ඡා වී හා වාර්තාගත වී ඇතත් 'ගැටුම සහ එයින් අත්මිඳීම: පවත්නා දැනුමට අභියෝගකිරීම' නම් වූ තලෙයිසිංගම්ගේ (Thalayasingam) පරිච්ඡේදය මේ සම්බන්ධයෙන් මෙතෙක් සාකච්ඡා වී ඇති කරුණු වලින් ඔබ්බට ගොස්, ගැටුම් පවත්නා ප්‍රදේශයන්හි ප්‍රජාවන් අදාළ පරිසරයට මුහුණදීම උදෙසා යොදාගනු ලබන අනුවර්තනීය උපක්‍රමයන් පිළිබඳ අවධානය යොමුකරයි. CEPA විසින් ලෝක බැංකු අධ්‍යයනයක් උදෙසා සිදුකරන ලද ගැටුමින් පීඩාවට පත් ප්‍රදේශයන්හි දරිද්‍රතාවයෙන් ගොඩළීම නම් වූ අධ්‍යයනයේ කරුණු බොහොමයක් පදනම්කර ගනිමින්, ජනතාවට ස්වකීය ජීවිත නැවත ගොඩනංවා ගැනීම සඳහා විධිමත් වූ සාමයක් අවශ්‍ය යැයි පවතින මතය මෙම පරිච්ඡේදය තුළින් අභියෝගයට ලක් කරයි. ඔවුන් යථාතත්ත්වයට පත්වී ඇති ආකාරය මෙන්ම බාහිරින් 'සාම ක්‍රියාවලීන්' සිදුවනතෙක් බලා නොසිට, ස්වකීය ජීවන තත්ත්වයන්හි හා පරිසරයේ සිදුවී ඇති වෙනස්කම් වලට යෝග්‍ය සේ කැඩගැසීමට ප්‍රජාවන්ට ඇති හැකියාව, ස්වයං ප්‍රතිස්ථාපන ක්‍රියාවලීන් ආරම්භකිරීම තුළින් විදහා දක්වයි. ජාතික මට්ටමෙන් මෙන්ම ජාත්‍යන්තර මට්ටමෙන් ඇතිවන්නා වූ සාම ක්‍රියාවලීන්වලට පරිබාහිරව ස්වාධීනව ප්‍රජා මට්ටමේ ක්ෂුද්‍ර සංවර්ධන කටයුතු සිදුවීමට ඇති හැකියාව මෙයින් පෙනීයයි.

මෙම පරිච්ඡේදය, ගැටුම් පවත්නා ප්‍රදේශයන්හි ක්‍රියාත්මක වන්නාවූ සංවිධාන සඳහා වැදගත් වන්නා වූ ප්‍රායෝගික සංසිද්ධීන් ඉස්මතුකර දක්වයි. නොයෙක් අයුරින් ගැටුම නිසා බලපෑම්වලට ලක්වූ ප්‍රජාවන් තම තත්ත්වයන්ගෙන් මිඳීමට එකිනෙකට වෙනස් විවිධාකාර වූ විසඳුම් යොදාගෙන ඇති අතර මෙවැනි තත්ත්වයන්ට සාර්ව විසඳුම් නොමැති බැව් ඉන් පැහැදිලි වේ. ඇතැම් පුද්ගලයින්ට විකල්ප ජීවනෝපාය මාර්ග කරා හැඩගැසීම අසීරු කාර්යයක් වූ අතර, සමහරෙක් ගැටුම් පවතින කාලයේදී පවා ඇති වූ තත්ත්වයන් තුළ බිහිවූ ඉඩ ප්‍රස්ථා තුළින් වාසි සළසා ගෙන දරිද්‍රතාවයෙන් ගොඩ ඒමට සමත් වී ඇත. ගැටුම් පවතින කලාපයන් තුළ දැකිය හැකි මෙවන් ගැටළුවලට විසඳුම් සෙවීම සඳහා සිදුකරනු ලබන මැදිහත්වීම්, කාලය, ආකල්ප සහ ඒ ඒ ජන කොටස්වල අවශ්‍යතාවයන් කෙරෙහි සංවේදී විය යුතු අතරම දරිද්‍රතාවයේ විවිධ වූ පැතිකඩයන් සංවර්ධනයට බලපාන්නේ හෝ ගැටෙන්නේ කෙසේද යන්න පිළිබඳව අවබෝධයෙන් යුතුව සිදුවිය යුතුවේ.

3 පර්යේෂණ තුළින් ප්‍රායෝගිකත්වය කරා

'දරිද්‍රතා විශ්ලේෂණ කේන්ද්‍රය සහ සුනාමි' නම් වූ අවසන් පරිච්ඡේදය නැවතත් CEPA ප්‍රවේශය සහ ක්‍රමවේදය පිළිබඳව අවධානය යොමු කරන අතරම 2004 දෙසැම්බර් සුනාමි බේදවැවකය හමුවේ ක්‍රියාත්මකවීම සඳහා මෙම ප්‍රවේශය දායක වූයේ කෙසේද යන්න පිළිබඳව පැහැදිලි කරයි. භෞතික වැඩසටහන් දියත් නොකරන ආයතනයක් ලෙස, පශ්චාත් සුනාමි ප්‍රතිසංස්කරණ ක්‍රියාදාමයන් හමුවේ ස්වකීය භූමිකාව තේරුම්ගැනීමෙහිලා මෙන්ම තිරසාර සහ සහකාරිත්ව සැලසුම්කරණ යන මූලධර්මයන් පවත්වා ගැනීමේ අවශ්‍යතාවය හා ඒ අවස්ථාවේ පැවති තිරණාත්මක ප්‍රායෝගික අවශ්‍යතාවයන්ට ප්‍රතිචාර දැක්වීමේ අවශ්‍යතාවය තුලනය කිරීමෙහිලා දරිද්‍රතා විශ්ලේෂණ කේන්ද්‍රයට දැඩි පරිශ්‍රමයක් දැරීමට සිදු විය. මූලික කඩිනම් සහන සැලසීමේ අවධියෙන් පසුව දී වුවත්, CEPA මෙන්ම අනෙකුත් බොහොමයක් සංවිධානවලට තම ව්‍යවහාරයන්/මූලධර්මයන්ට අනුකූලව ක්‍රියාත්මකවීමට ගත් උත්සාහයන් තුළදී මුහුණ දීමට සිදුවූ අසීරුතා සමහරක් පිළිබඳව ප්‍රනාන්දු සහ රෙමිනන්ට් විසින් මෙම පරිච්ඡේදයේදී අවධානය යොමුකරනු ලබයි. මෙම අත්දැකීම් තුළ අනාගතයේදී සහන සේවාවන් සැලසුම්කිරීමේදී ක්‍රියාත්මකවිය යුතු ආකාරයන් පිළිබඳ වැදගත් ඉගැනුම් අත්තර්ගත වේ. උදාහරණයක් ලෙස, මූලික අදියරයේදී කඩිනම් සහන සැලසීමේ සිදුකරනු ලබන ආකාරය ඉන් අනතුරුව දිගුකාලීන ප්‍රතිසංස්කරණ ක්‍රියාවලි ක්‍රමානුකූලව, රීතියකට අනුව කළමනාකරණය කිරීම කෙරෙහි බලපෑමක් ඇතිකරන ආකාරය එහිදී සාකච්ඡාවට භාජනය වේ. කෙසේනමුත්, පාර්ශවකරුවන් සහ සැලසුම් සම්බන්ධීකරණය අතර සම්බන්ධතාවලදී පැනනගින අනපේක්ෂිත අසීරුතාවයන් නිසා මැනවින් සැලසුම්සහගතව සිදුකරන සහන සැලසීම්වල පවා ගැටළු ඇතිකළ අවස්ථා ද ඇත. මේ අනුව, ආධාර සපයන ආයතන, ප්‍රජාවන් හා සේවා අංශයන් හදිසි අවස්ථාවන්හිදී ක්‍රියාකළ යුතු ආකාරය පිළිබඳව වඩාත් ගැඹුරින් ගවේශනය කළයුතු බැව් පෙනේ.

මෙහිදී CEPA විසින් අවබෝධ කරගත් වැදගත්ම කාරණය වූයේ, අප වැනි ආයතනයකට තම භූමිකාවෙන් පරිබාහිර වූ ක්‍රියාත්මක කිරීම වැනි කටයුතුවල යෙදීම ප්‍රායෝගික නොවන බව හා එවැනි කාර්යයන් සඳහා ඒ පිළිබඳ අත්දැකීම් සහිත ආයතන මත විශ්වාසය තබමින් ක්‍රියාකළ යුතු බවය. පර්යේෂණ හා උපදේශනාත්මක කාර්යයන් වලදී CEPA ශක්‍යතාවයන් මැනවින් භාවිතයට ගැනීමට හැකි වුවද, උපදේශනයේදී වුවද කෙටි කාලීන හදිසි අවස්ථා කළමනාකරණයෙන් පසු දිගු කාලීන ක්‍රියාත්මකවීම් සඳහා යොමුවීමේදී අධ්‍යයනය කළයුතු කරුණු රාශියක්ම පවතින බව අපට හැඟිගොස් ඇත. මෙම අසීරුතාවයන් නිසා, තම ව්‍යවහාරයන් හා මූලධර්මයන් අනහර දැමීම හෝ දියාරු වීමට ඉඩ නොතරිමින්, මෙවැනි මූලධර්ම තුළ ක්‍රියාත්මකවීමට අසීරු වන්නේ කුමන කරුණු හේතුකොටගෙන ද, මෙන්ම අනාගතයේදී මෙම ගැටළු මගහරවා ගත හැක්කේ කෙසේද යන කරුණු පිළිබඳව මෙහිදී අවධානය යොමුකළ යුතුය.

4 සමාජිකය

මෙම ලිපි පෙළ පාඨකයා තුළ යම් පෙළඹවීමක්, උනන්දුවක් මෙන්ම වින්තනයට යම් අභියෝගයක් ඇතිකිරීම අරමුණු කොට ගනිමින් සකස් කර ඇති අතර මෙහි සඳහන් කරුණු ආශ්‍රිතව වැඩිදුර සංවාදයන් ඇතිකරලීම ද මෙහිදී අපේක්ෂා කෙරේ. මෙම සියළු පරිච්ඡේදයන් තුළ නැවත නැවතත් අවධාරණය වන මූලික පණිවිඩය වනුයේ, දරිද්‍රතාවය හා ඊට සම්බන්ධ ගැටළු විසඳීමේ දී ක්‍රමවිධි එකක් හෝ දෙකක් මත පිහිටා කටයුතු කිරීම වෙනුවට

ප්‍රවේශයන්හි සංයෝගයක් භාවිතයට ගනිමින් වඩාත් පෘථුල සහ සමතුලිත ප්‍රවේශයක් කරා යොමුවීමේ අවශ්‍යතාවයක් පවතින බවය.

කෙසේනමුත්, බහුවිධමානික ප්‍රවේශයක් යොදාගැනීමේ සහ ප්‍රායෝගිකව භාවිතයට ගැනීමේ අභියෝගාවය සහ සංකීර්ණත්වය ද මෙම ලිපි මාලාව තුළින් අවධාරණයට ලක් කර ඇත. බොහොමයක් ආයතන විකල්ප ක්‍රමවේදයන් කරා යොමුවීමේ මන්දගාමීත්වයක් පෙන්නීම පසුපස ඇති ප්‍රධානම සාධකය මෙය වේ. ජාත්‍යන්තර හෝ ජාතික වශයෙන් පවත්නා ප්‍රමිතීන් හා රීතින්වලට අනුකූලව කටයුතු කිරීමට සිදුවීම, ඉක්මනින් හා ලාභදායී ලෙස තොරතුරු රැස්කරගැනීමට ඇති අවශ්‍යතාවය යනාදී කරුණු ගුණාත්මක හෝ නව/විකල්ප ප්‍රමාණාත්මක ප්‍රවේශයන් භාවිතය බහුලවීම වළකාලන්නා වූ සාධක ලෙස බොහෝවිට සඳහන් වේ. එහෙත්, එමනිසාම දැරිදුතා තත්ත්වයන් අවබෝධකරගැනීමට හා දුරලීමට ගත යුතු පරිශ්‍රමයන් අත්හැර දැමිය හැකිද?

ශ්‍රී ලංකාව තුළ මෙන්ම ජාත්‍යන්තර වශයෙන් දැරිදුතාවය හා සම්බන්ධව භාවිතාවන විවිධ වූ ප්‍රවේශයන් පිළිබඳ වැඩිදුරටත් අවබෝධයක් ලබාගැනීමට කැමැත්තක් දක්වන පාඨකයන් උදෙසා වැදගත් වන ග්‍රන්ථ නාම ලේඛණයක් මෙම ග්‍රන්ථය අවසානයේ දක්වා ඇත. මෙම ග්‍රන්ථ නාමලේඛණය, ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ දැරිදුතා විෂය තුළ තීරණ ප්‍රවීණයන්ගෙන් සැදුම්ලත් කමිටුවක් මගින් පිළියෙළ කරන ලද්දකි. තවද, CEPA ප්‍රවේශය පිළිබඳ වැඩිදුර තොරතුරු අප විසින් සිදුකරන ලද අධ්‍යයන සහ පර්යේෂණවල කාර්ය පත්‍රිකා හා සංස්කරණිත වෙළුම් තුළින් ලබාගත හැක. මෙම ග්‍රන්ථයේ බොහොමයක් පරිච්ඡේද සඳහා මෙම ප්‍රකාශන පාදක වී ඇත. වැඩිදුර විස්තර සඳහා CEPA වෙබ් අඩවිය (www.cepa.lk) හෝ ඒ ඒ පරිච්ඡේදය අවසානයේ සපයා ඇති නාමාවලියේ සඳහන් ග්‍රන්ථ පරිචාරණය කළහැක.

புதிய அக்காணைக்கட்டம்: இயற்கை

öÁ-ñ ÝóíE,,C G-óò< Üi j ä%á fò¶ Ý‡ ´ Móf-ö 2006
Ý< Ý‡ ´ «ñ ñfi< áèf‡ i f@ò¶. öÁ-ñ ÝóíE,,C G-óò<
èi %á èfòfèO™ B´ð†i, GÁòù^Fj ÜP¼ ÜHM¼^F ñÝÁ<
ÜÂðòfèÀ, ° ö½,,«è~i ðó%á Ü+Mòfù áèò™F†i fèæ ñÝÁ<
ÝE¾èæ «ðfj ðöÝPj eifù HóFðLŠHj æ~ è%á ~Šðñfè¾< P¶
M+ fAò¶. öÁ-ñ ÝóíE,,C G-óò< öÁ-ñ áifi ~ðfù Hó,,C-ùèæ
eifù ÜP-ö Pòj ðò-ó ðó%¶ð†i +M™ ðóŠ¹óíÝ° ij -ù
Ü~ðE ^¶æ+ ¶ij, Pš áòOfifù¶ Pòf-èJ™ öÁ-ñ eifù
èñèò Mòfi fèÀ, ° ðfèO, °< «if, °ij Üi j ð° ŠðfE¾èæ
ñÝÁ< è‡ i P%á CòöÝ-ð ðÁ~ò-í>< «if, èè áèf‡ ´æ+ ¶.

P%è Lj °iÝðfF öÁ-ñ-ò, ðfó<ðKò °-ð ñÝÁ< öÁ-ñ
ÝóíE,,C G-óò^Fj Üµ ° °-ð-ò M+, °< ñÝÁ öÁ-ñ Ü+Mi™
°-ð àù P¼ Míñfè¾< «if, A öÁ-ñ-ò ò-óMò, èi Šð´^¶<
ñÝÁ< Ü+M´ Hó,,C-ùèO™ èòù< áèfèAò¶. Pš «öÁð†i
Ü+¾èæ CòöÝ-ð àð«òfAŠðFòfù èfièfèæ ñÝÁ< ðfièfèæ
âj ðù ñ^Fò ñfèfi ^Fòfù öÁ-ñ eifù HóFðLŠ¹ Íò<
â´^¶, èf†i Šð†i ¶. P¶ æ~ MKòfù, èñQ-òòfù Üµ ° °-ðJ -ù
àð«òfAŠðFj °, Aò^¶ò-í ²†®, èf†@ò¶. È Lj Pò‡ if<
ð°F öÁ-ñ ÝóíE,,C G-óò^Fj ÝóíE,,C ñÝÁ< ÜÂðòfè-+
àð«òfA^¶ Pòf-èJ™ áð¼< Mòfi^¶, °Kò «ñfi™, P-+è~,
áð¼% «if†i^¶-ð ñÝÁ< èi Ý«èfOÝ° (²ùfi) Hj ùòfù
àimèæ âÁ< ifj ° HK¾èO™ öÁ-ñ-ò àNŠðí Ýèfù
P-í f´èOj eifù ñÝÁ, è‡ «if†i^¶-í ÝóíEAO¶.

1 வறுமை மீதான அக்காணைக்கட்டம்: வறறுவிலக்கணமுறும் இளையகேள்விகளும்

öÁ-ñ ÝóíE,,C G-óò^Fj iQ^Fð-ñòfù¶, ð‡¹ èf~%á¶<,
Ü+¾ èf~%á¶ñfù ð° ŠðfE¾è-+ P-í^¶, Pòf-èJ™ öÁ-ñ
ñÝÁ< eí èŠ áðf¼+fi fòŠ Hó,,C-ùèæ e¶ æ~ ñÝÁŠ
ðf~ò-ò äÝð´^¶òF™ ifA»æ+¶. öÁ-ñŠ ð° ŠðfE¶i P%á Š
ð™ðKñfi Üµ ° °-ðòfù¶ öÁ-ñ-ò Üi j ð™ò-èòfù áèfè-è
M+, è^Fj ð@ ñFŠHi¾< ñÝÁ< èñfOŠðíÝ° ñfù Iè,,èKòfù
òN°-ðòfè ÜFè+M™ äÝÁ, áèfè+Šð´Aò¶. P¼%¶< ðò
öÁ-ñ, °-ðŠ¹ °j áù´Š¹, èæ ñÝÁ< vífðùgFJ òfù íòfió
ñ†i^¶ ÜŠHòèfèæ áifi~%¶< ðfó<ðKò ò¼ñfù< ñÝÁ<
è~¾ Ü@Šð-íJ òfù °P, èf†@èO«ò«ò ifA»æ+ù. P¶,
GFJj ò-óò-ðè-+, áèf‡i Ü@Šð-íJ òfù Ü+¾°-ðèOj
äÝ¹-í-ñJ L¼%¶ ðó%¶ð†iifù ð™ðKñfù °P, èf†@èOj
Ü°™ð´íòfù¶ Pj ùò< i-í áðò P¼Šð-í«ò èf†´Aò¶.
'Pòf-èJ™ öÁ-ñ eifù æ~ «ñ™ðf~ò: ðfó<ðKò Üµ °

° - ø J L ¼%¶¶ âî - ù, èÿÁ, ° èfæ÷ ° @» < ?' âÂ < È L j ° i ÿ
 ð° F I èŠ ° èf¶¶ òfè à ð«òfA, èŠð´ < ° P, èf† @è-÷ Û@Šð-ì òfè,
 ° èf† ´, Û÷ ¾ èf~%¶¶ < ñÿÁ < GF Û÷ ¾° - ø èæ Í ò < P òf-è J™
 òÁ-ñ ñFŠd´ ° èÈòŠð´ < G-ò J j ÿF, è-î ÷† @, èf†´ Aø¶¶.
 ÛòÈL ñfMù f™ (Alaillima) ðfèO, èŠð†ì PŠð° Fòfù¶¶, È L j
 â-ù ò ð° FèÀ, èfù Mi ò-î, ° èf† °¼Šð¶¶ i j, òÁ-ñ
 ÝòfÈ,, C G-ò ò° F j æ~ ÝÈ¾,, èñ~Šðí < Û™ò à j ði f™ Hóí fù
 Û°FòfòfèOL ¼%¶¶ «òÁð´ A j ø¶¶. «òÁð†ì Hó«î èfèOòfù
 òÁ-ñ J j ñfÿÁŠ ðKñí fèè àŠHì Šð†´ <, «è~¶¶, ° èfæ÷ Šðí ¾<
 ° @» < â j ði ÿ° èFòfù °, Aòñfù æ~ Û@° ÷ ÷-î P¶¶ P´ òi f™
 P òf-è J™ òÁ-ñ ðÿP ÿ° ò° è÷ Û™ò¶¶ ÿÈ-ò «ñÿ° èfæÀ A j ø
 òfèè~ âò¼, ° < æ~ à ð«òfèñfù «ñ™ðf~ - ò-ò P¶¶ i™° <.

à °F«òfèÌ ~òñfù Û÷ ¾° - ø èæ ÛFè÷ M™ P™ òfì «ðf¶¶ <, òÁ-ñ J j
 ðó%¶¶, ð™ðKñí ò-óMò, èí < P òf-è J™ äÿÁ, ° èfæ÷ Šð´ ò¶¶
 «ñ½< ðó%¶¶ ð†´ ò¼Aø¶¶. P¶¶ òÁ-ñ, ° - ø Š-ð Pò, èfè,
 ° èf† i ° èfæ-èèèè ñÿÁ < P-ì f´ èO™ bMónfù ðfFŠ¹, è-÷,
 ° èf† @¼, èòf° ñù P~° à íf° ŠH½è÷ è†´ -òèè ÷† @, èf†´ <.
 ñ†´ Šð´ ÷ì Šð†ì òÁ-ñ J j Hóí fù GF èf~%¶¶ Û@Šð-ì J òfù
 ° P, èf† @èè ÛFè÷ M™ àì™ i ò, ° - ø¾, «è-òèè ñÿÁ <
 éí è°FL ¼%¶¶ Mò, ° i™ Û™ò¶¶ ðfòð† èŠð´ ÷ì™, ðf¶¶ èfŠH j - ñ
 Û™ò¶¶ èf~¹ òÁ-ñ (àífóí ñfè: Àò¾è÷ °´ < ðfè-÷ Mi I è,
 ° - ø%¶¶ ò¼òf-ò» < Ýù f™ òÁ-ñ, «èf† @ÿ° «ñÿð†ì ò¼ñfù <
 ° ðÁ < °´ < ðfèè) «ðf j ø òÁ-ñ J j ñfÿÁŠ ðKñí fè÷ f™
 ðfFŠ¹, ° è÷ f° < ñ, èO j ° ð¼ < ð° F-ò í òø M†´ M´ A j øù.

ð™ðKñí Ûµ ° ° - ø òÁ-ñ òfù¶¶ ° - ø%¶¶ ° à í fN™ òfÈŠ¹, èèè,
 à† è†´ ñfù ñÿÁ < i†´ òèFèè, ° @c~ ñÿÁ < «ðfù f, èfù
 àí ¾, Û@Šð-ì ,, ÷ì%Fófè-÷ P™ òfì í f, è™, à è÷ f~%¶¶
 í° F ñÿÁ < iì ñf†ì < àù ò¼òf-ò Mi à† í ÿø ð™«òÁ
 ò-èòfù èfóE è÷ f™ à¼òf, èŠð†´, à† í ÿø ð™«òÁ
 òNè÷ f™ ÛÀ ðM, èŠðì ° @» ° à ñ j ð-î ÛfWèK^¶¶ òÁ-ñ-ò
 ñ, èè í fèèè ° èf%¶¶, è† «í f†ì < Í ò < èf† ð-î äÿA j ø¶¶.
 òÁ-ñ J j «òÁð†ì P-ì èèè «òÁð†ì Û÷ ¾° - ø èæ Í ò <
 ÷† @, èf†ì Šð´ A j øù à j ð¶¶ i j à j «øf Û™ò¶¶ Pò†´
 Û÷ ¾° - ø èèè à ð«òfA, èŠð´ - è J™ Cò P, è† èfÈ Š¹
 ò-ò J L ¼%¶¶ M´ ði òf <. òÁ-ñ J j P%¶¶ ° à í K¾ «í f, A'
 ÷-ì ° - ø Šð´ ^¶¶ A j ø ° èð~èè ñÿÁ < Ûóèf fè° Fù f™ P-ì f´ è-÷
 Û™ò¶¶ Cò ð° FèO™ P-ì f @ j - ñ-ò GòfòŠð´ ÷ì ¾<
 à ð«òfA, èòf <. àù «ò ñ†´ Šð´ ÷ì Šð†ì Û÷ ¾° - ø èO™
 í f A J ¼, ° < à%¶¶ ñFŠd´ < Ûòí fù ^¶¶ i j - èòf÷ Šðì™ «ò†´ <.

P¶¶ ° ó< ù j † (Remnant) P j 'ñ° Fò ñfèíí ^F™ òÁ-ñ'
 âÂ < Û°Fòfò° F™ ÷† @, èf†ì Šð†´, òÁ-ñ ÝòfÈ,, C

G-òò< MKòfè ÝÆ¾ a èÆi ¹MJ ò™ ð° FèOj Mðòñfù «ñ™ðf~ò-ò»< í¼Aø¶. Þ<ñfòþì< °¿ò¶< òÁ-ñJ j ð™«òÁ ñþì fèè, ÚÁ ðòfèè, HK¾èè ñÝÁ< Þù, °¿, èè àj ðù ñfòþì ^Fj òÁ-ñJ j íj -ñ-òŠ ¹K%¶ a èfèèðí Ý° ðfó< ðKò, °P, èf†®èè ñ†´< «ðf¶ ñfù-òò™ò àj ð-í,, ²†®, èf†®ù. àífoí ^FY° ñ^Fò ñfèfí ^F™ ñQí ÚHM¼^F,, ²†®è-÷ Æ~%¶ Úòí fQ, -èJ™ Û-ò, ²†®èOj a ññ.«í.à (GDP) èfóE òfù¶ á†´ a ññ^í^ «í fÝòŠðf†-í I è ÚFèñfè FK¹ð´ ^¶A j òù. Cò ñfòþì fèOj àò~%ñ a ññ.«í.à, òf>-è^ íó^-í, è^-ñòfèŠ ðfF, °< àí™íò< ñÝÁ< è™M àj ðòÝP j °-ðòfù ñþì ^-í Í®ñ-ð^íù. òÁ-ñ ÝófE,,C G-òò^Fj ð†¹ èf~%ñ ¶< ñÝÁ< Û÷¾ èf~%ñ ¶ ñfù «ñòFè íó¾èèè ñfèfí < °¿òF½< èfí Šðþì òÁ-ñJ j C, èòfù ðKñfí ^F-ù»< ñÝÁ< Þò™H-ù»< M÷, èñfè á´^¶, èf†´ òíÝ° àð«òfA, èŠðþì ù.

2 **බැඳුණු සමාජයේ ව්‍යුහමය වෙනස්වීම් සහ සමාජයේ වෙනස්වීම්**

òÁ-ñ ÝófE,,C G-òò^Fj ÝÆ¾ŠðE èè; a ðf¼+ fí fó< (, è~¾ ñÝÁ< Ýíù fèè), ñQí ÚHM¼^F (è™M ñÝÁ< àí™íò<), èí è-èòf,, èfóŠ ðKñfí fèè (a è÷ óò< ñÝÁ< àò¾^ a ífí ~¹èè), ÚòCò™ ðKñfí < (ÚFèfó< ñÝÁ< ÚHŠHòfò<) ñÝÁ< ðf¶ èfŠ¹ G-òèè («ñfí™, ÞòÝ-è Úù~í fèè, a òO«òÝòŠð´ < Úðfò<) ÝAò ä%¶ Hóifù ðKñfí fèO™ òÁ-ñ-ò «í f, °A j òù (°í ^Fò, è (Gunsetteke) ñÝÁ< P,, è~† (Reichert 2005). Þ%ñ Š ð™ðKñfí Ûµ ° °-ð»í j Þ-í %ñ í fù Û÷¾ èf~%ñ ¶< ñÝÁ< ð†¹ èf~%ñ ¶ ñfù ð° ŠðfE¾ òÁ-ñ ÝófE,,C G-òò ÝÆ¾ŠðE èOj íQ° ^F-òòf°<. Þ%ñ Ûµ ° °-ð-ò òÁ-ñ ÝófE,,C G-òò< àšMí< à†-ñJ™ a èò™ò-òŠð´ ^¶A j ø¶ àj ðí Ýèù Cò àífoí ñfè ÚŠ¶™ èfí K j (Abdul Cader) à™-òèÀ, ° a òO«ò àÁ< È L j 'ðòí óŠðþì a èE°-òèè Í ò< Þòf-èJ™ òÁ-ñJ-ùŠ ¹K%¶ a èfè÷™' àÁ< Û^Fòfò^F™ èf†í Šðþ´ è÷ ¶.

ÚŠ¶™ èfí~, òÁ-ñ ÝófE,,C G-òò< àð«òfA, °< «òÁðþì °-ðè-÷ ÚP° èŠð´ ^F, òÁ-ñ ÝófE,,C G-òò^Fj ífj ° ÝÆ¾èOj ð° ŠðfE™ ÚòÝ-ð, a èf†´ ò%¶ Û< °-ðè-÷ í-í °-ðJ L´ Aøf~. ÞšòfE¾èè àš a òfj Á< Þ¼, A j ø ÞšMí ò ÚP¾, ° «ñ½< ò½×†´ ò¶í j èfF, íQòf~ñòŠð´ ^í™, íéó òÁ-ñ, ÚHM¼^Fòf™ É † í Šðþì Þì< a ðò~¾ «ðfj ðòÝòf™ ðfF, èŠðþì ñ, èOj òf>, -è^ íó< ñÝÁ< íj G-òèè e¶< a ðÁñFòfù ñÝÁ, è† «í f†í ^-í ðA~%ñ O, A j òù. ÞšòfE¾èè à™òf«ñ òÁ-ñ, èfù Hóifù èfóE °-ð%ñ ò¼ñfù< àù, ° PŠH´ A j ø «ðfF½<, Þ,, èí èfè-÷ Š ðfF^¶ òÁ-ñ-ò ÚÁ ðM, è É † ®M´ A j ø ã-ùò °, Aò èfóE è-÷»< ²†®, èf†´ A j òù.

Ɔ̂á Š Hó, C-ù èè ° | «ù Ỗø^Fj β´ ðf´ ñŸÁ< ò÷÷ ° ðÁiLj
 «ðfi fù æ̃ «ðfL òfù èC¾ àù ÛFè÷M™ Ûò† CòŠđ´ ñi Šđi™
 Ā´. àifóí ñfè i èóŠđ° FèO™ à ò̂á ò¼ñfù< ñŸÁ< , è̃-ò,
 ° ðf† @¼á «ðfF½< i èóŠđ° FèO™ à i¼, èñfù i †´ òèFèè
 ñŸÁ< Ij èfó<, c̃ «ðfj ø Û®Šđ-i, «è-òè-÷ Š ° ðÁöF™
 ° -ø̂á ÷ òfù òNò-èèè àù ÛFè÷ òfù ñ, èè æ̃ ° -ø̂á
 i ó^F«ò< ò òf> A; øù. Ɔš ò^Fòfò^Fj è< ðò, èÿ-èJ™ à; øfè
 ° -ø̂á ÷¾ «è-òè-÷ Š ° ðÁ< à¼ ° @J¼ŠH™ òÁ-ñ ÝófE, C
 G-òò< «ñŸ° ðf† i ÝEòfù ¶ G-òòfù pò«ù fðfòIj -ñ,
 i Qòfù ° èfi fò òèFèÀ, èfù òNJj -ñ, i Fè-÷ Û-i òi Ýefù
 ° -ø̂á òNò-èèè, Ij èfó< ñŸÁ< ò@èf™ ñŸÁ< ÛFèK^i
 ñ†i ^Fòfù «ðf-i ñŸÁ< ñ¶¾, èfù Û®-ñ^i ù< «ðfj ø
 ò¼ñfù ^Fj Û®Šđ-i J™ òfi ° -øèOòfù òÁ-ñJ -ù
 ÛFè÷ Mòfù ñ, èè ÛĀ ðM, A; øù ã; ð-i á´ ¶, èf† ò@¶.

èfF àifì ðfù eifù ÝófE, C Ɔ òf-èJ™ Cò ° -ø̂á èfF,
 Ā†i ^Fù¼, ° àFófè Ɔj ù°< Ɔ¼, °< ƆNG-ò-ò><,
 ðfòð† è̃-i>> <²†®, èf† ^Aø¶. Ɔ-ò i Š¹ òi Ý° èù ñfù
 æ̃ bMónfù òÁ-ñ, è, èò^F½<, éí èŠ¹ ø̂á è÷Lj H@J½<
 ñ, è-÷ i >^i òf<. Ûò̃è÷¶ àifN™ ñŸÁ< Ûi; Í òñfè
 è< ðfF, ° è̂á ðfèè à; ðù ñ†´ Šđ´ ñi Šđ´ ò¶ ñ†´ ñ™ òfñ™
 Û<i è¼, ° ðfi èf-òèè, òNðf†´ ^i òfèOÿefù ÛĀ ñF ñŸÁ<
 éí è òf>¾ à; ðù¾< ñÁ, èŠđ´ A; øù. Ûò̃è÷¶ Ɔ ò™i j -ñèè
 i Q«ò ò¼ñfù< Û™ òfi ðòòÿPù f™ ñ†´ Šđ´ ñi Šđ†´ è÷ù.

‘æ̃ ° -ø-ñ-ò Ɔ™ òfi f, è™: ° ð¼%̂á ìf†i ^ ¶-øJ™
 òÁ-ñ-ò, ° P^i™’ àĀ< ° ð¼%̂á ìf†i ^ ¶-øJj òÁ-ñ
 eifù ° ð´i f; «i fMj (Fernando) Û^Fòfò< Ɔ«i è¼^-i
 àF° ófL, Aø¶. àòè òfAJj Ɔ òf-èJ™ òÁ-ñ ñFŠđ´
 2007 àĀ< ÛP, -è, ° ° ð¼%̂á ìf†i ^ ¶-ø eifù òÁ-ñ
 ÝófE, C G-òò^Fj ÝE¾Š H; ùE ñŸÁ< òÁ-ñJ L¼%̂á
 eĀi™ à; ði eifù àòè ÝE¾<, àifNòf÷~è-÷ Ɔi ð´<
 G-òèOÿ° ÛèŠđi, Ā®ò G-ò, ° è÷f°< «ìf†i, è†i -ñŠHj
 i Q^¶ òñfù ° -øðf´ è÷, ²†®, èf†®ù. Û<i èñfù «ìf†i fèO™
 òÁ-ñ, «èf†®ÿ° «ñ™ àifNòfOèÀ, ° ò¼òf††< è̂á ðfèè
 Ɔ¼%̂á Fù f™ ò¼òf††< òfEŠ¹, èè ° ð¼%̂á ìf†i ^ ¶-øJ™
 Hóifù Hó, C-ù òfè Ɔ¼, èM™-ò. Ɔ¶, ñ^Fò ñfèí ^Fj
 eifù ° ó< j ù† (Remnant) Ɔj Û^Fòfò^F™ , ò° óL òf
 ñfò†i ^Fj ò¼ñfù< ñŸÁ< , è¾, èfù¹ èO Mðófèè Í ò<
 àĀFŠđ´ ñi Šđ†´ è÷¶¶. Ɔ< ñfèí ^Fj èù ^aif-èJ™ à¼
 ÛFè÷ òfù àif-è ° ð¼%̂á ìf†i fèO™ òC, A; øù ð¼%̂á¶<
 , èM-ù Û®Šđ-i òfè, ° ðf† i òÁ-ñJj ° P, èf†®èO™,
 ñfèí ^Fj ā-ùò Ɔ¼ ñfò†i fè÷fù è†® ñŸÁ<
 ñf^i-÷-ò Mi , ò° óL òf ñfò†i< Cø̂á «ìf~ G-òJ½è÷¶.

^a ð¼%«ífti fèOj Í ®ò èti - ñšðfù ¶ ^a í fNòfOè÷ ¶
 è† «í ftí ~F½< ° ´ ðfèæ «ñÿ^a èfæÀ < ^a ðf¼+ fí fíó
 b~ñfù fèO½< ^a è™òf, ° ^a è½~ ¶ òí fè òÁ-ñ ÝófE,, C G-òò<
 è† í P%¶æ+ ¶. «ífti ~ ^a í fNòfOèæ ^a í fN™ ^a í fí ~ðfè¾<
 ñÿÁ< «ífti ~ ¶ òf>, -è ðÿP»< áF~ñ-òðfù ñùšðf-f-è,
^a è† í ò~è+ fè P¼, Aj øù~. òÁ-ñ, ° æ+ fè, Á®ò Üðfòí ¼ŠHÁ<,
 Üð~èæ «ífti «ò-ò-ò á¼ è† ~šðti ñÿÁ< ²ò† ´ < íj -ñ
^a è† í í fè è† ð¶íj, «ífti fèO™ «ò-òè-÷ ÛFèK, èf¶,
 «ífti fèOÿ° ^a òO«ò «ò-ò òfEŠ¹, è-÷ «íí M¼< ¹Aj øù~.
 òÁ-ñ-òš ðÿPò Üð~è+ ¶ ÜÁ ðò<, æófè†i šði™, íQ-ñšði™
 ñÿÁ< Cø%â è™M ñÿÁ< ²èfí fíó, «è-òèÀ, èfù ° -òðfù
 òN° -òèæ âj ðòÿòf™ ðfF, èšð´ Aø¶. íft®j á-ù ò ð° Fè÷ f™
 ÜÁ ðM, èšðti éí è, èòf., èfó ñÿÁ< ^a ðf¼+ fí fíó ñfÿòfè÷ f™
^a ð¼ñ+ M™ b† í šði fí èfóí fèOù f™ ^a ð¼%«ífti ~ ¶ -øJ™
 ° Áè™ G-òèÀ< «ífti P»æ+ ù. P~¶ -øJj Hó,, C-ù è-÷ ~
 b~šðF™ æ~ ¹Fò è† «í ftí ~Fÿèfù’ «òfè-ù-ò Ü«í èñfù
 è¼~íóf° èO™ òÁ-ñ ÝófE,, C G-òò< ðK%¶ -ó~íæ+ ¶.
 íÿ^a ðfç ¶ í-í ° -øJ½æ+ ° -òè-÷ «ñ«òf†i ñfè Y~^a èEò-í
 M´ ~¶ «ífti ~ ^a í fNòfOè-÷ ~ ^a í ft®L™ P¼%¶ ²´ èf´
 ò-ó, ° < ðófñK, ° < «ðfL ~íùñfù í™«í f, èfù èti -ñšÿ°
 èófòfù ò-èJ™ P-í f´ èæ í è~í šð´ í™ «ò† ´ <.

‘Pòf-èJ™ P-÷ è~èæ: ° j «í f, ° Aj øù óf Ü™ò¶
Hj ù-í Aj øù óf?’ âÂ< ° ¼Š¹ (Kuruppu) ñÿÁ< ÜŠ¶™ èfí Kj
è† ´-ó»<, P-÷ è~÷+ «ò-òèO™ CPí÷ «ò ífti < ^a è† í
A+~, Còf÷~èæ âÂ< è† «í ftí ~¶íj ðò ò¼í fè÷ fè
G-ò~¶M†i ñfèfí à«ò ñfFK-ò ñÁíL, Aø¶. P-÷ è~èæ ° è<
^a èf´, ° < Hó,, C-ù èO™ ñfÁ< G-ò-ñè-÷+»< òfEŠ¹, è-÷+»<
è¼~F™ ^a è† í ~ èñèfò, è† «í ftí ~¶íj «í f, ° òíÿ°
Pš ò~Fòfò< ° ò™Aø¶. òÁ-ñ ÝófE,, C G-òò~Fj P-÷ è~èæ
eí fù ð™«òøfù ÝófE,, CèOL ¼%¶ Ü~íftCè-÷ Š ðòj ð´F
P, è† ´-òòfù ¶ P-÷ è~èOj è™M, ^a í fN™ ñÿÁ< P-÷ è~èæ
° P~í fù ^a èfæ-èèæ ðÿP ÝófE Aø¶. P-÷ è~èæ ° è< ^a èf´, Aj ø
Hó,, C-ù èæ ° P~íí fù Cò ° òÿCèæ «ñÿ^a èfæ+ šðti «ðfF½<,
P-÷ è~èæ í fè÷ ¶ àæ÷ fÿò-ò ÛFèK, è,, ^a èEòíÿèfù èKòfù
Áò-ò Ü-ñ~¶, ^a èf´ šðF™ Üó², íQòf~ ñÿÁ< ÜHM¼~F
° èð~èæ ÝA«òf~ P¶ ò-ó í ðP«ò àæ+ ù~. òÁ-ñ ÝófE,, C
G-òò~Fj òÁ-ñ ñÿÁ< P-÷ è~ èí fù ñfšðfEòfù ¶, Üð~è+ ¶
è™Míí ò®, -èèO™ è´-ñòfè à-ò~¶ ~ ^a í fN™ «í òíÿèfù
° òÿC-ò «ñÿ^a èfæòíÿèfù ^a ðfÁŠ¹ í < e¶ àæ+ ^a íj ð-í
P-÷ è~èæ ÛP%¶æ+ f~èæ âj ð-í á´~¶, è† ®ò¶. ášð®J ¼%â
«ðfF½<, ^a í fN™ ^a ðÿÁ, ^a èfæòFòfù Üð~è+ ¶ ° òÿCèæ ^a í fN™
«í-òèÀ, èfè Üð~è-÷ ~ í òf~ ^a èEòfí «ðf¶ ñfù íÿø è™M
° -òèæ ñÿÁ< Fø-ñJj Ü®šð-í J™òfí ¶ < Cò è%â ~šðfèO™

Ûó² ñŸÁ< í Qòðf~¶-ø «õ-òðfEŠ¹, èO™ ÛóCò™ ef~%â
a í K¾è÷ f½< í-í Šð' ò¶ ° P~¶ añfŸøfè-÷ ^ a í KM^iù~.
í f† @ù ¶ eÍ èŠ a ðf¼÷ fí fò ÜHM¼^ FèO™ Û' ^i í-ò°-òJ j
ŸŸø™ a èfœFø-ù, è† @ª ò¿ Š¹ òi Ÿ° ÛFè ° òŸCèœ «í-òŠð' <.

P ò f-èJ j «ñfi™ è÷ f™ ðfF, èŠð†i ð° FèO½œ÷ P-÷ è~èœ
P í-ù» < Mi è™™ ñŸÁ< a í fN™ èÀ, ° «ñ½< °-òðfù ðfEŠ¹
òèFè-÷ «ò a èf† @¼%â ¶ i j ñŸ-òðò~è-÷ Š «ðfò«ò à ò~
ñ†i ^Fòfù ñQi Š ðf¶ èfŠH j -ñ, ñ†' Šð' ^i Šð†i i i ñf†i <
ñŸÁ< «è-òèœ, ài™i òŠ ðf¶ èfŠ¹, èÀ, èfù °-òðfù
òNò-èèœ àù òÁ-ñJ j ð™ ðKñfi fè-÷» < ÛÁ ðM^iù~.
P%â Š Hó, C-ù èœ P ò f-èJ™ i j ° Ÿ òi Šð' ^i Šð†' œ÷ ¶.
ŸJ Á<, í ÷ òCf è^F j (Thalayasingam) '«ñfi ½< e f C» < : a ðf¶ òfù
M«òè~i ñÁi L ^i™' àÁ< Û^F òf ò< P í Ÿ° < ÛŠðf™ «ñfi™
Hó«í èf èO™ eÍ èf èO j ñfŸP Û-ñ» < à ðf ò f èœ ° P~¶,
èòù < a è½^ ¶ Aø¶. ÛFè÷ M™ à òè ò f A, èfù, òÁ-ñ Ÿ ò f E, C
G-ò ò^F j Ÿ E¾ èO j í ò¾ èO j Û@Šð-i J™, «ñfi™ è÷ f™
ðfF, èŠð†i ð° FèO™ òÁ-ñ J L ¼%â ¶ eaei™ àÁ< Û^F òf ò<,
ñ, èœ í f èœ òf, -è-ò è† @ª ò¿ Š¹ òi Ÿ° ° j ù í f è °-òðfù
Û-ñF G-ò Û ò C ò< à j Á< «ðfè-ù-ò ñÁi L, Aø¶.
P š ò f E M™ B' ð†i eÍ èf èœ, Û-ñF, èfù a ò O ò f K ò f ù
a è ò Ÿ ð f' èœ P ò f ° < ò-ó, ° < èf^F¼, èf¶ í f ñ f è «ò e† C, èfù
a è ò Ÿ ð f' è-÷ Ÿ ò< H^¶ ^ í f è÷ ¶ òf, -è' í ò< ñŸÁ<
Á ò ò-ñ M™ à Ÿ ð' < ñfŸøf èÀ, «èŸ ð ñfŸP, a èf† ' í f è÷ ¶
eÀ%â j -ñ-ò a ò O, èf† @ù. a ð K í f è «í C ò ñŸÁ< è~ò«í è
ñ†i f èO™ ° j a ù', èŠð†i Û-ñFŠ «ð,² òf~i èÀ<, è÷ ^F™
eÍ èf èO-i «ò í-í a ðÁ< C P í ÷ M ò f ù ÜHM¼^ F èÀ< ÛFè÷ M™
è¼i Šð' ò¶ «ðf ò™ ò f ñ™ C P í ÷ M «ò«ò à j Pª ò f j Á í f A» œ÷ ù.

P%â Û^F òf ò< «ñfi™ Hó«í èf èO™ ðE¹ KA j ø GÁ ò ù f èO j
°, A ò ñ f ù Hó, C-ù è-÷ ÷²† @, èf†' ò¶ i j, ð ò¼< è÷ ^F™
è† i òŸ-ø a è™½ ð ò ò f ù í f è¾< Ÿ, ° A j ø¶. «òÁ ð†i ò-èèO™
ðfF, èŠð†', «òÁ ð†i ò-èèO™ Û ò Ÿ P Ÿ° B' a èE» <
°-òè-÷ ÜHM¼^ F a èE¶ «ðf K ù f™ ðf F Šð-i %â eÍ èf èO j
eœ ÜHM¼^ F J j à™ ò f ^ b¾ èÀ, ° a ð f¼^ ñ f ù -ò à j Á
° P Š H†i à j Á< P™-ò. ñfŸÁ p ò«ù f ò f ò °-òèÀ, °
à Ÿ ð í<-ñ ñfŸP ò-ñ Šð-i C ò~ è@ù ñ f ù í f è, èf† -èJ™,
à-ù ò ò~èœ í f è-÷ òÁ-ñ J L ¼%â ¶ M' M'¶, a èfœ÷, «ñfi™
«ò-÷ èO j «ðf¶ < Ài¹ F ò ò f EŠ¹, è-÷ èf i è ñ f è à ^¶,
a èfœ A j øù. «ñfi™ Hó«í èf èO™ P-i f' è÷ fù ¶ òÁ-ñ J j
ð™ ð K ñ f i f èœ à š M í< P-i, a è ò Ÿ ð†' ÜHM¼^ F J™
í f, è° Á A j øù à j ði-ù¹ K%â ¶ a èfœ òi Ÿ° < à šª ò f¼ eÍ è^F ù ¶ <
í¼i ^F Ÿ èfù ñù Šð f A Ÿ° <, «í-òèOŸ° ñfù, † μ í ~-ò,
a èf† i «í-òè-÷ à-í ò ù ò f è¾< P¼^i™ «ò†' <.

3 **யுத்தியிசுமயிபுருந்து சிவமஸிடுகறைக்து?**

PAF ÜFðòñfù, 'òÁ-ñ ÝóíE,,C G-òò°< èi Ý«èfA< ' àj ð¶ òÁ-ñ ÝóíE,,C G-òò^Fj Üµ °°-ø ñÝÁ< ÝóíE,,C °-ø-ò»< °PŠH' ò¶i j P-ò ®è< ð~, 2004< Ý‡ ®j èi Ý«èfO™ Üi j HóF,, aèò™eO™ ašMí< òN ii ^Fò^ai j ð-í»< è¼^FY aèfœAò¶. i-í °-ø,, aèòÝðf' èO™ B' ði fi a¼ GÁòùñfè òø-ñ ÝóíE,,C G-òò< èi Ý«èfOY° Š Hj ùòfù 'i ¼^ifóí ,, aèòÝðf' èO™ i j ðf^Fó^-í ò-óòÁŠðF½<, è+ ^Fj ai ¼, è®òfù òif^i G-òèÀi j Üi j c®^i G-òòfù ðfèOŠ¹, aèfœ-èè-+ èkf' aèEòF™ Üi j M¼Š-ð á^F-è¾Šð' ¶òF½< Cón^í áF~'if, Aò¶. Ýó< ð Üòéó Góí G-òèOj Hj ù¼< Āi Cø%ñ i-í °-ø, aèfœ-èè«+f' ðE òfYø °ò™òF™ òÁ-ñ ÝóíE,,C G-òò°<, «òÁ ðò GÁòùfèA< ÜĀðM^i Cónfèè Cò °P^¶ að^i f j «if ñÝÁ< aó<ùj † YA«òf~ èòù< aè½^¶A j òù. áF~èfò^F™ Góí °òYCeè F†i Ii Šð' < °-øJ™ PšòĀðòfèè i™ò«if~ ð®ŠH-ù-ò ãYð' ^Fù. Üòéó Góí fèè «ñÝ^aèfœ+Šð†i Ýó< ð G-òèè, c† i èfò^FYèfù Góí °èf-ñ^¶ò^F™ °PŠHi ^i, è if, è^-í ãYð' ^i °®» añj ð¶i j, òNef†' < aèfœ-èè-+ Hj ðÝÁ ò-í»< è®ùñf, °A j òù. áŠð®J ¼%ñ «ðfF½< PF™ Ü, è-ø»-í «òfKY°<, F†i a¼fA-í Š¹, °< P-í «òòfù àøM™ ãYð' < áF~ðfóí Cónfèè Fø-ñòfè^ F†i Ii Šð' < Góí ^F™ Āi Hó,,C-ùè-+ ãYð' ^¶<. àiM òòf°< °èò~èè, éí èfèè ñÝÁ< Üó² àj ðù ai ¼, è®èOj «ðf¶ àj Āi aùfj Á P-í ,, aèòÝð' ò ai j Ā< Mí ò< «ñ½< MKòfè^ iQ<ò ÝóíòŠði «ò‡ ®ò ai f j øf°<.

èi Ý«èfœ ðE èO™ i-í °-øŠð' ^¶A j ø æ~ ðf^Fó^F-ù Pò° òfè ò°, è Pòòf^ai j Á<, ñføfè ā-ùò ÜĀðòI, è i-í °-øŠð' ^¶< GÁòùfèè èi Ý«èfœ ðE èÀ, èfè Fó†®ò GF-ò, aèf', °< ò-ó ÜòYPTM ifAJ ¼, è «ò‡' añj ð¶< Ü«ièñfè òÁ-ñ ÝóíE,,C G-òò< ÜP%¶ aèf†i °, Aòñfù ð®ŠH-ùòf°<. òÁ-ñ ÝóíE,,C G-òò^Fj ÝYø™èè, ÝóíE,,C ñÝÁ< Ý«òfèè~ ñ†i ^F™ CòŠðfèŠ Hó«òfèñfAù. Ý«òfèè~ G-òòJ òfù ñ†i ^F½< Āi ài ù® G-òòJ L ¼%¶ c† i èfò ÝĀi™ G-òòò-ó, °< P-í J ½øè+ P-í f†' G-ò ðYPTM ÜFè< ÜPòŠði «ò‡ ®J ¼%ñ ¶. P,,CónfèOj èfóí ñfè Cø%ñ i-í °-ø, aèfœ-èèèè -èMí Šð' i™ Āi f¶, ðFòfè Ü, aèfœ-èè-+ i i< 'ó÷,, aèEð-ò ā-ò, ò¼fèfò^F™ ÜòY-ø ašMí< îM~, èòf< àù «ñ½< ÜPòŠði™ «ò‡' <.

4 *ᄁᄂᄃᄄᄅ*

P^aif° ŠH½œ+ è†´-òèœ, êñ~ŠH, èŠđ†i Hó,,C-ùèœ e¶ «ñ½< Mõfi^-î °j aù´, è ài¾< âĀ< i<H, -è>i j òfêè~è-+^ É ‡® èõf™ M´< ò-èJ™ ò®ò-ñ, èŠđ†´œ+ù. òĀ-ñJ j Hó,,C-ùèœ aifî ~đfù Ûµ ° °-øèO™ iQ«ò àj Ā Û™ò¶ Pó†´´ °-øèO™ ñ†´< ifAJ óf¶ Pó†´´< P-í %ā-î àđ<òfA^¶ đò%ā ° ĵ-ñòfù ¶< ñŸĀ< êñQ-òòfù ¶ ñfù æ~ Ûµ ° °-ø-ò -è, aèfœ+Šđi «ò†®òFj «i-ò«ò Pšõ^FòfòfèO™ «ñ«òfAJ ¼, °< aèEFòf°<. êñ~ŠH, èŠđ´< °œOMđófèœ Û™ò¶ °, Aò aèEFèœ ÜŠđ®«ò ÜòÿPj èf†CŠ ađĀñfù^-î, aèf†i-ò°àù a¼«đf¶< è¼i °®òf¶, ñŸĀ °-øèœ Í òñfù đ° ŠđfE¾èœ Hó,,C-ùJ j «òĀđ†i «if~ è† «i f†i^-î äÿđ´^¶ đ-òòfè P¼, èòf<.

ãšđ®J ¼%ā «đfF½<, Û«iè GĀòùfèœ āj ñŸĀ °-øèOÿ° añ¶ òfè Pí fA«òÿ°< íj -ñ-ò, èf†®ù āj đij Hóifù èfóí ñfè, đ™đKñfi Ûµ ° °-ø-ò Hó«òfĀšđ¶ ñŸĀ< aèò™đ´^¶ òFòfù C, è™èœ ñŸĀ< Cónfè-+»< P, è†´-òèœ z†®, èf†´Aj òù. è~ò«iè Û™ò¶ «iCò íófíó ñ†ifè-+ àĀFšđ´i™, Pò, °èœ, àŠd´èœ ñŸĀ< ièò™è-+ Pò½ñfù ò-ó M-óòfè¾<, ÛFè aèòMj P»< Fó†i «ò†® «i-òšđf´ «đfj òù đòòòfù àđ<òfè^F½œ+ đ†¹èf~%ā ñŸĀ< °Fò Û™ò¶ Û+¾èf~%ā ñŸĀ °-øè-+ Pí fA«òŸĀ i-î °-øšđ´îf-ñ, ° ÛFè+M™ °PŠHi Šđ´< èfóí fè+fe Āòšđ´Aj òù. Ýùf™, PíŸfè òĀ-ñ-òš °K%¶ aèfœòíÿ°< ñŸĀ< òĀ-ñ, °-øš¹ °òÿCèĀ, °< aè½^¶< M-ò āj ù?

Pòf-èJ™ òĀ-ñJ j «òĀđ†i Ûµ ° °-øèœ aifî ~đfè ÛPòíÿ° Ý~ò°œ+ òfêè~èœ, P^aif° FJ j PĀFJ™, Pòf-èJ™ òĀ-ñ aifî ~đfè đE òfŸĀ< ò™½i~èœ °ĵ aòfj Pùf™ aif°, èŠđ†i «òĀ ¶-í ò÷fèOj đ†®ò-òš đf~-òJi òf<. Û«ièñfù Pšõ^FòfòfèOÿ° Ü®šđ-î-ò i™Aò aèòÿđE Š đ^Fófèœ ñŸĀ< đFŠH, èŠđ†i aif° Fèœ Í ò°< òfêè~èœ òĀ-ñ ÝófE,,C G-òò^Fj Ûµ ° °-øèœ, ÝE¾èœ ñŸĀ< ÝófE,,Cèœ đÿP»< «ñ½< ÛP%¶ aèfœ+ °®»<. òĀ-ñ ÝófE,,C G-òò^Fj P-í ò^î÷< (www.cepa.lk) Û™ò¶ às aòf¼ Û^Fòfò^Fù ¶< °®M™ aèf´, èŠđ†´œ+ àèf^¶-í èOj Mđófè-+ ìò¾ aèE¶ đf~, è¾<.



Chapter 1

THE CONVENTIONAL APPROACHES:

An overview of poverty in Sri Lanka

Dr. Patricia Alailima



CHAPTER 1

The Conventional Approaches: An overview of poverty in Sri Lanka¹

Dr. Patricia Alailima

1 Introduction

Depending on the definitions and indicators used the overall picture of the state of poverty varies in any country, and Sri Lanka is no exception. At present there is at least a consensus on the notion that poverty is experienced as *deprivation in multiple dimensions*. No single approach or indicator for measuring poverty will suffice to capture all dimensions. It is for this reason that approaches to poverty tend to group 'the poor' according to certain characteristics. There are four mainstream approaches which are used to define, measure, and monitor poverty. These are: the monetary approach, capability approach, the social exclusion approach and the participatory approach.

**no single approach or indicator
for measuring poverty will suffice
to capture all dimensions**

Sri Lanka is a country which has been hailed by many as an example of human development but, nevertheless, continues to experience poverty. This chapter seeks to provide an overview of the extent and distribution of poverty in Sri Lanka as measured through some of these dimensions, and discusses the different methodologies that have been developed. The monetary approach has been used in Sri Lanka quite extensively, while the adoption of non-monetary approaches (capability, social exclusion and participatory) is more recent. This chapter will present both monetary and commonly used non-monetary approaches.

2 Monetary approach to understanding poverty in Sri Lanka

The monetary approach has historically been the most widely used attempt to understand poverty in Sri Lanka. It defines poverty as a shortfall in consumption (or income) in relation to a poverty line, and focuses on measures of income and expenditure. According to this approach, poverty means not having or being

¹ A previous version of this chapter was written by Azra Jafferjee in 2002 and this paper draws from this writing. Contributions to this chapter were also made by Azra Abdul Cader.

able to afford certain minimum necessities required for an acceptable level of wellbeing (Ruggeri-Laderchi *et al.* 2003 and Gunewardena 2005). Monetary measures of poverty are one-dimensional and look at the economic dimension of deprivation using quantitative methods of data collection and data analysis. There are, however, different ways of using this data, and it can highlight dimensions of both absolute and relative poverty, as well as income inequality.

2.1 Absolute poverty

Absolute poverty is defined as subsistence below the minimum requirement of physical wellbeing (Jabbar and Senanayake 2004). It is most commonly measured in relation to the ability of a household to afford a minimum set of consumption requirements. Sen defines absolute poverty as:

“the idea that there is an irreducible core of absolute deprivation in our idea of poverty, which translates reports of starvation, malnutrition and visible hardship into a diagnosis of poverty, without having to ascertain first the relative picture.” (Sen 1981:17)

A widely used measure to depict absolute poverty is the poverty line, which stipulates a standard amount of goods/services which households require to meet their basic needs. In Sri Lanka a large proportion of the literature on poverty has been generated on the calculation of poverty lines and subsequent estimations of the level of poverty. The derivation of the poverty line has varied over the years, but it is now generally accepted that *consumption/expenditure* is a better measure of long-term income status and living standards, since it is not as prone to understatement in surveys as *income* data is. Tables 2.1 and 2.2 below set out examples of the derivation of different poverty lines at various points in time and the methods by which they were calculated.

In 2004 the Department of Census and Statistics (DCS) computed an official national poverty line using consumption data. The average calorie requirement per person per day for 2002 (using the minimum daily calorie requirement stipulated by the Medical Research Institute) was applied to the average cost per calorie of the households in the second, third and fourth deciles² to obtain the food poverty line.

The non-food component was calculated by averaging the upper and lower bound estimates, where:

- The lower bound is the median per capita non-food expenditure of households whose per capita **total** expenditure is close to the food

² Deciles (or decile points) are income values which divide the population, when ranked by income, into ten equal sized groups (for instance 10%, 20%, 30% - 100%).

Table 2.1: Attempts to measure absolute poverty in Sri Lanka by independent researchers 1969 - 1997

Relevant Year	Poverty Line per person per month	Base	Data Source	Source
1969/70	Rs.21	Price adjusted food expenditure line computed by Gunaratne (1985)	LFSS ³ 1969/70	Bhalla and Glewwe (1985)
1978/79	Rs.70	Per capita monthly food expenditure of the bottom 40% of the households	CFS ⁴ 1981/82	Gunaratne (1985)
1981/82	Rs.106	Rs.70 inflated by the self calculated food price index	CFS 1981/82	Gunaratne (1985)
1985	Rs.202	2,500 calories and 53 grams of protein per adult male equivalent	HIES ⁵ 1985/86	Nanayakkara and Premaratne (1987)
1990/91	Lower poverty line: Rs.471 Higher poverty line: Rs.565	Cost of basic needs, i.e. food (anchored on Nanayakkara and Premaratne's food poverty line) and non-food consumption 20% higher than the lower poverty line	HIES 1990/91	Datt and Gunewardena (1997)
1995/96	Lower: Rs.791 Higher: Rs.950	Cost of basic needs and non-food consumption. The poverty line of 1990/91 is adjusted to current prices 20% higher than the lower poverty line	HIES 1995/96	Gunewardena (2000)
1995/96	Rs.591	2030 calories per person per day	HIES 1995/96	Vidyaratne and Tilakaratne (2003)
1996/97	Lower: Rs.860 Higher: Rs.1032	The poverty line of 1995/96 adjusted to current prices 20% higher than the lower poverty line	CFS 1996/97	Pradhan (1999)

³ Labour Force and Socio-economic Survey⁴ Consumer Finance and Socio-economic Survey⁵ Household Income and Expenditure Survey

Table 2.2: Methods employed to calculate poverty in Sri Lanka: A comparison

Source	Gunewardena (2000)	Vidyaratne and Tilakaratne (2003)
Method	Cost of Basic Needs	Cost of Basic Needs
Caloric Norm	2500 calories and 53 grams of protein per adult (age 20-39 years) male equivalent	2030 calories per person per day
Data Source	LFSS 1985/86, HIES 1990 and HIES 1995/96	HIES 1995/96, Demographic and Health Survey 1994 (to compute caloric norm)
Relevant Year	1995/96	1995/96
Food Poverty Line	Nanayakkara and Premaratne's (1987) food poverty line of Rs.200 for 1985-86 is used as the reference poverty line and updated for 1995/96 using a temporal food price index. The temporal food price index is obtained by using expenditure weights and unit values from the HIES for 85/86, 90/91 and 95/96. Food poverty line = Rs.641.82 per person per month	The food basket was based on the consumption patterns of the 2 nd -4 th 'per capita food expenditure' deciles. The minimum caloric norm was taken from the Medical Research Institute, which accounts for both age and sex. Food poverty line = Rs.591 per person per month
Non Food Component	The food share is regressed against total expenditure and demographic characteristics. The average food share and, hence, the non-food share can be estimated when total expenditure is just equal to the food poverty line. The non-food share is then multiplied by the food poverty line in order to derive the non-food expenditure.	The food ratio ⁶ of the 2 nd , 3 rd and 4 th deciles is calculated.

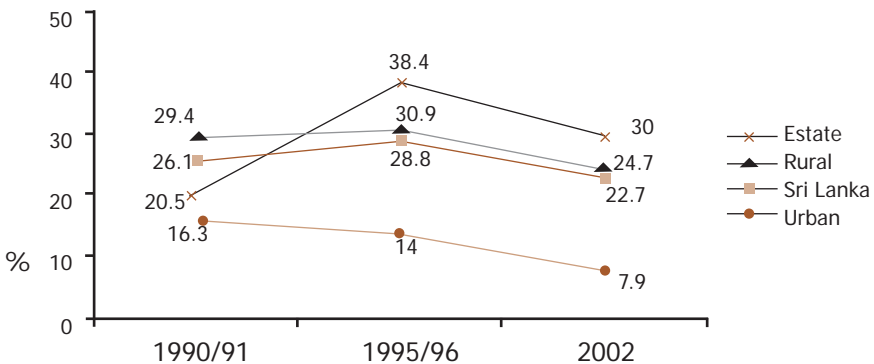
⁶ The 'food ratio' is the ratio of food expenditure to total expenditure

- poverty line (+ or – 10%).
- The upper bound is the median per capita non-food expenditure of households whose per capita **food** expenditure is close to the food poverty line (+ or – 10%).

The official poverty line was derived for 2002 and the Sri Lanka Consumer Price Index was used for deriving those for subsequent years. District poverty lines were estimated by constructing spatial price indices (as Lespeyres' indices) using the implicit prices of food items from the household surveys for households belonging to the second to fourth deciles of nominal household consumption (DCS 2004). As of January 2007 the national poverty line stands at Rs.2323 per month (DCS 2007).

The development of the national poverty line is also relevant in trying to understand the global poverty line measures of a US\$1 a day and US\$2 a day. According to these two measures 6.6% (US\$1 a day) and 45.4% (US\$2 a day) of the Sri Lankan population are poor. According to the national poverty line of 2002 (Rs.1423) 19.2% of households in Sri Lanka are poor, translating to 22.7% of the population (nearly 4 million people) (DCS 2004). The following graph illustrates poverty trends since 1990-91 and shows the percentage of people who are classified as poor.

Figure 2.1: Poverty Headcount Index trends 1990/91 - 2002



Note: Data sets from 1985 - 2002 exclude the North and East.

Source: Household Income and Expenditure Survey 1990/91, 1995/96 and 2002

Although the incidence of poverty has declined from 26.1% in 1990/1 to 22.7% in 2002, a drop of 13%, the actual number of poor people increased over this period from 3.7 to 3.8 million (DCS 2002). The World Bank (2005) estimates that between 1995/96 and 2002 the poverty headcount ratio⁷ would have fallen from 29% to 12% if the distribution of consumption had not changed during this period. This suggests that the sharp increase in consumption inequality greatly reduced the poverty-reducing impact of growth, i.e. the benefits of growth accrued mainly to the non-poor.

Although income distribution was deteriorating, Gunatilaka found that all quintiles⁸ had experienced an improvement in the real mean monthly incomes between 1990 and 2002. While for the lowest two quintiles the gain was small, Rs.34.84 and Rs.60.30 respectively, for the highest quintile it was Rs.411.05 (Gunatilaka 2005).

These figures give rise to different commentaries on the evolution of poverty in the country. Some argue that the large share of government expenditure spent on social welfare could have been re-directed to private sector-led growth, with an ensuing positive trickle down effect on the poor. Others take an opposing stand, arguing that it is precisely the cut in government expenditure on social welfare and the inequality in the distribution of benefits accrued by growth that has resulted in insufficient poverty reduction. In addition, the armed conflict in the North and East has both directly and indirectly contributed to poverty. Defence expenditure has had a 'crowding out' effect on investment and especially infrastructure development and hence a depressing effect on growth, which indirectly feeds into greater poverty - not just in conflict-affected regions, but also throughout the country.

District poverty lines developed by DCS indicate that regional disparities in income poverty incidence are also wide. In seven out of 25 districts between 30-37% of the population were living in poverty in 2002; Badulla, Moneragala, Hambantota, Kegalle, Ratnapura, Matale, and Puttalam. Almost all of these districts grew poorer during the 1990/91-2002 period. Hambantota was the exception, with the proportion in poverty remaining at 32% in both years. Poverty incidence in Polonnaruwa remained static at 24% and in Nuwara Eliya it increased from 20% to 23%. In all other districts, there was a decline in poverty, reaching very low levels in Colombo (6%) and Gampaha districts (11%) by 2002. However, Colombo still had one of the highest populations below the poverty line in 2002 (144,106 people), with absolute numbers similar to districts such as Moneragala (114,843) (DCS 2002).

⁷ This refers to the percentage of the population below the poverty line.

⁸ Quintiles are income values which divide the population, when ranked by income, into five equal sized groups (for instance 20%, 40%, 60% - 100%).

Table 2.3: Percentage of poor population by district

District	1990/91	1995/96	2002
Colombo	16	12	6
Gampaha	15	14	11
Kalutara	32	29	20
Kandy	36	37	25
Matale	29	42	30
Nuwara Eliya	20	32	23
Galle	30	32	26
Matara	29	35	27
Hambantota	32	31	32
Kurunegala	27	26	25
Puttalam	22	31	31
Anuradhapura	24	27	20
Polonnaruwa	24	20	24
Badulla	31	41	37
Moneragala	34	56	37
Ratnapura	31	46	34
Kegalle	31	36	32
National	26.1	28.8	22.7

Note: Datasets from 1985 - 2002 exclude the North and East.

Source: Household Income and Expenditure Survey 1990/91, 1995/96 and 2002

DCS has been able to narrow the area of focus still further to identify the poorest Divisional Secretariat's (DS) Divisions by applying the 'small area estimation method' to Census and HIES data. This method imputes consumption levels to the 2001 Census of population and housing based on a model of consumption estimated from the HIES 2002. The consumption model includes household characteristics that are available in both the Census and the Survey. Sixteen divisions were found to have between 36.4% and 51.8% of their population in poverty (DCS 2006).⁹

District	DS Divisions
Kandy	Udadumbara, Minipe
Puttalam	Kalpitiya, Vanathavilluwa, Mundalama
Badulla	Mahiyangana, Rideemaliyadda, Meegahakivula, Kandaketiya, Lunugala
Moneragala	Madulla, Siyabalanduwa
Ratnapura	Elapatha, Godakawela, Weligapola, Kolonna

⁹ See Department of Census and Statistics 2006a, *Socio-economic Indicators for Selected 119 Divisional Secretary's Divisions*, Colombo: DCS for a more detailed disaggregation.

The incidence of poverty amongst households in both urban and rural sectors has reduced over the last decade (see Table 2.4) but actual numbers in poverty in urban areas has declined from 0.5 to 0.2 million people and increased in rural areas from 3 to 3.4 million people. Estate sector poverty incidence increased dramatically, but the number of people in poverty remained static at 0.2 million, suggesting that there was a major decline in the total estate population over this period (DCS 2002).

Table 2.4: Percentage of households below the poverty line by sector

Sector	1990/91	1995/96	2002
Urban	12.9	11	6.2
Rural	24.7	25.9	20.8
Estate	16.7	32.2	24.3

Source: Department of Census and Statistics 2004a

It must be highlighted that a change in the administrative definition of urban and rural areas shifted town council areas from the urban into the rural sector. As a result, a number of Colombo suburbs were classified as rural, even though they have urban sector characteristics. In addition, the break up of large estates into smaller ones would move their resident labour out of the estate category into the rural sector. The combination of these trends may account for the increase in numbers in poverty in the rural areas.

in sixteen divisions, between 36.4% and 51.8% of the population live in poverty

2.2 Relative poverty

Relative poverty refers to income or consumption levels that are below a given percentage of the national average. Poverty is determined by an individual/household's deprivation/wellbeing in comparison to its position relative to others in society (Jabbar and Senanayake 2004). Even if a poor individual's standard of living has improved in absolute terms, that individual will continue to be classified as poor, as long as the improvement in his/her wellbeing is less than proportionate to the increase in wellbeing achieved by the rest of society.

Although the majority of studies on poverty in Sri Lanka focus on absolute poverty, the importance of relative poverty is being recognised:

"it automatically updates for improvements in living standards in situations where living standards rise slowly and steadily over time."
(Gunewardena 2006:35)

Gunewardena (*ibid*) attempts to derive a relative poverty line for Sri Lanka using the official absolute poverty line, which is converted to a relative poverty line by calculating the median consumption level (50% of the population consume below this amount) for the population in 2002 and calculating what fraction of this is the official poverty line. The official poverty line at Rs.1,423 is 66% of the median.

“If we compare results for 1995/96, where the values of absolute and relative definitions of the poverty lines are quite close, with the results for 2002, we see that with an absolute definition of poverty, the measures of poverty have improved, but if one uses the relative definition, taking into account the overall improvement in living standards between these years, relative poverty has increased.” (Gunewardena 2006:36)

2.3 Inequality

Inequality is concerned with the changes in the entire distribution of wellbeing and changes in the relative position of anyone in society. Poverty and inequality are strongly related (Gunewardena 2004).

Income inequality is measured by calculating the share of income received by the lowest 40 percent as a percentage of income received by the highest quintile. Income inequality reduced dramatically in the 1953 to 1973 period due to the strong income distribution policies introduced by the government. Thereafter, the trends have been mixed, with a steady increase from 1978/79 to 2002, possibly due to the liberalisation policy reforms of 1977, which redirected funds from social welfare towards creating an environment which was conducive to export led growth.

Income inequality is measured using the Gini Co-efficient, income per capita by income deciles, and expenditure per household by expenditure deciles. The Gini Co-efficient refers to a number between zero and one that measures a degree of inequality in the distribution of income in a given society, zero being minimum inequality (if everyone had the same income level) and one being maximum inequality (if one person had all the income) (Jabbar and Senanayake 2004).

Income distribution data from the Central Bank of Sri Lanka for the post-1973 period shows an increasing income concentration up to 1986/87. However, the Gini Co-efficient fell sharply in the 1996/97 survey of the Central Bank with increases in the shares of all deciles at the expense of the highest and a decline in the income ratio of the top quintile to the bottom two quintiles. In the 2003/4 survey, the Gini reverted back to its 1986/7 level, due to the recovery of the share of the highest decile.

Table 2.5: Income distribution 1953 – 2002

Decile	Income Shares by Deciles of Income Receivers (%)									
	1953	1963	1973	1978/79	1981/82	1986/87	1996/97	2003/4		
Lowest	1.5	1.2	1.8	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.3	1.2		
Second	3.6	2.7	3.2	2.6	2.5	2.5	2.8	2.6		
Third	3.6	3.6	4.4	3.6	3.4	3.4	3.9	3.8		
Fourth	4.4	4.6	5.7	4.8	4.5	4.4	4.9	4.5		
Fifth	5.7	5.6	7.1	5.9	5.5	5.7	6.1	5.8		
Sixth	6.3	6.8	8.8	7.4	6.9	6.8	7.4	7.2		
Seventh	7.9	9.0	10.6	9.1	8.5	8.4	9.1	8.9		
Eighth	10.4	11.5	12.7	11.4	10.7	11.1	11.6	11.3		
Ninth	14.2	16.0	15.9	15.4	14.9	15.4	15.7	15.3		
Highest	42.5	39.2	30.0	38.7	41.9	41.4	37.3	39.4		
Cumulative Lowest 20%	5.1	3.9	5.0	3.8	3.7	3.6	4.1	3.8		
Next 20%	8.0	8.2	10.1	8.4	7.9	7.8	8.8	8.3		
Lowest 40%	13.1	12.1	15.1	12.2	11.6	11.4	12.9	12.1		
Top 20%	56.7	55.2	45.9	54.1	56.8	56.8	53	54.7		
Ratio top 20% to bottom 40%	4.3	4.6	3.0	4.4	4.9	5.0	4.1	4.5		
Gini Coefficient	0.46	0.45	0.35	0.43	0.45	0.46	0.43	0.46		

Note: Datasets from 1985 - 2002 exclude the North and East Province.

Source: Central Bank of Sri Lanka 2005

The data from the surveys conducted by the DCS (Table 2.6) shows an increasing income concentration up to 2002, accompanied by a decline in the share of the lowest two deciles between 1985/86 and 1990/91, and 1995/96 and 2002. Between 1990/91 and 1995/96, there was also a decline in the share of the highest decile which benefited all the other deciles, but it was insufficient to affect the Gini ratio.

Table 2.6: Income Distribution 1980/81 – 2002

Decile	Total household income by per capita income decile (%)				
	1980/81	1985/86	1990/91	1995/96	2002
Lowest	3.5	2.4	1.9	2.1	1.7
Second	5.3	3.8	3.3	3.5	3.1
Third	5.9	4.5	4.3	4.4	4.1
Fourth	6.7	5.3	5.3	5.3	5.0
Fifth	8.0	6.2	6.4	6.4	6.0
Sixth	8.6	6.9	7.5	7.4	7.3
Seventh	9.4	8.3	9.2	9.0	8.8
Eighth	10.9	10.0	10.8	11.4	11.2
Ninth	13.8	13.5	14.8	15.6	15.4
Highest	27.4	38.8	36.5	34.8	37.4
Cumulative Lowest 20%	8.8	6.2	5.2	5.6	4.8
Next 20%	12.6	9.8	9.6	9.7	9.1
Lowest 40%	21.4	16	14.8	15.3	13.9
Top 20%	41.2	52.3	31.3	50.4	52.8
Ratio top 20% to Bottom 40%	1.9	3.3	3.5	3.3	3.8
Gini Coefficient	0.31	0.43	0.44	0.46	0.47

Notes: Datasets from 1985 - 2002 exclude the North and East.

*1980/81, 1985/86 data refer to per capita household income; 1990/91, 1995/96, 2002 data refer to total household income.

Source: Department of Census and Statistics (1983, 1987, 1993, 2000, 2004)

Ranking of households according to per capita *expenditure* invariably gives a smaller degree of inequality than with per capita *income*. In Sri Lanka's case, the upward trend in inequality is confirmed for the period 1990/91 to 2002 by Gunatilaka (2005), who converted HIES data to individual per capita adult equivalence and used regional price indices to obtain real per capita consumption estimates for the period 1980-2002. Gini Co-efficients of 0.31 for 1980, 0.32 for 1985, 0.31 for 1990, 0.34 for 1995 and 0.36 for 2002 were obtained.

3 Non-monetary approaches to understanding poverty in Sri Lanka

Although most studies of poverty in Sri Lanka focus on a monetary approach, it has generally been accepted that there is a need to progress from using one-dimensional methods towards a broader view which encompasses social, human and even political dimensions, such as empowerment and vulnerability.¹ However, there is no consensus about which dimensions to include, what indicators to use, or which method of aggregation is to be adopted.

The non-monetary multidimensional poverty measures follow three approaches: capabilities, social exclusion and participatory. The measures which have gained universal recognition are the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) Human Development Index (HDI) and Human Poverty Index (HPI), and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

Whilst the standard UNDP Human Development Index (HDI) remained unchanged, focusing on levels of achievement and fulfilment, the Human Poverty Index (HPI) was modified for Sri Lanka. The HPI selected indicators which were more relevant in the Sri Lankan context, and which concentrated on deprivation and shortfalls (Jabbar and Senanayake 2004). More recently, an attempt was made to produce a composite indicator and regional poverty lines to identify the poor in Sri Lanka (Siddisena and Jayathilaka 2004). This section will focus on introducing these measures.

3.1 Human Development Index (HDI)

Attempts to measure human development and poverty have focused on a multidimensional understanding of poverty to encompass social, human and political dimensions. Whilst most methods under the capabilities approach measure absolute poverty, the other two approaches, social exclusion and participatory, usually focus on relative poverty and inequality. The HDI examines both economic and human dimensions. The 'real GDP¹⁰ per capita' indicator represents the economic dimension and the other indicators capture the human dimension of deprivation. In addition, the index indirectly addresses a third tier, the socio-cultural dimension, through the 'life expectancy at birth' indicator.

¹⁰ See Baulch (1996) in Gunewardena (2005) and The DAC Guidelines: Poverty Reduction. Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/47/14/2672735.pdf#search=%22guidelines%20on%20poverty%20reduction%22>

Table 3.1: HDI dimensions, indicators and units of measurement

Dimensions of human development	HDI indicators	Unit of measure
Ability to live a long and healthy life	Life expectancy	Number of years
Access to knowledge and information	Adult literacy rate Gross enrolment ratio	Percentage (%) Percentage (%)
Standard of living	Real GDP per capita	Purchasing power parity (PPP US\$)

Source: Adapted from the National Human Development Report, Sri Lanka 1998, UNDP

Box 1: Calculating the Human Development Index

The value is calculated for all three dimensions: ability to live a long and healthy life, access to knowledge and information and standard of living. Each value is given equal weight and aggregated, to arrive at the overall HDI.

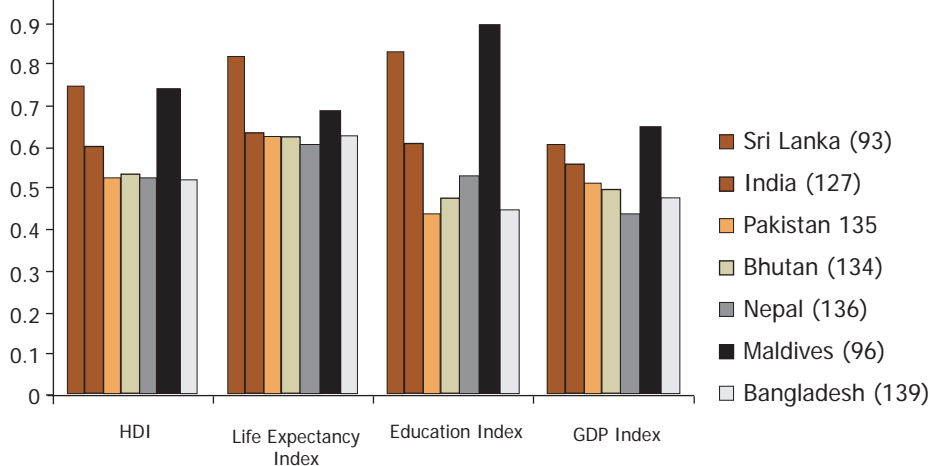
Source: Human Development Report 2005 (UNDP 2005)

- *Ability to live a long and healthy life* - Life expectancy is selected to reflect this dimension. The UNDP defines life expectancy as the number of years an infant is expected to live, assuming that age-specific mortality rates, which prevail at the time of birth, would remain unchanged throughout the child's lifetime. The maximum and minimum values are 85 years and 25 years respectively. Sri Lanka's value for the above dimension in 1994 was **0.859** (UNDP 1998) and **0.82** in 2003 (UNDP 2005).¹¹
- *Access to knowledge and information* - This dimension is assessed by two indicators: namely, adult literacy rate and combined gross enrolment ratio. The adult literacy rate is defined as the percentage of the population over the age of 15 who are capable of reading and writing a simple passage. Combined gross enrolment ratio is the number of students enrolled in school at a given level of education (primary, secondary or tertiary) as a percentage of the total population of official school age for that given level of education. Sri Lanka's value for the above dimension in 1994 was **0.670** (UNDP 1998) and **0.83** in 2003 (UNDP 2005).
- *Standard of living* - Real GDP per capita is used to calculate the standard of living in a society. It is converted by the international standard of US\$1

¹¹ See Figure 2 and 3 for a comparative analysis of HDI and HPI between Sri Lanka and other South Asian countries.

(purchasing power parity or PPP¹²), which is used in order to overcome variations in the cost of living across countries. The maximum value of GDP per capita is \$4,000 and the minimum value is \$100. Sri Lanka's value for the above dimension in 1994 was **0.730** (UNDP 1998) and **0.68** in 2003 (UNDP 2005).

Figure 3.1: Human Development Index in South Asia



Note: Numbers in brackets indicate country HDI rank

Source: UNDP 2005

The HDI has its own limitations and there are weaknesses in each component used in deriving the index. The GDP data from many developing countries often has incomplete coverage, measurement errors, and biases. The severity, quantity and significance of errors differ over time, leading to comparability problems. Definitions of literacy can be problematic as different countries define literacy differently. Further, school enrolment is not internationally comparable as the quality, length of the school year, etc. varies. In relation to development policy there is no evidence that these reports have led to countries rethinking their policies, as regional disparities continue. The reports do not address the political economy and the sociological constraints that have prevented most of the developing world from replicating experiences of successful human development (Srinivasan 1994).

¹² PPP is a method of measuring the relative purchasing power of different countries' currencies over the same types of goods and services.

3.2 Human Poverty Index (HPI)

From the outset it should be made clear that whilst the Human Poverty Index (HPI) focuses on the same dimensions of deprivation as the HDI, the concept of the two indices and hence the indicators that represent them are dissimilar. The HDI measures average *achievement* while the HPI measures *deprivations* in the three dimensions of human development captured in the HDI (UNDP 2005).

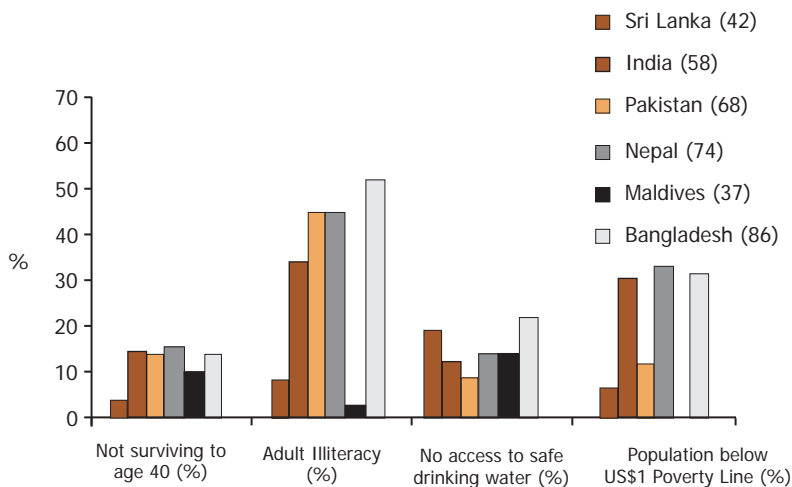
“While the concept of human development focuses attention on levels of achievement and fulfilment, the concept of human poverty concentrates on deprivation and shortfalls”. (UNDP 1998:28)

Although conceptually the HPI focuses on absolute poverty it is understood that forms of deprivation vary amongst nations. As such, the HPI for Sri Lanka was modified through the inclusion of certain specific indicators which would best capture human poverty.

Table 3.2: HPI dimensions, indicators and units of measurement

Dimension of human poverty	HPI indicators	Unit of measure
Survival deprivation	Percentage of population dying before age 40	(%)
Deprivation in knowledge	Adult illiteracy rate	(%)
	Combined primary and junior secondary non-enrolment rate	(%)
Deprivation in access to safe drinking water	Inability to obtain safe drinking water	(%)
Deprivation in access to safe sanitation	Households with no toilet facilities	(%)
	Toilet facilities available which do not permit clean and efficient sewage disposal	(%)
Deprivation in access to adequate basic health care-	Proportion of child births outside formal medical institutions	(%)
	Proportion of children not immunised for B.C.G, diphtheria, pertussis and tetanus, polio and measles	(%)
	Proportion of pregnant women not immunised for tetanus	(%)
Deprivation in access to electric power and energy	Percentage of population without access to electricity	(%)

Source: Adapted from the National Human Development Report, Sri Lanka 1998, UNDP

Figure 3.2: Selected poverty indicators for South Asia

Note: Numbers in brackets indicate country HPI rank

Source: UNDP 20005

3.3 A composite indicator of multidimensional poverty

Prior to the launch of the official poverty line by DCS, Siddhisena and Jayathilaka (2004) attempted to compute a composite indicator of multidimensional poverty and regional poverty lines, using the Consumer Finance and Socio-economic Survey (CFS) of 1996/97 and the Sri Lanka Integrated Survey (SLIS) of 1999/2000. The composite poverty index that was developed was based on seven factors which were identified as the most significant; nutrition, primary education, health care, sanitation, safe water housing quality and income. These factors were scaled and weighted using Principal Component-based Factor Analysis. The ranking order of the districts was quite different when the composite indices constructed were used, compared to that derived by using the Headcount Index based on the income-based poverty line.

3.4 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), derived from discussions at world summits and conferences during the 1990's, constitute a consensus by member states of the UN, the UN system and the International Financial Institutions on the basic requirements for global development. The interventions required to achieve the goals, when taken together, provide synergies which exceed the impact of any single one of them. The MDGs seek to exploit these synergies by directing resources to those areas which are neglected in ongoing programmes.

The base year specified for the MDGs is 1990 and global targets have been set for 2015; but there is no index to combine the performance on the different indicators and provide a composite score for a single country. Rather, the MDGs provide benchmarks for measuring the progress in promoting human development and poverty reduction in the first six goals. Recognition of the importance of democracy, human rights and empowerment of women for achieving these goals is an underlying theme.

The global MDG targets have been translated into national targets, within the policy framework of Sri Lanka. The targets for 2015 have been set according to a technical assessment of the strategies and interventions which are required to reach these levels. Sri Lanka is well on track to achieve the second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth goals (Table 3.3) but is lagging behind in terms of poverty and nutrition (Goal 1).

Table 3.3: Selected Millennium Development Goals, targets, indicators and Sri Lanka's status

Goal 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger

Target 1: Halve the proportion of people whose income is less than \$1 a day

Indicator	1990	2002	Target for 2015
1. Proportion of population below national poverty line	26.1	22.7	13.1
2. Poverty Gap Ratio	5.6	5.1	-
3. Share of poorest quintile in national consumption	8.9	7.0	-

Target 2: Halve the proportion of people who suffer from hunger

Indicator	1990	2002	Target for 2015
4. Prevalence of underweight children under 5 years of age	38 (1993)	29 (2000)	19
5. Proportion of population below minimum level of dietary energy consumption	50.9	51.3	25

Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education

Target 3: Ensure that children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full primary schooling

Indicator	1990	2002	Target for 2015
6. Net enrolment ratio in primary school: 6-10 years	91.7	96.4	100
7. Proportion of pupils in grade 1 who reach grade 5	92.7	97.6	100
8. Literacy rate of 15-24 year olds	92.7	95.6 (2001)	100

Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women

Target 4: Eliminate gender disparity in primary education by 2005 and to all levels by 2015

Indicator	1990	2002	Target for 2015
9. Ratio of girls to boys in primary, secondary and tertiary education	P – 93.1	95.3	100
	S – 104.0	104.2	100
	T – 66.2	89.8 (2001)	100
10. Ratio of literate men to women in 15-24 years old	100	101 (2001)	100
11. Share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector	29.0	31.0 (2001)	50
12. Proportion of seats held by women in the national Parliament	5.3 (1994)	4.9 (2004)	-

Goal 4: Reduce child mortality

Target 5: Reduce by two-thirds the under-5 mortality rate

Indicator	1990	2002	Target for 2015
13. Under-five mortality rate (per 1000)	22.2 (1991)	18.8 (2000)	12
14. Infant mortality rate (per 1000)	19.3	12.2 (2000)	12.8
15. Proportion of 1-year-old children immunised against measles	80	88 (2000)	99

Goal 5: Improve maternal health

Target 6: Reduce by three quarters the maternal mortality ratio

Indicator	1990	2002	Target for 2015
16. Maternal mortality ratio (per 1000)	0.92	0.47 (2001)	0.36
17. Proportion of births attended by skilled health personnel	-	97.0 (2000)	99

Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases

Target 7: Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS

Indicator	1990	2002	Target for 2015
18. HIV prevalence among 15-24 year old pregnant women	As Sri Lanka is a low HIV prevalence country, the antenatal population is not screened for HIV		
19. HIV prevalence rate track among women (age 15-24) attending antenatal clinics	-	<0.1% (2001)	To remain <1%
19.1. Increase in the percentage of sex workers who report condom use with most recent client	-	40% (2001)	80%
19.2. Increase in the percentage of clients of sex workers who report using condoms at least in commercial sex	-	30% (2001)	70%
20. Ratio of school attendance of orphans to school attendance of non-orphans aged 10-14	At present there are only 6 such orphans		

Target 8: Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the incidence of malaria and other major diseases

Indicator	1990	2002	Target for 2015
21. a) Incidence of malaria b) Death rate associated with malaria	1520 50 (1994)	350 53 (2001)	n.a.
22. Proportion of population in Malaria-risk areas using effective Malaria prevention and treatment measures	-	-	-
23. a) Incidence of tuberculosis (TB) b) Death rates associated with TB	39.1 2.4 (1994)	44.1 1.8 (2001)	-
24. Proportion of TB cases detected and cured under DOTS ¹³	-	75% (2001)	100

¹³ DOTS refers to the internationally recommended TB control strategy. See www.who.int/en for more information

Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability

Target 9: Integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programmes

Indicator	1990	2002	Target for 2015
25. Proportion of land area covered by forest	17.4	16.3 (2001)	-
26. Ratio of area projected to maintain biological diversity to surface area	13.0	-	-
27. Carbon dioxide emissions (per capita and consumption of ozone-depleting CFC) in ODP tons	0.201	-	-
28. Proportion of the population using solid fuels	89.0	80.2 (2001)	-

Target 10: Reduce by half the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water

Indicator	1990	2002	Target for 2015
29. Proportion of population with sustainable access to an improved water source; urban and rural	72 (1994)	82.0 (2001)	86
30. Proportion of population with access to improved sanitation, urban and rural	73 (1994)	80 (2001)	93

Target 11: By 2020, to have achieved a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers

Indicator	1990	2002	Target for 2015
31. Proportion of households with access to secure tenure	93.8 (1994)	95.0 (2001)	-

Goal 8: Develop a global partnership for development

Target 14: Develop decent, productive work for youth

Indicator	1990	2002	Target for 2015
32. Unemployment rate of young people aged (as a % of age group labour force):		(15-22)	
a) 15-19		28.9	-
b) 20-24	48.0	(22-27)	
	39.1	24.5	

Target 15: In cooperation with the private sector, make available the benefits of new technologies

Indicator	1990	2002	Target for 2015
33. Personal computers in use per 100 population	-	3.8 (2004)	-
34. Internet users per 100 population	-	2.8 (2004)	-

Source: National Council for Economic Development 2005

4 Conclusion

This overview of poverty in Sri Lanka highlights the prevalence of the monetary approach and the methodologies developed to measure poverty in Sri Lanka according to this concept. It also introduces attempts to move beyond and decipher other dimensions of poverty and in particular the development of composite indices to measure poverty, while noting their limitations.

This chapter also demonstrates that it is indeed a challenge to understand how, despite its success in human development, a considerable proportion of Sri Lanka's population remains income poor. In fact estimates of poverty could increase should other dimensions of poverty be taken into consideration. This demonstrates that the development of pro-poor policies and programmes require alternative approaches to identifying and targeting the poor if they are to achieve their objective of poverty reduction.

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Chapter 2

PUSHING BOUNDARIES:

Understanding poverty in Sri Lanka using multiple methodologies

Azra Abdul Cader



CHAPTER 2

Pushing Boundaries: Understanding poverty in Sri Lanka using multiple methodologies

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1 Introduction

Chapter 1 provided an overview of the conventional understanding of poverty in Sri Lanka. Building on this theoretical evaluation of the mainstream approaches to poverty measurement, this chapter begins CEPA's own analysis of poverty in Sri Lanka by examining how CEPA has applied and combined these methods in its work. A retrospective analysis of four selected CEPA studies is used to demonstrate how CEPA operationalises a multidimensional approach to understanding poverty.

Poverty is experienced as deprivation and is experienced in multiple dimensions, making it difficult to arrive at a single approach/indicator to understand and measure it. As mentioned in the preceding paper, there are four globally accepted approaches to measuring, monitoring and understanding poverty (Ruggeri-Laderchi, Saith and Stewart 2003): the monetary, capabilities, social exclusion and the participatory approaches. CEPA uses a combination of these approaches and specialises in combining methodologies using both qualitative and quantitative techniques. This balance is explored in some detail in this paper. The studies illustrate how the wide range and balance of methodologies which CEPA uses have evolved over the years, in response to specific projects, learning and institutional development. This offers a key insight into alternative approaches to poverty analysis in Sri Lanka.

The chapter commences with an introduction to the nexus between quantitative and qualitative approaches to understanding poverty. It then follows on to explore the value of combining methodologies in poverty analysis and how this is operationalised through the CEPA approach. This approach is illustrated using examples of applied research studies that CEPA has undertaken. The paper concludes by underscoring the contribution of the CEPA approach to the policy debate on understanding poverty in Sri Lanka.

2 The nexus between quantitative and qualitative approaches

Poverty analysis has traditionally relied on one of two main approaches to measuring the status quo and the impact of a given event/policy - either quantitative or qualitative. Some dimensions are better suited to quantitative analysis, e.g. low income, whereas others benefit from qualitative approaches, which look more closely at the causes and context of poverty, e.g. perceptions of injustice.

CEPA sees quantitative and qualitative approaches as complementary methods which should be used together rather than in isolation. As Gunewardena notes (2004 and 2005), there is much to be gained by combining quantitative and qualitative approaches. The nature of the study in question should determine what balance between the two approaches is appropriate to meet study objectives. Qualitative methodologies, on the one hand, are useful for identifying the concerns/priorities of the poor and different dimensions of poverty. They provide scope to incorporate subjective approaches to determining a poverty line, and participatory approaches complement the quantitative approach by providing context, explanations for outliers and identifying indicators etc. Quantitative approaches, on the other hand, offer reliability of the generated data, control over biases, the ability for findings to be statistically tested and generalised to the population under study.

quantitative and qualitative approaches are complementary methods

The distinction between qualitative and quantitative also relates to the methodology used, and the information required from it. Some studies can be clearly distinguished as being quantitative, while others are more qualitative, and some combine both approaches.

Since its inception CEPA's niche has been its qualitative research that has produced significant learning in the development of qualitative methodology to understand poverty. CEPA's research strives to be sensitive to multiple dimensions of poverty and is based on social and anthropological research methodologies and data collection techniques that reveal the views of different groups within a social unit. The qualitative nature of CEPA's work results in a concentration on in-depth studies of relatively small samples that are representative of certain groups, defined by research interests (Gunetilleke and Reichert 2005).

There is also a clear recognition within the organisation that this qualitative orientation needs to complement quantitative research methodologies to create a better methodological balance. Gunetilleke and Reichert (2005) advocate

good qualitative research, enabling CEPA to *look behind the statistics*, exploring details of poverty, processes that produce it, and the socio-economic foundations around it. This approach should be moulded into one that also incorporates facets of quantitative research that enable generalisation and representation.

3 Combining methodologies in poverty analysis

CEPA's approach has developed over the years as a result of institutional and professional experience, and the approach will differ depending on the assignment. There are, however, certain core principles (Gunetilleke and Reichert 2005):

- While the role of both qualitative and quantitative approaches are acknowledged there is *a strong orientation towards qualitative techniques*, which is perceived to be more sensitive to the multidimensionality of poverty
- The use of a *multi-disciplinary approach* biased towards the social sciences
- Internally developed methodologies based on *primary data collection*
- The process followed is open to *experimentation through mixing methods and tools*, whilst maintaining rigorous standards
- *Regular interaction with stakeholders* to ensure a combined learning process

CEPA's understanding of poverty is based on the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)/ Development Assistance Committee (DAC) Framework¹ and operationalised through CEPA's approach in its research. This conceptualisation of poverty distinguishes between five dimensions of poverty:

- i. Economic (consumption and assets)
 - ii. Human development (education and health)
 - iii. Socio-cultural dimensions (dignity and networks)
 - iv. Political dimensions (power and voice)
 - v. Protective aspects (conflict, natural disasters, risk of eviction)
- (Gunetilleke and Reichert 2005)

Few studies that have been implemented by CEPA have used purely qualitative research techniques. More recently there has been an institutional move to achieve greater balance in our approach to research, to give a greater role to quantitative methodologies which previously were used to set the context.

¹ Also see OECD/DAC, 2001, Guidelines on Poverty Reduction [online], Paris <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/47/14/2672735.pdf#search=%22guidelines%20on%20poverty%20reduction%22> [10/10/2006]

Achieving a qualitative/quantitative balance has been a gradual process but is visible in more recent applied research. CEPA uses a combination of methodologies²:

- Study designs and sampling techniques that focus on in-depth studies of small purposive samples, based on a systematic selection criteria to represent certain groups within each study.
- Semi-structured data collection tools (open-ended questions, life histories, questioning guidelines, trend and attribution analysis, trend-line analysis etc) and methods devised to result in data in narrative format (in-depth interviews, focus groups and key informant questionnaires).
- Documentation, analysis and interpretation of the collected data by the researcher; statistical analysis is possible to a limited degree.
- Data collection from different sources which impact the study, enabling analysis from different perspectives. Different sources and viewpoints are *triangulated* (see section 4.3 for a discussion on triangulation) to ensure the validity and balance of diverse viewpoints.
- An increasing tendency to use quantitative techniques in the data collection (structured questionnaires involving close-ended pre-coded questions³ and statement rankings, quasi-experimental models⁴) and analysis stages (using statistical database packages in data analysis, graphical presentation of data, evaluating secondary statistics in order to set the context, and using distributions and cross-tabulations) and moving towards the ability to generalise and be representative, in addition to providing in-depth analysis⁵.

The research approach is evolving towards a greater balance between quantitative and qualitative techniques. The important issue is not whether this balance is *equal*, but rather whether it enables CEPA to engage in balanced poverty analysis. The next section attempts to illustrate the operationalisation of this approach within CEPA using a series of applied research studies.

²Adapted from Gunetilleke and Reichert (2005) and expanded using this analysis.

³These questions limit a respondent's answers to the survey. The participants choose from either a pre-existing set of dichotomous answers, such as yes/no, true/false; multiple choice with an option for 'other' to be filled in; and/or ranking scale response options. Each answer is coded and identified by a predefined number.

⁴See *Impact Evaluation Study of Rural Roads on Poverty Reduction: Sri Lanka country report* (2002 unpublished)

⁵See *Youth Perceptions: Exploring results from the poverty and youth survey* (Ibargüen 2005), *Between Theory and Rhetoric: The Workers' Reality. An assessment of the social impact of privatisation on employees* (de Silva and Goonasekera forthcoming), *Children Affected by Armed Conflict in Eastern Sri Lanka* (Wimaladharma, De Silva and De Silva 2005)

4 Operationalising the CEPA approach

This section will show how both qualitative and quantitative approaches have been used to provide an alternative in-depth analysis of poverty in Sri Lanka. The analysis further reiterates the fact that poverty is influenced by both income and non-income aspects, a vital element for better understanding poverty reduction efforts in Sri Lanka.

The analysis will focus on four studies, three of which have been initiated through CEPA's long-term programme work, and one which was commissioned as an assignment. The studies are:

- *Does Caste Matter? A study of caste and poverty in Sinhalese society* (Jabbar 2005)
- *Between Theory and Rhetoric: The Workers' Reality. An assessment of the social impact of privatisation on employees* (de Silva and Goonasekera 2007)
- *Whose Right of Way? Development induced displacement* (Kuruppu and Ganepola 2005)
- *Understanding the Dimensions and Dynamics of Poverty in Underserved Settlements in Colombo* (Gunetilleke, Abdul Cader and Fernando 2004).

Proceeding from a brief overview of each study, this analysis will look at certain criteria that CEPA's research aspires to achieve, the definition and approach to understanding poverty (focusing on dimensions and dynamics of poverty, and approaches), preparation and undertaking the study (focusing on methodology) and its contribution to the policy debate on understanding poverty in Sri Lanka.

4.1 Overview of studies

Jabbar (2005) attempts to analyse the link between caste and poverty and provides an insight into the poverty situation of lower caste communities, with a view to informing policy formulation on the caste dimension of poverty. The study arose from field research conducted during the Poverty Consultations undertaken for the Asian Development Bank; the fieldwork component for the study *Perceptions of the Poor: Poverty consultations in four districts of Sri Lanka* (ADB 2001). During this work the study team noted the presence of low caste members living in abject poverty in the study villages. This led to the conceptualisation of this study to look at caste as a hidden dimension of poverty.

De Silva and Goonasekera (2007 forthcoming) attempts to understand how privatisation has changed the conditions faced by labour - with particular reference to impoverishment and welfare changes among those workers who remain with the enterprise after privatisation, as well as those who voluntarily retired. The study aims to inform policy makers on the implications of privatisation in terms of poverty amongst workers.

The Kuruppu and Ganepola (2005) exploratory study tries to appraise the framework of development-induced displacement in Sri Lanka, looking at past efforts and the specific displacement issues of the Southern Transport Development Project (STDP) and the Colombo-Katunayake Expressway (CKE). The study attempts to understand the direct impact of physical relocation, land acquisition and displacement at the community and household levels. The learning from this study has helped in the development of the initial activities of an assignment undertaken by CEPA to monitor the resettlement process of the STDP.

The Gunetilleke *et al.* (2004) study was an effort to increase the understanding of the dimensions and dynamics of poverty in underserved settlements in order to design a system to monitor the impacts of Colombo Municipal Council (CMC)/Participatory Improvement of Underserved Settlements (PRIMUSS) work on urban settlements, and to support CMC staff in raising their awareness of poverty issues to maximise the impact of their work.

4.2 Understanding poverty

This section focuses on understanding and defining poverty in a multidimensional and dynamic sense. It will illustrate how the studies have attempted to study the different dimensions and dynamics of poverty.

The studies tend to focus on a mix of dimensions of poverty, sometimes stressing some more than others. The variety of dimensions which these studies highlight demonstrates the many ways in which poverty can be experienced. For example, Jabbar's study on caste focuses on socio-cultural and political dimensions but also brings in the *economic* dimension of poverty by looking at employment and income, as well as the *human development* dimension by looking at education levels. This combination of dimensions was used to examine if caste was a hidden dimension of poverty, and to understand the depth of discrimination, isolation and levels of poverty amongst lower caste communities in comparison to higher castes.

De Silva and Goonasekera's study on privatisation focuses on equity issues, that is to say the distributional implications of privatisation, in order to highlight the

impact on poverty. The study focuses on changes in wellbeing through a series of indicators defined to assess wellbeing; changes in income, security of income sources and subsistence, consumption indicators, such as household assets, access to basic services such as adequate housing/shelter, access to improved sources of water, sanitation, and sources of energy. Poverty and changes in wellbeing are understood in a *relative* sense – relative to individuals themselves over time, as well as relative to others. Much of the data gathered focuses on the economic dimension. However, the human development dimension is brought in by considering this data in the context of access to basic services linked to health and the correlation between education and skill levels when accessing employment.

The study also brings in the political dimension of poverty through the analysis of power relations and the extent to which workers have a voice in the event of privatisation. This political dimension is also significant in Kuruppu and Ganepola's study on development-induced displacement. Affected communities' level of awareness of the projects and the implementation of public awareness mechanisms highlights issues of power and the extent to which people have a say on issues affecting their wellbeing.

A distinctive feature of this study is that rather than using the affected population as the point of reference, it analyses the dimensions of poverty associated with resettlement. This provides the space to explore the conditions that have made people *vulnerable* to poverty. The study analyses different dimensions of displacement, not confining it to the loss of a house or land but expanding it to include networks, production systems, and tangible and intangible assets.

CEPA's applied research work on poverty analysis stems from the need to understand poverty and its determinants. This is highlighted in all the studies but more so in the study on urban poverty.⁶ The approach was selected because it reflected the complex reality of poverty in these settlements, which was relevant for the impact monitoring process. The study focused on defining urban poverty (looking at the dimensions of poverty and providing a static picture) and its causes and alleviation, while using *wellbeing* as a positive manifestation of overcoming poverty.

It is worth noting that these studies all bring out the structural and institutional dimensions of poverty within the context of each study. This points to the importance of understanding the role of these elements in the context of poverty, and the extent to which they impact upon the poor.

⁶ The study was conceptualised in such a manner to facilitate the development of an impact monitoring system to capture impacts of CMC/PRIMUSS interventions.

CEPA strives to use its focus on multiple dimensions of poverty as a means of addressing and contributing to information gaps, thereby ensuring that there is an *addition to* rather than a reproduction of knowledge. This is highlighted by all studies which have chosen to understand the often intangible and obscure angles of poverty. Jabbar's study attempts to understand the depth of discrimination, isolation and level of poverty amongst lower caste communities. Similarly, the study on urban poverty by Gunetilleke *et al* contributes to the knowledge gap on urban poverty in Sri Lanka. It was found that poverty in urban settlements was characterised by high density, congested housing, lack of services and infrastructure, unstable sources of income (mainly in the informal sector), issues with legal ownership of land, and a socially unstable environment.

As mentioned previously, poverty should not be seen as a merely static phenomenon but as a state that is continuously changing. This dynamism highlights people's ability to overcome and move out of poverty, as well as their susceptibility to falling into it. Understanding the factors that influence this condition of vulnerability plays a crucial role in any poverty reduction mechanism.

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The study on caste examines social mobility, including the ability to overcome poverty through occupational changes in the lives of three generations within a caste group. This approach to tracking dynamics was able to show that there had been a gradual shift away from caste-based occupations, even if those from the lower castes were still employed in mainly low skill level occupations.

The dynamics of wellbeing in De Silva and Goonasekera's study is analysed through the experiences of employees who were in employment at the time of privatisation, and continue to be employed there, and those who voluntarily retired from the enterprise during the privatisation process. This allowed the study to compare the dynamics of two different groups. The study used the time elapsed since privatisation to capture changes in the situation of past and current employees since privatisation occurred.

Kuruppu and Ganepola's study captures dynamism by seeing loss not only in terms of property, but as a way of life. Residents may have been faced with changes to their networks, access to communal resources and the culture particular to their surroundings. An examination of the politics of displacement points to affected people, primarily those from low income households, who become

more vulnerable through poor compensation, face delays in disbursements and political favouritism.

Capturing dynamics in a study adds an extra dimension which is particularly useful in addressing policy change and identifying which actions may have more positive effects than others. The study on underserved settlements in Colombo focused on *change* as the key to its impact monitoring role and is a good example of the practical importance of tracking dynamics. The study captured a fluid picture of interplaying variables contributing to the causes and consequences of poverty, thus helping to track impacts, the factors which increase wellbeing, vulnerabilities, dependencies and interdependencies between the various dimensions of poverty.

The exploratory nature of some of studies under review is important to note. Although such studies are unable to offer an entirely representative and generalisable view, they do serve as a first step in the direction of larger research efforts. Both the study on caste and development-induced displacement served the function of directly adding to CEPA's applied research knowledge base by adding to previous research, or leading to further research.

This section has used the four studies to demonstrate the use of these varied approaches to enable a holistic understanding poverty in Sri Lanka. The ability to show that poverty is a socio-economic and complex phenomenon can help the implementation of more focused targeting and measures to address the issues.

4.3 Methodology

This section will show that CEPA has used various techniques available in contemporary research in its attempts to study multidimensional poverty. The way the methodologies were used enabled CEPA to focus on different angles. What needs to be highlighted in this instance is the mixture of methodological approaches, as well as attempts to bring in quantitative research techniques to work with qualitative techniques.

The sampling techniques adopted within CEPA are largely derived from non-probability sampling techniques⁷, although quantitative techniques are now being used more. Drawing on the structure of a quantitative approach, CEPA has developed techniques to identify segments of the study population and selection criteria to ensure absolute rigour in sample selection. The sample designs focus on enabling an in-depth study through the use of small purposive

⁷ This refers to a sampling scheme in which the probability of a population element being chosen is unknown.

samples⁸ that are based on systematic selection criteria representing select groups within each study focus.

At this point an aspect that needs to be flagged is the methodological shifts that are evident in the operationalisation of these studies. Jabbar's study on caste and Kuruppu and Ganepola's study on displacement use small samples reflecting the exploratory nature of the study. De Silva and Goonasekera's study on privatisation, however, illustrates the movement towards a more quantitative focus, with the development of selection criteria to select the companies, and the use of a stratified random sampling method⁹ to select respondents from these companies.

Since its inception, CEPA's approach has led to experimentation with, and use of, a whole series of data collection tools used within contemporary research. These tools are selected, based on the focus of the study and on the need to triangulate the information for clarification and completeness.

Triangulation uses the same data collection techniques to collect data representing the views of *different* groups within a social unit on the same issue. This technique is useful for many reasons. It helps verify factual information by asking the same question to different parties, and is useful in the interpretation of data to gain an in-depth understanding within the wider context. It can help understand shared or differing views and realities. Triangulation through the use of multiple research techniques is also sometimes used. The study on urban poverty used different tools to validate findings surrounding the issues, resulting in prioritisation of facilities from the community and household levels.

All studies use common data collection techniques. Key informant interviews were carried out in all studies, except the study on caste, in order to get information from institutional representatives and key personnel linked to the study. For example, the privatisation study conducted key informant interviews with government officials, union leaders, enterprise management and other representatives of the employer. In the urban poverty study, interviews were representative of different groups of external actors – institutional service providers, politicians, non-state actors and community leaders.

In addition to key informant interviews, other methods were used across the studies, including household surveys using structured and semi-structured questionnaires, and facilitated focus group discussions using trend lines, ranking,

⁸ Purposive sampling is used in qualitative research where the dimensions/factors according to which the sample is selected are analytically and theoretically linked to the research question(s).

⁹ A sampling procedure for which the population is first divided into strata or subgroups based on designated criteria and then the sample is drawn, either proportionately or disproportionately, from each subgroup.

perceptions and life histories. More recently, CEPA has moved from using manual methods of data analysis to using qualitative data analysis software.

The studies on privatisation and urban poverty went a step further, using quantitative analysis and representation of the data. The urban poverty study used complementary qualitative and quantitative approaches to data collection to build settlement and household profiles. The analysis in the study on privatisation is presented using statistical graphs and tables, as well as scaling techniques to determine the perceptions of respondents of privatisation. The income of respondents was compared to the national poverty line in both studies, and it was concluded that employed workers/urban settlement dwellers were not *income* poor (i.e. suffering absolute poverty).

These studies reflect the dynamic nature of CEPA's methodological orientation. Although there is a strong orientation towards the qualitative approach, the need to engage with the quantitative approach is evident. Quantitative methods have been used to look beyond the income and expenditure-oriented dimensions. This approach highlights the relevance of being open to experimentation through a mixing of methods and tools.

A shift is also evident in the use of sample sizes and techniques. Initially, there was a concentration on in-depth study using relatively small sizes that made representation difficult. This approach is evolving and is driven by the need to provide evidence that can be generalised to the population under study, while continuing to uncover detail.

5 Contributions to the policy debate on understanding poverty in Sri Lanka

All the reviewed studies have been able to contribute to the debates on poverty in Sri Lanka by highlighting, even indicatively, the varied dimensions of poverty affecting each study focus. They have all contributed to the knowledge base on the thematic areas in relation to caste, privatisation and labour issues, the urban poor and development-induced displacement, offering insights into the living conditions and wellbeing of these populations. The studies have succeeded in bringing forth areas of concern that have often been overlooked as factors that affect poverty in Sri Lanka.

The study on caste and poverty stressed the need to include the caste dimension when formulating policies for poverty alleviation. Caste is highlighted as a determining factor in moving out of poverty, especially for low castes. This indicates that it is not just the economic elements of poverty that need to be addressed, but also the views and attitudes within a society which continues to stigmatise and discriminate against low caste groups in Sri Lanka. Caste

consciousness is often considered to be reducing in present day society but this study serves to highlight the implications of caste and the need for greater policy focus on low caste, marginalised groups.

The privatisation study highlighted the different impacts privatisation had on those workers who chose to stay in the organisation compared to those who chose to leave in relation to perceived levels of wellbeing. Focusing on *perceptions* enabled the study to show that individual wellbeing was not the driver for worker approval of the process of privatisation. At a policy level, the study points to the need for greater engagement with workers during the process of privatisation, and the need to address some of the challenges workers face when they leave. The impact of privatisation on workers is not an issue which has been systematically assessed in Sri Lanka, in contrast to the substantial literature on the costs and financial benefits of privatisation. This study goes some way towards filling that gap.

The study on displacement revealed more about the non-monetary aspects (particularly the political dimension) that contribute to the creation of poverty within the groups affected. The study is able to provide an insight into the links between the loss of productive resources, shared production bases, loss of support systems, barter schemes and assistance and the ultimate marginalisation, downward mobility and disempowerment which occurred as a result of this fragmentation. The exploratory nature of the study served as a learning process and the outcomes are being used in CEPA's ongoing work on displacement.

Finally, the poverty impact monitoring orientation of the urban poverty study led to the identification of five potential impact areas. The active involvement of the CMC/PRIMUSS project staff at various levels of the study enabled project steering, sharing of experiences and a chance for CEPA to engage with state level institutions in research and implementation efforts. The study also enabled CEPA to study *urban* as opposed to *rural* poverty, which clearly filled a gap in knowledge, and added to the fairly low level of understanding of urban poverty in Sri Lanka.

The study was conducted within the context of Colombo, but the lessons learnt about the systems that need to be in place to mitigate negative impacts can also be applied to other rapidly urbanising regions in the country. For CEPA, the experience of engaging with local authorities was a positive one. It highlighted the importance of engaging with the authorities, not just in implementing effective solutions, but also to understand the problems at hand. CEPA was able to assist in channelling their experiences of working in the settlements towards an enhanced understanding of urban poverty.

6 Conclusion

All the studies used in this paper reveal the less measurable changes that are often seen as being less objective than income changes. Quantitative advocates would suggest that un-measurable changes are not changes, yet a balance in a quantitative and qualitative approach enables the identification and understanding of such changes. Further, they highlight that measuring poverty is only one side of the story. Measurements need to be complemented with attempts to understand both the static picture and variables of change in poverty in order to be able to see what lies beneath the statistics.

The studies contribute to debates on alternative factors that affect poverty and these have not necessarily been related to income inadequacies only. However the studies do point to the fact that income inadequacies are a driving factor in exacerbating poverty. Addressing these disparities is vital in poverty reduction efforts, but the realisation that there are other factors that influence poverty creates a wider understanding of what needs to be addressed.

The CEPA approach continues to develop. Methodologies and tools used by different studies, once consolidated, will provide a basic framework, incorporating the learning from previous experiences. Research and knowledge management efforts should lead to more direct and tangible policy influence. CEPA has made a significant step in this direction through the creation of a policy and communications framework, which is applied to all new studies to ensure that the outcomes of research are policy-orientated and effectively communicated. Further process reflection is planned, to enable the learning from previous applied research efforts to be more systematically channelled into CEPA's future work.

**measuring
poverty is only
one side of the story**

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Chapter 3

PAINTING A BIGGER PICTURE:

A multidimensional profile of poverty in the Central Province

Fiona Remnant



CHAPTER 3

Painting a Bigger Picture: A multidimensional profile of poverty in the Central Province

Fiona Remnant

1 Introduction

This chapter applies some of the ideas already discussed in the opening chapters of this book in order to take a more detailed look at the nature and dynamics of poverty in one province. Focusing on the underlying concept that using one measure of poverty does not suffice, the chapter considers a variety of different poverty measures and uses a number of qualitative studies, some carried out by CEPA, to reveal a more detailed profile of poverty in the Central Province. This more detailed analysis highlights the need to look critically at any single measure of poverty, and the importance of using multiple measures and methods in order to obtain a more complete view of the spread and nature of poverty.

The Central Province lies in the heart of Sri Lanka over predominantly mountainous terrain, containing the country's second largest city after Colombo, Kandy, and most of the island's tea estates. Agriculture, both in terms of cash and subsistence crops, remains the basis of the economy in the province. 52% of the land is cultivated for vegetables, paddy and tea, with much of the tea coming from the Nuwara Eliya district. This mixture of urban and rural, modern and traditional industries characterise a province about which few generalisations can be made, and this chapter seeks to explore this variety and complexity from the perspective of poverty in the province.

Life for residents of the Central Province can vary between the urban metropolis of Kandy on the one hand, and the isolation and poverty of villages in outlying areas and in the estate sector on the other hand. In between are varying degrees of developed and less developed rural areas. The fact that the Central Province features significant numbers of people living in all three sectors, urban, rural and estate, make it an interesting case study for comparing poverty levels between the different sectors.

In 2003 CEPA published a large, in-depth study on the Central Province under the auspices of the *Joint Initiative for Monitoring Development Trends (JIMOD)*¹.

¹ The JIMOD Household Survey is the source of much data used in this paper. The sample was selected using the random systematic sampling method, stratified according to rural, urban and estate sectors and ethnicity – approximately in proportion to the population percentages. The total sample was 44 GN divisions, further stratified according to 'more developed' and 'less developed' units; ten households were covered in each division, leading to a sample size of 440 households.

JIMOD brought together an alliance of government, bilateral, non-government and private sector organisations to facilitate a study of overall development trends in the region and the study contains a wealth of quantitative and qualitative data, some of which is drawn upon in this paper.

The first section of this chapter presents a brief summary of the demographics in the province, illustrating the diversity referred to in this introduction. The paper then puts forward an overview of poverty in the province before focussing on a few key issues which are both contributory factors to, and symptoms of, poverty across the province's three districts and sectors: income and employment patterns, living conditions, social exclusion and education. This chapter only allows a brief overview of some of these trends, but should serve to draw attention to some of the complex and interdependent factors which both link and divide different sections of the community in the province.

2 The demographics of the Central Province

In order to gain a true picture of poverty across the Central Province one first needs to understand the diverse nature of the area, not only in geographical terms but also in demographic and sectoral terms. The population in the Central Province is highly concentrated in the district of Kandy, home to 61% (DCS 2002) of the population of the province and has one of the highest population densities in Sri Lanka. Disaggregated by ethnicity, the Sinhalese make up the largest ethnic group in the province, but the majority of the country's Indian Tamil population resides in the Central Province - to the extent that they are the largest ethnic group in Nuwara Eliya District. Despite the large Tamil community, the area has had no significant link to the Sri Lankan Tamil community and on-going civil war; in comparison to other provinces in Sri Lanka it has experienced low levels of social unrest. However, ethnic solidarity is evident in the political sphere with the success of a number of political parties that exclusively represent the interests of the estate communities within parliament.

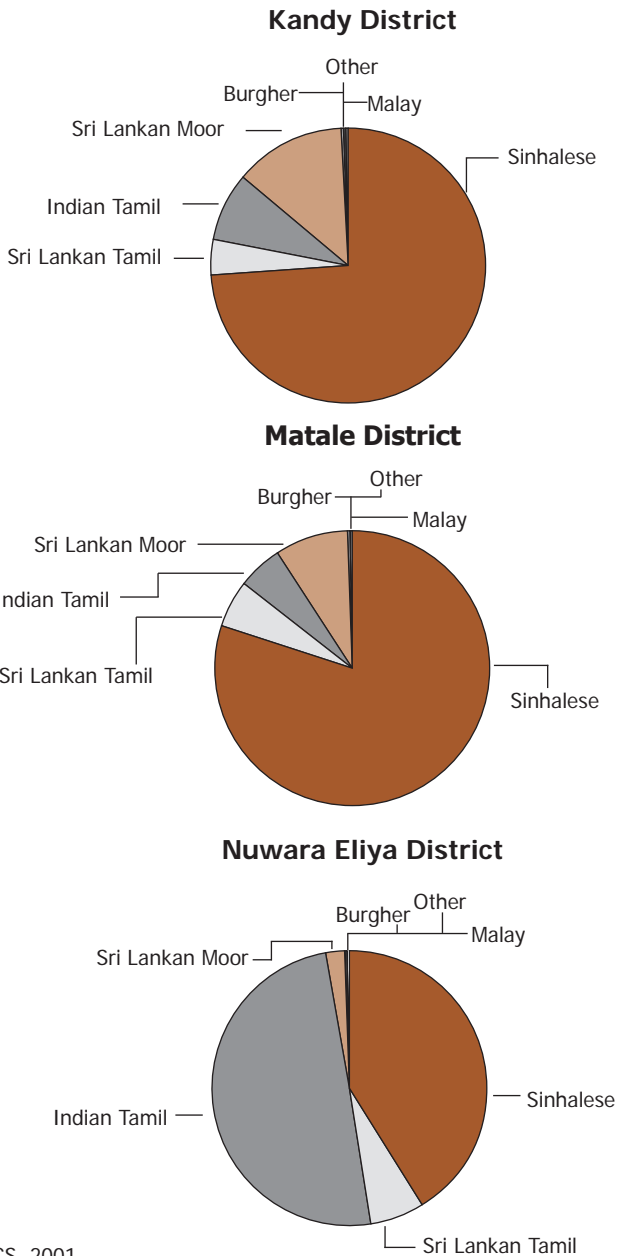
Figure 2.1 demonstrates the huge difference in ethnic diversity between Nuwara Eliya and the other districts in the Central Province, a difference which is also reflected in the sectoral distribution outlined in Figure 2.2. The similarity between the figures suggests very clearly that the Indian Tamil population in Nuwara Eliya continue to live and work predominantly in the estate sector, highlighting this community's problems with social exclusion and lack of alternative opportunities – issues which will be explored later in the chapter.

Despite the relatively high proportion of the estate sector population living in the Central Province, the province itself is a predominantly rural area, with 70% of people across the province living in the rural sector. Although the city of Kandy is the second largest city in Sri Lanka, more than 80% of the population of Kandy district also live in areas classified as rural.

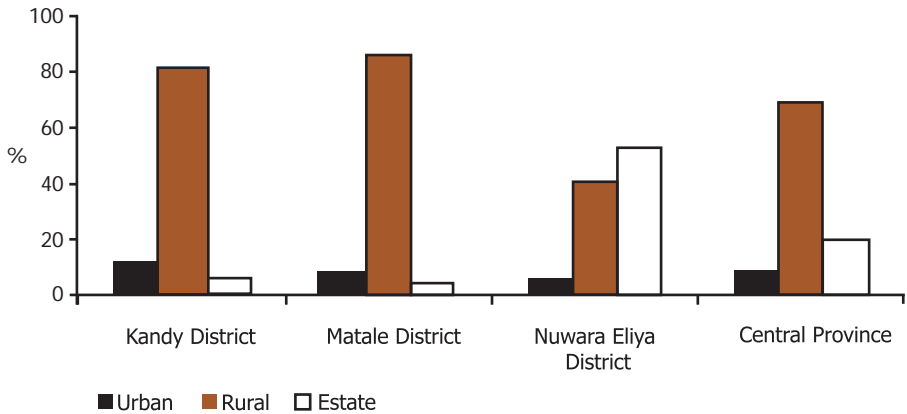
Table 1.1: The Central Province in context

	Western Province	Central Province	Uva Province	Sri Lanka	Data Source
Proportion of population below national poverty line %	10.8	25.1	37.2	22.7	2002. Household Income and Expenditure survey, DCS
Unemployment rate of people aged 15-24 yrs %					2002. Sri Lanka Labour Force Survey, DCS
Male	27.7	23.2	13.7	23.8	
Female	23.6	35.6	25.1	34.3	
Provincial GDP Rs.	109,953	50,275	48,231	66500	2001. Central Bank of Sri Lanka
Under-five mortality rate %					2002. Civil Registration System, Registrar General
Male	15.6	18.2	16	14.9	
Female	12.2	14.5	12.2	12	
Proportion of population using solid fuels %	56.5	87.8	92.5	80.3	2001. Census of Population and Housing, DCS
Proportion of households with sustainable access to safe drinking water %	91.5	78.3	67.9	82	2001. Census of Population and Housing, DCS
Proportion of population with access to improved sanitation %	77.6	56.6	50.9	67.5	2001. Census of Population and Housing, DCS

Figure 2.1: Percentage distribution of ethnicity by district (2001)



Source: DCS, 2001

Figure 2.2: Population by sector in the Central Province

Source: DCS 2001

3 An overview of poverty levels in the Central Province

Poverty is an issue throughout the Central Province, but the way it manifests itself varies significantly between sectors and districts, reflecting the heterogeneity of the province. This section will highlight these differences by taking an overview of poverty in the province from a variety of perspectives, using different measures. Evidently, key variables such as access to opportunities influence people's experience of poverty differently in different parts of the province, and some of these factors will be explored later.

Using the headcount index, which is the most widely used measure of poverty, the overall percentage of people living below the poverty line in the Central Province is considerably higher than the national average (Table 3.1). Average household consumption levels are used to determine the percentage of the population who live below the official poverty line (a monthly figure set by the DCS based on the per-capita expenditure required for a person to be able to meet the nutritional base of 2030 kilocalories per day).

These aggregate provincial measures highlight Nuwara Eliya as an outlier in the province. The consumption poverty levels in Nuwara Eliya are in line with the national average, unlike Matale and Kandy, which show much higher levels of poverty.

The headcount index shows the number of people living below the poverty line, but does not offer any indication of the depth of poverty. The Poverty Gap Index uses the same data but sheds more light on the extent and depth of poverty

by measuring the average gap between the individual consumption of those who fall below the poverty line, and the consumption level at the poverty line (Gunewardena 2004:53).

The higher the figure, the more severe the poverty, as individuals are further below the poverty line.

the overall percentage of people living below the poverty line in the Central Province is considerably higher than the national average

According to this index Nuwara Eliya continues to fare better than the other two districts, by a considerable margin compared to the worst district in the province, Matale². This may appear anomalous to some readers, considering the emphasis placed on the need for investment and development in the estate sector which makes up such a large part of Nuwara Eliya. The two indices used here indicate that compared to Matale and Kandy, Nuwara Eliya has a lower proportion of people experiencing consumption poverty, and the poverty is less severe. However, the headcount index does not give us much information about the quality of life that people experience.

The most widely used index for comparing the broader aspects of development is the Human Development Index (HDI). The HDI attempts to do this by using a composite index based on three indicators (life expectancy, educational attainment and GDP). Once again, the results show a clear district split; Figure 3.1 demonstrates that, as with the consumption poverty figures, Matale and Kandy District rank lower than Nuwara Eliya and, in fact, rank very poorly in the context of Sri Lanka as a whole. Excluding the districts in the north and east, Kandy is ranked as the worst district in the country based on the HDI³.

Table 3.1: Consumption poverty in the Central Province

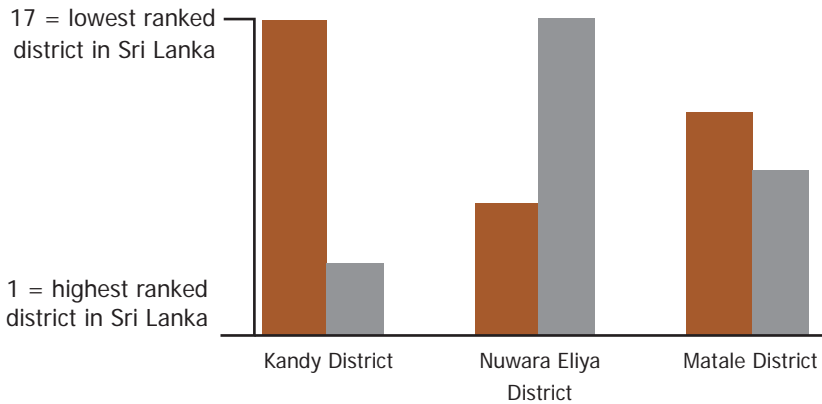
District	% population below poverty line	No. people below poverty line	Poverty Gap* Index
Kandy	25	329,000	5.53
Matale	30	136,000	6.25
Nuwara Eliya	23	166,000	4.21
Central Province	26	631,000	5.27
Sri Lanka	23	3,841,000	-

Source: DCS 2002 (Based on the data collected by the HIES 2002)

*Source: Gunewardena 2007 [Forthcoming]: Annex 1 (unpaginated)

²The worst district in Sri Lanka is Moneragala with a Poverty Gap Index of 9.87; the best is Colombo with a PGI of 1.23.

³The HDI is calculated annually for Sri Lanka by the Human Development Report, UNDP. However, the **disaggregated** HDI within Sri Lanka has been calculated only once, when the Sri Lanka Human Development was published in 1998.

Figure 3.1: Comparison of Human Development and Human Poverty Indices

■ HDI Rank	17	7	12
■ HPI Rank	4	17	9

Note: Ranking is for 17 districts of Sri Lanka, excluding North and East
Source: Compiled from the UNDP National Human Development Report, 1998

In contrast, Nuwara Eliya is ranked relatively highly at seventh in the country, falling just under Colombo. Does this mean, therefore, that health and education services are of a higher standard in Nuwara Eliya, and that there are more income earning opportunities? Research considered in more detail later and the detailed HDI data in fact suggest the opposite.

A closer look at the breakdown of the Human Development Index in Table 3.2 highlights the reason for Nuwara Eliya's high ranking; it has a very high GDP index, only slightly lower than that of Colombo. This figure dramatically pushes up Nuwara Eliya's overall Human Development Index rating, despite the fact that it has the lowest life expectancy and literacy rates in the country (UNDP 1998: 12). The district's high GDP can be attributed to the success of agricultural businesses; tea plantations, vegetable farms and dairy production which bring in a substantial amount of revenue in proportion to other provinces in the country. However, the high GDP would need to be accompanied by equitable distribution amongst residents of the district for overall poverty levels to be impacted.

Table 3.2: Breakdown of the Human Development Index

District	Life Expect. Index	Education Index	GDP Index	Total HD Index	Rank
Kandy	0.767	0.741	0.438	0.649	17
Matale	0.800	0.724	0.657	0.727	12
Nuwara Eliya	0.750	0.669	0.997	0.806	7
Colombo	0.3783	0.758	0.999	0.847	6

Source: UNDP, 1998:8 (The index is between 0 and 1: 0 = lowest; 1 = highest)

In fact, research into income levels undertaken for the JIMOD survey (Rupasena 2003:2) found that there was great disparity in incomes in the district of Nuwara Eliya. A small percentage of residents are clearly earning very large incomes, as the district has the highest average income in the Central Province. However, some high incomes, for example, owners and managers of large plantation and vegetable businesses, dwarf the small incomes of the majority of the population of the district and bring up the average considerably. If one looks at the median income instead (the middle value if incomes in the district were arranged in ascending order), Nuwara Eliya has the lowest income in the province (see Table 3.3). This different perspective on income, along with the very low literacy and life expectancy rates, dramatically changes our understanding of poverty in the district.

Table 3.3: Monthly average and median income per household (Rs.)

	Average	Median
Kandy	11,978	8,510
Matale	10,267	7,741
Nuwara Eliya	12,136	6,900

Source: JIMOD Household Survey 2001; Rupasena 2003:2

Figure 3.1 juxtaposes the HDI with another index which does not have a monetary aspect and therefore casts a very different light on poverty in the province. The measures used in the Human Poverty Index were adapted specifically for Sri Lanka for the Human Development Report in 1998. The HPI differs fundamentally from the Human Development Index in that it focuses on “deprivations and shortfalls” rather than “achievement and fulfilment” (UNDP 1998:28),

“Human poverty is considered to exist if people are deprived of the opportunity to lead a long and healthy life, access information and knowledge through the world of reading and communication and obtain economic and social resources needed to attain a decent standard of living” (UNDP 1998:28).

According to this index the positions of Kandy and Nuwara Eliya are approximately inverted when compared with the Human Development Index rankings, with Nuwara Eliya now ranking 17th and Kandy ranking 4th. This index emphasises the poor levels of infrastructure and the extremely high levels of deprivation experienced by people in the district of Nuwara Eliya.

The stable, year round employment opportunities within the estate sector mean Nuwara Eliya district demonstrates relatively low consumption poverty (e.g. Head Count Index and Poverty Gap Index) compared to the rural areas of Kandy and Matale which have high levels of unemployment and seasonal work opportunities. However, in terms of living conditions and access to services (reflected in the HDI and HPI and in other qualitative data), Nuwara Eliya district experiences much higher levels of poverty.

The complex and paradoxical picture painted by the juxtaposition of different measures in this section underscores the importance of using more detailed and comprehensive data to try and gain an in-depth understanding of poverty. The different statistical indices considered in this section can be combined and compared to provide a wider overview, and can be extrapolated to a provincial or national level and compared to other similar statistics. However, there are always limitations with statistical data and it is important to balance the picture with some qualitative data in order to put the statistics in a clearer context. The following section seeks to move beyond the conventional measures and explore some of the issues which impact different districts and sectors in more detail. Whilst the research undertaken for JIMOD was on a relatively small scale (see footnote 1 for sample information), it was detailed and representative and therefore highlighted a number of issues which are of significance in the Central Province - both as contributory factors to and symptoms of poverty.

4 Key issues

The previous section focused on a limited set of poverty indicators which are largely measurable and facilitate comparison against certain targets and benchmarks. However, poverty is a complex and personal condition which is caused by a myriad of different factors which interact together and impact different people in different ways. These factors can include poor living and/or health standards, a lack of productive assets or savings, lack of access to good education or training, insecure job prospects, physical isolation from infrastructure and services, social/ethnic/gender exclusion, and conflict.

Such issues cannot always easily be measured and are, therefore, difficult to compare, but this section will attempt to provide some insight into the key factors in the Central Province which impact people's experience of poverty; moving beyond the conventional measures to consider people's perceptions

of poverty and what issues matter to them. This section will consider some of the key factors identified in a survey on perceptions of poverty in the Central Province (Weeratunge 2003); employment, income and living conditions, as well as two other issues that are of key importance in the province; social exclusion and quality of education. These two areas are important obstacles to moving out of poverty and in the context of the Central Province highlight the sharp divide between and within districts, sectors and ethnic groups⁴.

4.1 The nature of poverty in the Central Province

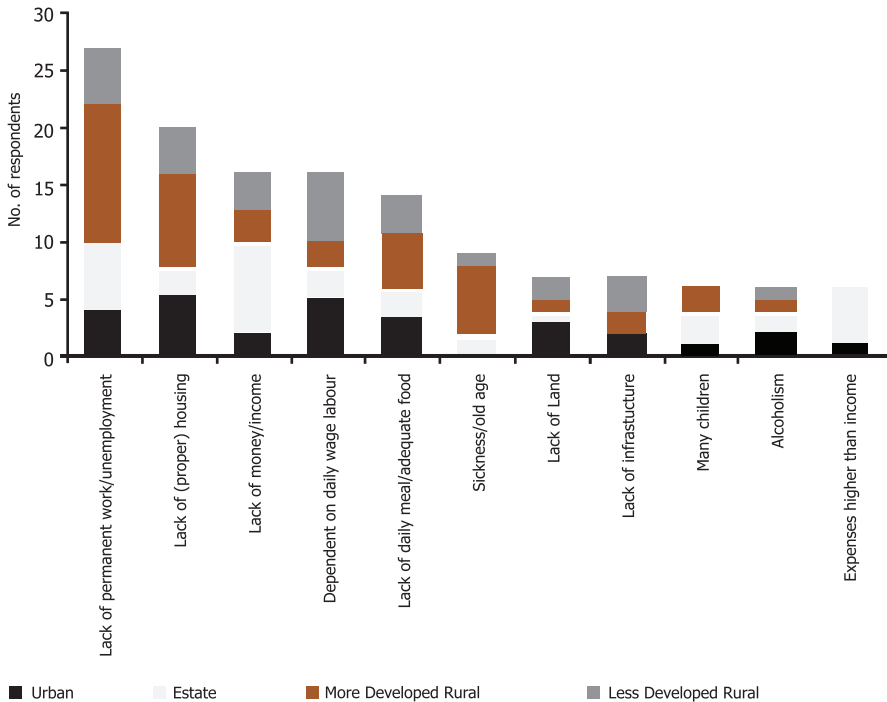
The JIMOD survey asked respondents to identify the factors which they felt contributed to poverty, the results of which are displayed in Figure 4.1. The sample size is small (60 households), but representative of the sectoral split in the province, and provides an indication of value people from different sectors in the province placed on different factors.

Overall, lack of permanent work was identified as the primary factor contributing to poverty, indicating that income stability is a key issue in the province. It is interesting to note that work and housing conditions are ranked in priority order above 'lack of money'. Lack of proper housing and sickness were issues which particularly affected respondents from the more developed rural sector, indicating that infrastructure levels in housing and health services have not yet reached the standard they would desire. It is interesting that respondents from the estate sector did not rank these issues as particularly important, despite the fact that statistics on health and housing conditions reveal a far worse situation in the estate sector. This highlights the different levels of expectation and different priorities in different sectors of the province; the respondents living in the 'more developed' rural sector obviously have less issues with money, but transfer their priority concerns to issues of infrastructure where they have higher expectations than those who probably live in worse conditions in the estate sector. Lack of proper housing was also a key issue for people in urban areas and as a highly ranked issue is obviously an area which deserves more attention in the Central Province.

Respondents from the estate sector ranked lack of money, lack of permanent employment and high expenditure levels as the most important factors. These issues reflect the monetised nature of life on the estates and the feeling that money is the sole means by which households can exit the insular life on the estates. Without money of their own estate workers remain dependent on the housing and infrastructure which is tied to their job – limiting their independence.

⁴ The information presented in this section is predominantly based on quantitative information gathered from a variety of sources, but where possible qualitative information gathered during the JIMOD study (2003) is also used to add to the overall picture.

Figure 4.1: Top 12 factors contributing to poverty as identified by households in the Central Province



Source: Weeratunge (2003a:15)

Research undertaken by CEPA in the estate sector (2005, referred to in a separate chapter in this volume) revealed that those families which had succeeded in moving out of poverty had done so by diversifying their income sources. With extra money, often with the help of remittances from abroad, families were able to build their own homes and were more able to withstand spikes in expenditure for events such as weddings, funeral and sickness.

Lack of adequate daily food is still a relatively important issue across the province, and regular access to food is obviously a key measure by which people determine poverty levels. The fact that people saw it as a key contributory factor to poverty underlines the importance food security plays in people's lives. This reflects national level data which indicates that malnutrition is a key area of human poverty in which Sri Lanka has not succeeded in making sufficient progress. Poor nutrition levels can lead to sickness which prevents people working to their full capacity, thus leading to lower income levels. The rural sector in the Central Province has a highly developed tradition of home gardening which provides

households with subsistence agriculture. However, the opposite is clearly visible in the estate sector where lack of space for subsistence home gardens is often cited by the community as a causal factor in poverty (CEPA 2005:44)⁵.

The JIMOD study also undertook another survey to gauge people's perceptions of empowerment (Weeratunge 2003a). Empowerment is an important factor in people's experience of poverty - the extent to which they feel that they have a say in the structures that affect their lives and have the power to change the situation they find themselves in. The majority of respondents to the survey in the Central Province felt that they had little influence over political processes and decision-making at a national level. At a local level many were active in community-level organisations and meetings, but were not always sure how much influence they exercised through these activities. This discouraged some people from attending meetings if they had other demands on their time. One respondent summed up the general feeling among this group as:

"We don't have time to finish our work. If we got to these sort of meetings it will be a problem. Also we feel we won't gain anything by participating."
Nuwara Eliya, Urban Sector; Weeratunge 2003a:7.

Some were also excluded from community groups due to extreme poverty which meant they were unable to pay membership fees or give up precious work time. This lack of engagement and sense of powerlessness locks people into a cycle of resignation to their circumstances, particularly if they feel that nothing ever changes around them. The less empowered people feel, the less responsibility they are willing to take to try and change their situation.

4.2 Income and employment

The previous section highlighted people's perceptions that low income and insecure employment patterns are a key contributory factor to poverty. This concern is borne out by the type of work that most people are involved in the province; 47% of people work in agriculture (Gunatilaka 2003:8) - a sector characterised by low wages and insecurity. The proportionate split of income in the province demonstrates how low wages are in the agricultural sector - only 28% of the province's total

the predominant type of work available in the area is precarious and insecure

⁵ Malnutrition in Sri Lanka is accepted to be highly complex problem and has generated considerable research. For a discussion on measures of malnutrition refer to CEPA publication; Open Forum, Number 20: Ratnayake, R.M.K., Jayatissa, R. August 2004. *Malnutrition as a Measure of Poverty: Are Sri Lankans Malnourished or is the Indicator Flawed?* Available at: <http://www.cepa.lk/resource/pubs.php>

income is attributed to agriculture despite the fact that 47% of people work in the sector (Gunatilaka 2003:8).

The low returns from small, low productivity agricultural units (most under one hectare) have forced households, both in the estate and rural sectors, to look for alternative sources of income and 88% of households now receive income from non-agricultural sources (Gunatilaka 2003:15). However, much of the alternative work available involves working on a casual or contractual basis, self-employed or unpaid. According to the 2001 JIMOD Household Survey only 26.8% of income earners were in regular, fixed employment, and 60% of households were engaged in the informal sector (Gunatilaka, 2003:9). This demonstrates that the predominant type of work available in the area is precarious and insecure, and alternatives to agricultural work are low skill, low pay jobs.

The survey indicated that people generally felt frustrated in their efforts to increase their income by starting small businesses, or growing existing businesses. The primary reason cited for this difficulty in improving income and employment opportunities was a lack of land and capital (Gunatilaka, 2003:27). Another study conducted by Bastian *et al.* (2005) also confirms that capital is a major problem. For 78% of respondents business access to finances was a major limiting factor (*ibid* 2005:23). Many entrepreneurs are forced to wait for state and/or NGO financing assistance, or use their own funds for investing in businesses as banks are not always willing to lend to small start-up enterprises.

This lack of opportunities leads many young people to migrate out of the province or even outside of the country in order to find higher paid work. Around 40% of households in the province have at least one out-migrant, citing employment as the primary reason (Gunatilaka 2003:21-22). Such levels of migration represent a serious loss to the province, particularly as it is largely educated, young people who are leaving to pursue better opportunities.

According to the JIMOD 2001 survey, average and median incomes in the Central Province were double those recorded in the 1995/96 HIES, indicating an above average inflation increase. More detailed questioning revealed, however, that this increase in household incomes can be mainly attributed to increased access to loans and remittances, rather than to an increase in real wages. Rupasena estimates that transfers and remittances (mainly from abroad) account for around 15% of incomes in the Central Province (2003:3).

The province's high debt levels also point to the increased use of credit to boost incomes – the JIMOD Survey showed that 35% of the sample households have some sort of debt. The estate sector has the highest proportion of indebtedness at 53% (Rupasena 2003:15) indicating that families working in this sector have

little disposable income and financial stability; a symptom of irregular work patterns and low wages. Their consequent dependence on credit is also reflected in the high average loan amounts for Nuwara Eliya detailed in Table 4.2. Given that the district also has the lowest median income, poor households are more likely to struggle to pay back these loans. However, these households feel that they have little other means by which to raise extra income, even if they saddle themselves with debt. The main reasons given for taking loans out in Nuwara Eliya were for business/trade or for consumption. The high rate of credit used for consumption is indicative of day to day income problems in the district. In Kandy district the main reasons were housing and settlement of debt, in Matale district agriculture and housing were the main purpose of loans.

Table 4.2: Loans in the Central Province

District	Total loans taken in 2000	Average loan amount
Kandy	Rs.160,515	Rs.6,519
Matale	Rs.65,427	Rs.5,483
Nuwara Eliya	Rs.42,278	Rs.7,124

Source: Gant *et al.* 2002: 234, 241, 247

There is clearly a need for a more positive environment for growth and investment in the province in order to create more opportunities for income generation. The JIMOD survey on employment found a stagnant economic environment:

“The evidence suggests a regional economy lacking the economic dynamism necessary for significant poverty reduction” (Gunatilaka 2003:27).

Gunatilaka goes on to recommend that the Province needs to adopt a more integrated approach with the Western Province, building on its own areas of comparative advantage and leveraging its proximity to the Western Province. This would necessitate better transport and communication links between the two areas. Building on the area’s predominant source of income, more productive agricultural techniques are required, as well as better marketing of produce. There is also scope for the region to invest more in exploiting opportunities from the tourist industry. Economic regeneration would create the employment opportunities necessary, in order to keep people in the province. However, it is vital to ensure that these opportunities are spread across the province and not restricted to urban areas such as Kandy.

4.3 Living and health conditions

Housing conditions ranked as a high priority in the perceptions survey (Figure 4.1) despite the fact that there have been tangible improvements in overall living conditions in the province over the last decade. These improvements are mainly

the result of households investing in their own homes using loans and remittances from abroad, rather than the result of any external intervention to improve housing conditions. Figure 4.2 illustrates current key indicators of living conditions and indicates the improvements that have been made over just six years. However, while improvements may have been made there is still a great deal to be achieved - reflecting the concerns expressed by respondents in the perceptions survey.

78% of surveyed households rated health conditions in their communities as good or satisfactory

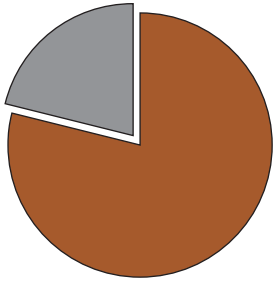
The JIMOD research found that overall, health services have also improved in the Central Province over the last decade. 78% of surveyed households rated health conditions in their communities as good or satisfactory and most households expressed the view that the quality, availability and cleanliness of health services had generally improved over the last ten years (Kuruppu 2003:10). However, it is important to recognise the differentiated progress which has occurred; average statistics may paint a relatively positive picture of improvements in health and living conditions, but sanitation and housing conditions in the less developed rural and estate areas are still far worse than the rest of the province, and poor availability of health services is a particular issue in the estate sector in Nuwara Eliya.

Nuwara Eliya has the highest incidence of births occurring outside institutions - 58% (Sri Lanka Demographic and Health Survey 2000) and one of the lowest availability of beds per person in the country⁶. In addition access to clean water is a serious problem in the district and contaminated water has led to a high prevalence of waterborne diseases such as dysentery and diarrhoea.

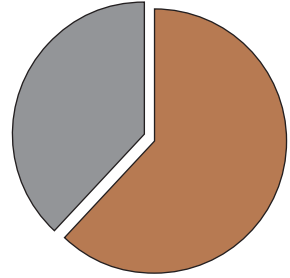
Statistics from the Plantation Human Development Trust show that in 2003 almost 50% of estate sector households in Nuwara Eliya did not have individual latrines and more than 13% did not have piped water (PHDT 2005:7). Estate sector households in other areas of the province also suffer poor sanitary conditions, with no individual latrines in 42% and almost 40% of estate households in Hatton and Kandy respectively. These poor and unhygienic living conditions harbour contagious diseases, particularly affecting children. Poor levels of health infrastructure, housing conditions and low literacy rates have combined to cause very low health levels and high rates of child malnutrition, further prejudicing the next generation's chances of leading a healthy, productive life.

⁶ Based on statistics from the Annual Health Bulletin 2002: Nuwara Eliya - 2.2 beds per 1,000 people. The only districts with a lower proportion of beds are Vavuniya and Kilinochchi with 2.0 and Mannar with 2.1 beds per 1,000 people. Kandy has 4.2 and Matale 3.2 beds per 1,000 people (Department of Health Services, 2002: 80).

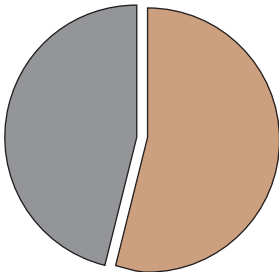
Figure 4.2: Living conditions in the Central Province



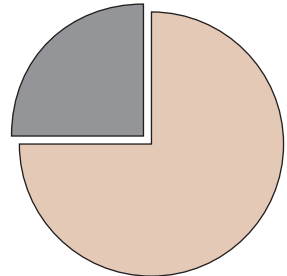
2003/4: 86.2% of houses have permanent walls (1996/7: 63.3%)



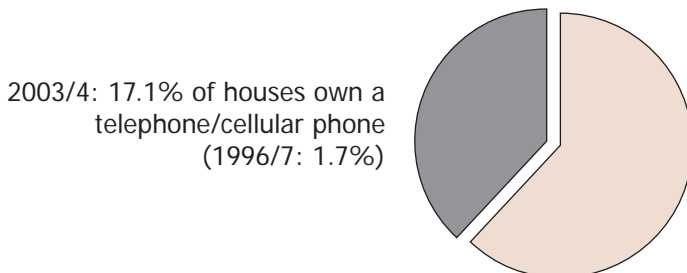
2003/4: 72.7% of houses are electrified (1996/7: 55.4%)



2003/4: 62.9% of houses have permanent roofing (1996/7: 58.2%)



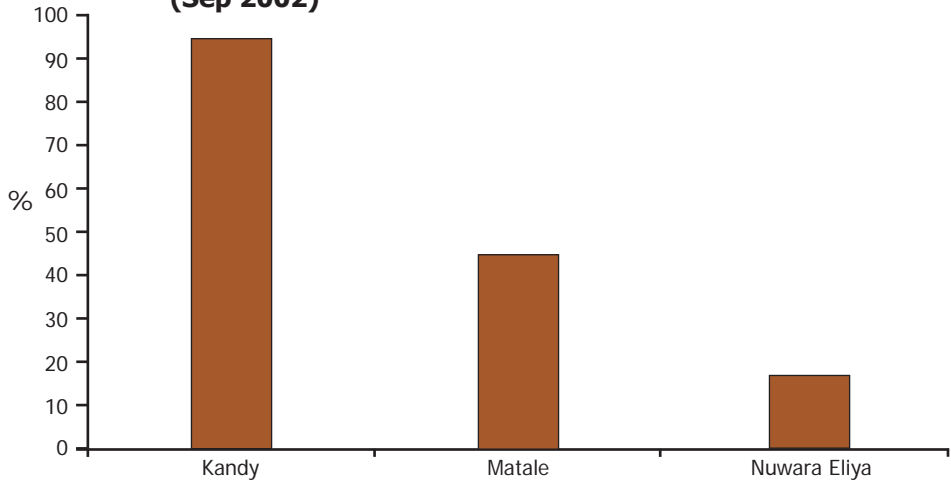
2003/4: 21.8% of houses own a refrigerator (1996/7: 10.8%)



2003/4: 17.1% of houses own a telephone/cellular phone (1996/7: 1.7%)

Source: Central Bank of Sri Lanka Economic and Social Statistics, 1996/7 and 2003/4

Figure 4.3: Distribution of medical officers per 100,000 people (Sep 2002)



Source: Department of Health Services Annual Health Bulletin 2003 (published 2006): Table 11

The poor health levels in Nuwara Eliya reflect the high proportion of residents living in the estate sector which has very poor levels of healthcare. One of the main reasons that the health infrastructure is so poor in the estate sector is that for many years it was outside government control and suffered from low levels of investment. When the government took over estate healthcare following nationalisation in the 1970s it had to invest heavily in the sector, in order to try and raise levels. As a result of this investment, major improvements were seen in reduction of disease prevalence, infant mortality and immunisation rates (PHDT 2005:1). However, the sector had fallen so far behind the rest of Sri Lanka that healthcare has still not reached the same level as the rural or urban sectors, despite massive investment. Following the re-privatisation of the sector in the 1990s, estate management companies continue to work closely with government in improving health levels on the estates (PHDT 2005:29). However, serious investment in health infrastructure in the estate sector is still required; poor health and nutritional levels are not only a symptom of poverty but also vital contributory factors which affect education and job prospects and can lock people into a spiral of chronic poverty.

in 2003 almost 50% of estate sector households in Nuwara Eliya did not have individual latrines

4.4 Social exclusion

Social exclusion is both a cause and a symptom of poverty, and is exacerbated by conflict between different groups within society. Many of those who are classified as poor in the Central Province suffer from three main types of social exclusion which may prevent them from accessing services and opportunities which could help lift them out of poverty:

- a) Political marginalisation, i.e. those who are not affiliated with, or identified by, the political party in power may at the time. Poor people in this group may have difficulty accessing safety net benefits due to the tendency for such benefits to become politicised.
 - b) Social marginalisation, i.e. caste or class classifications, which can prevent people from changing their status and position in society, dictate marriage choices and affect job prospects in certain professions.
 - c) Spatial marginalisation, i.e. communities who are isolated in remote areas and cannot access alternative job opportunities or resources.
- (Vimaladharma *et al.* 2000)

Indian Tamil estate workers suffer particularly high levels of spatial and social marginalisation which, as is evident from the indicators analysed above, has negatively contributed to poverty levels in the community. The social and spatial divide between the Sinhalese population and the Indian Tamil estate community has also exacerbated the ethnic conflict between these two populations in the province. Tamil estate workers only received citizenship rights in the 1980s, and have historically suffered discrimination from the state and from the majority Sinhala population. However, the Sinhala population living in plantation areas also feel marginalised and vulnerable as they are the minority ethnic group in the district. Conflict particularly manifests itself amongst young people, each side feeling that it is discriminated against and threatened by the other group.

On the one hand, Sinhala youth feel that they are discriminated against, and many claim that they are denied access to training and development opportunities which are aimed at Tamil youths brought up within the plantations. On the other hand, Tamil youths feel discriminated against by Sinhala youth who they say do not treat them as equals. Tamil youths also claim that the Sinhalese dominate state services, which means, in turn, that they are denied access to these services (Ibarguen 2004:15).

Both groups also feel that they suffer from unequal access to job opportunities. Tamil youth do not feel that they are able to access middle or senior management positions, even on the estates, whereas Sinhala youth resent the power of the plantation trade unions which they feel privilege the position of Tamil youths:

“Sinhala youth feel that the plantation Tamil people sympathise with the Tamil cause in relation to the North-East conflict and therefore could

be a possible threat to them. ...Sinhala youth also feel that the peace process is only benefiting the Tamil community and there's no change in their lives" (Emmanuel et al. 2004:5).

This mutual sense of discrimination is a major challenge to be overcome in the province, but is symptomatic of overarching poverty-inducing issues which affect both groups. Both Sinhalese and Tamil youth face a lack of good job opportunities within the province, and a history of poor educational attainment. However, the focus by government and NGOs on creating more opportunities for Tamil youth is explained by the particularly poor statistics consistently cited in the estate sector in terms of income, education, living conditions and opportunities to move out of poverty. Education is one of the key means by which young people can lift themselves out of poverty, but the low quality of education available in the estate sector is a great problem, as discussed in the next section. Even if greater income and employment opportunities are available throughout the province, estate youth certainly face greater barriers in accessing these opportunities as they are more trapped than most in the poverty cycle.

each side feels it is discriminated against by the other group

4.5 Education

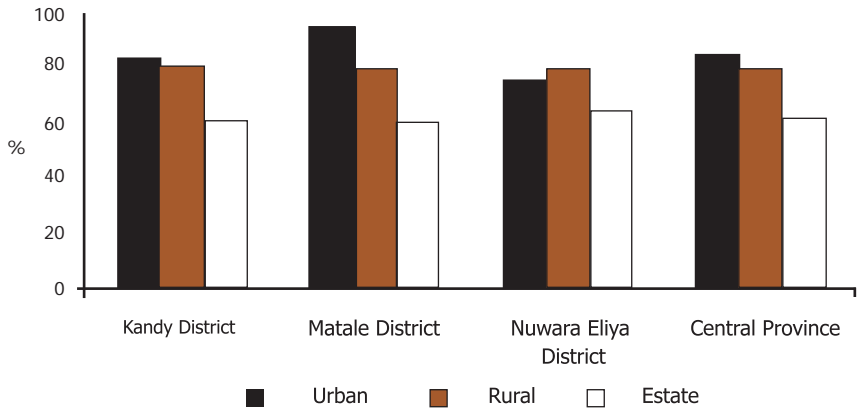
In a province which suffers from low employment opportunities, education is often seen as the only way out of poverty for the next generation. Parents place a high value on educating their children in order to give them better employment prospects:

"We send them to school so that they won't have to suffer like us in the rain with the tea bushes in the hills. They can get jobs."
Nuwara Eliya District, Estate Sector, Weeratunge 2003b:24

However, whilst official enrolment and literacy rates are generally high (in common with overall statistics for Sri Lanka), a more detailed look at test results highlight a serious problem with the quality of education throughout the province. Disaggregated data within the Central Province reveals patchy and uneven results between districts, ethnic groups and sectors. There has been a recent increase in the number of estate sector children enrolling and staying in primary education, however, drop-out rates in the district after junior secondary level are high. Nuwara Eliya and the estate sector have the lowest literacy rates in the country, and evidence suggests that facilities and teaching methods are particularly poor in the estate sector. Only 18% of children within the estate sector gain a secondary education (Weeratunge 2003:4).

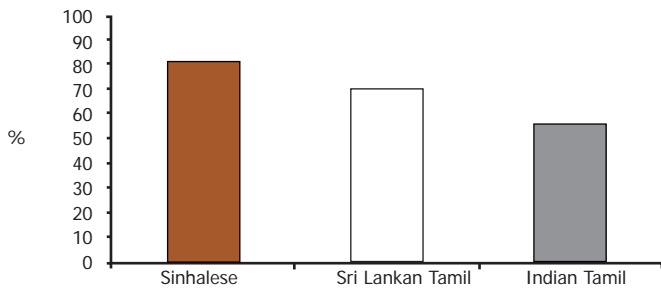
The JIMOD survey conducted a literacy test which required children to 'prove' their literacy rather than relying on their responses to questions. The results in Figure 4.4 highlight the huge disparity between the estate and other sectors.

Figure 4.4: Central Province 'proven' literacy rates by district and sector



Source: Weeratunge 2003b:3, 4

Figure 4.5 Central Province 'proven' literacy rates by ethnicity



Source: Weeratunge 2003b:3, 4

Disaggregated statistics from the National Education Research and Evaluation Centre (NEREC) also show a great difference between those schooled in Sinhala and those learning in the Tamil medium. In Tamil medium schools in the Central province only 19% of students have reached the expected level in their first language, as compared to 41.7% of those schooled in the Sinhala medium (Perera and Navaratne 2004:8). Most schools in the estate areas are Tamil medium, and poor performance has serious repercussions on their future prospects. The NEREC's research reinforces the poor results for the province in other subjects, such as mathematics and English as a second language. Once

again there is a large gap between the abilities of Tamil and Sinhala students⁷. The instruction of English is often the key to better paid employment. Therefore, low standards of English are a serious issue for students in this area. In addition the need for better knowledge of Sinhala to enable migration out of estates for employment was highlighted by estate residents (CEPA 2005:99).

Classroom studies have shown that the quality of teaching is of a low standard in the province, with teachers not planning lessons, disciplining students effectively or creating a school environment conducive to learning (Jayasena 2000). Trained and graduate teachers are particularly lacking in the Nuwara Eliya district, as the government has found it hard to attract trained teachers to the area.

Aside from the quality of education provided, it is important to look further at the reasons why children in the rural and estate sectors are faring so badly at school. A recent study by the National Education Commission (2005) looked into the links between children's living and health conditions, as well as parental support and primary school educational attainment. The study found that, although there are links between poor health and lower educational outcomes, socio-economic variables are more significant both in terms of achievement and health standards. Children from low income households with low parental educational levels are more likely to suffer ill health which may affect their education. However, parental educational levels proved to be the most significant influence on achievement (De Silva *et al.* 2005:7). Children who are not given the opportunity to read or study at home with the support of their parents are less likely to fare well at school.

quality of teaching is of a low standard in the province

While the achievement levels of all primary school students in the Province is unacceptably low, the Tamil language (Tamil and Muslim ethnic groups) students, who currently are the lowest achievers, are trapped in a vicious cycle of low achievement levels and poor health which they risk passing on to the next generation. This underlines the importance of focusing on increasing education levels in the province; this is a vital area which may hold the key to releasing a significant percentage of the next generation from a chronic cycle of ill health and low income earning opportunities.

⁷Percentage of students reaching the expected level in mathematics: Sinhala students – 40.9%; Tamil students - 17.8% (Perera and Navaratne 2004:12-15).

Percentage of students reaching the expected level in English language: Sinhala students - 4.9%; Tamil language students - 1.5% (Perera and Navaratne 2004:16-19).

5 Conclusion

This chapter set out to provide a profile of poverty in the Central Province, focussing particularly on the importance of combining different measures of poverty. The differences between the districts and sectors are evident in all disaggregated statistics, although the level and nature of the poverty experienced differs. Using a variety of statistical data and considering the context of the data in more detail allows for a closer look at poverty in the province and reveals some key insights which are not immediately obvious using conventional, limited poverty measures.

The issues discussed are interdependent and can cumulate to cause a chronic poverty cycle which is difficult to escape from. This is a particular issue in the estate sector where levels of poverty are severe enough to cause a vicious cycle of poor health, low educational achievement and low income. As outlined in the previous section, health and living conditions are a contributory factor to poor educational achievement which, in turn, can translate into low income, low health and nutritional levels as children grow older. A range of areas need to be addressed, but one key area requiring focus and investment is education in the Tamil medium schools in the Nuwara Eliya and Matale districts.

It is clear from the profile of the province that the estate sector and, as a result of the high proportion of estate workers in the Nuwara Eliya district, fare particularly badly in comparison to the other sectors and districts in the province. However, a focus on the estate sector should not detract from the fact that poverty is still a severe problem in other parts of the Central Province, particularly the rural areas which make up most of the province. The nature of work available in the province tends to leave many people vulnerable to transitory poverty, moving in and out of poverty due to seasonal, informal and insecure work patterns. Many households lack the necessary social and material capital to cope with constant fluctuations in income and they may fall into poverty fairly quickly. Static statistics on income and consumption do not capture the dynamics of how households experience different types of poverty over time and such targeting methods may miss those households which need support to make them less vulnerable to falling into poverty.

It is also important to highlight the great improvements made in the Central Province over the last twenty years, particularly in health and housing conditions. While poverty is still very evident in the province, living conditions across all districts have improved, providing hope for the future.

A complex picture of poverty in the Central Province emerges from this chapter, leading to the inevitable conclusion that the province requires an equally complex and differentiated approach to poverty reduction. The province should neither be dismissed as an area of simply average poverty levels, nor approached

as a homogenous area. Each district and sector has different priority needs; urban areas require better infrastructure and housing, rural areas require more opportunities to diversify their income sources and find stable employment, and the estate sector requires investment in all basic services as well as opportunities to gain employment outside of the sector in order that they may break out of the dependent and exclusionary life on the estates. A fresh perspective on the multidimensional and differential nature of poverty in the province can help to understand these priorities in more detail.

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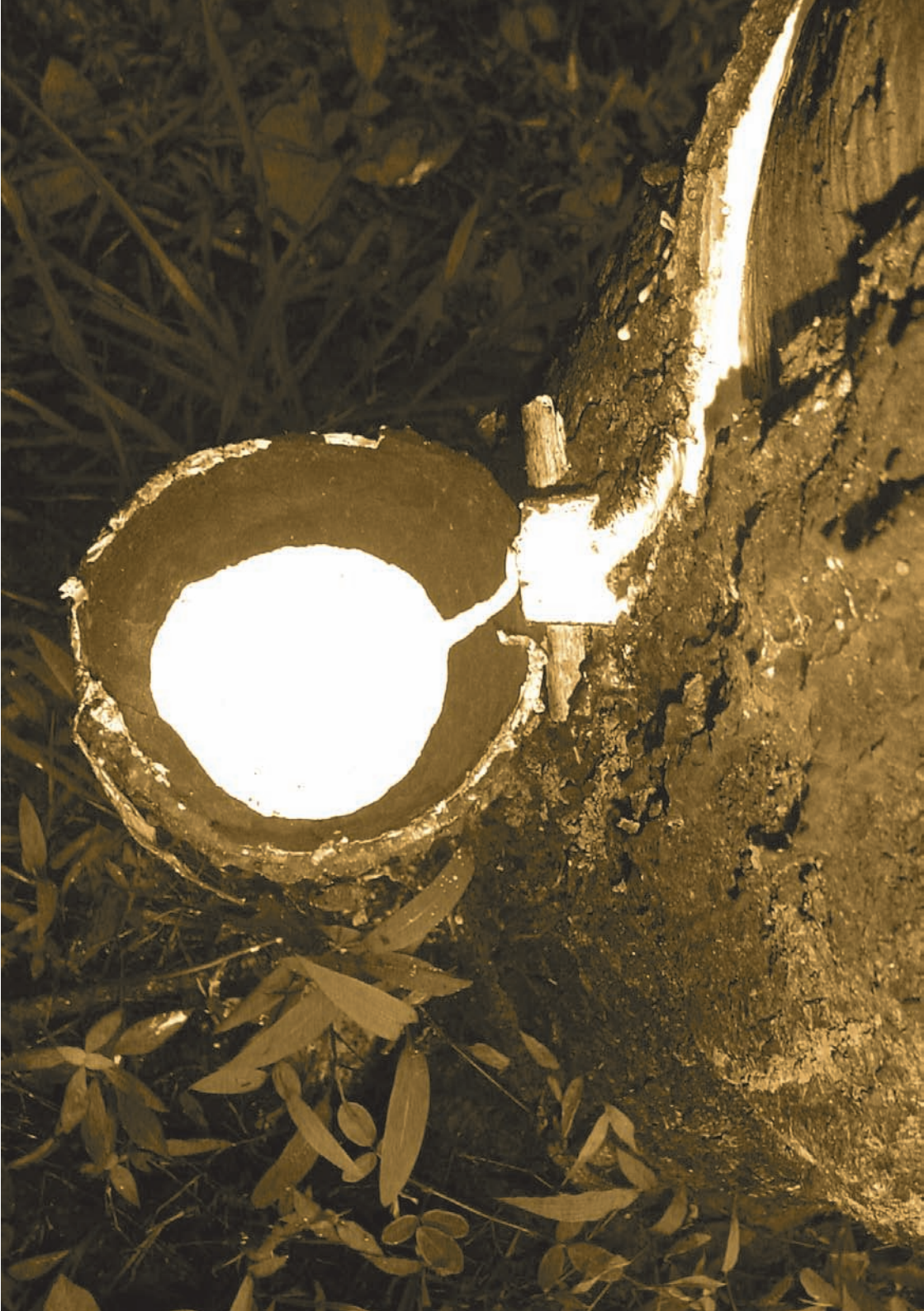


Chapter 4

DISMANTLING AN INSTITUTION:

Addressing poverty in the plantation sector

Priyanthi Fernando



CHAPTER 4

Dismantling an Institution: Addressing poverty in the plantation sector

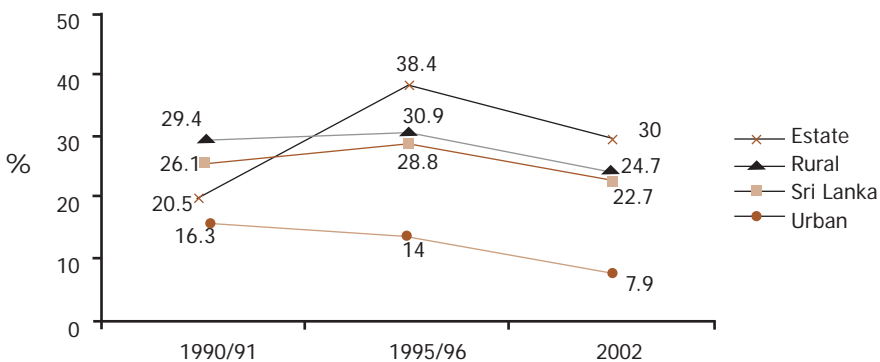
Priyanthi Fernando

1 Introduction

The plantation or tree-crop sector has played, and continues to play, a significant role in Sri Lanka's economy and is one of the largest employers in the country. Many changes have occurred since the plantations were established by the British in the late 1800s, and the history of the sector has been well documented. Plantation workers have also commanded a great deal of attention, variously as victims of an exploitative system, as a political force with considerable leverage, and as beneficiaries of government and non-governmental social welfare programmes.

More recently, attention has been drawn to national poverty statistics released by the Department of Census and Statistics which have highlighted an increase over the last 15 years in the head count index of poverty in the estates. This is in contrast to a national trend of gradually reducing poverty, and has taken place despite considerable social welfare investments.

Figure 1.1: Headcount index based on poverty line of Rs.1,423



Source: Department of Census and Statistics 1990/91, 1995/96 & 2002

This chapter aims to unpack some of the reasons for this trend. It moves away from more conventional analyses that continue to conceptualise the issues within the existing 'estates' framework. This type of analysis tends to focus on increasing productivity and revamping the hierarchical management system to allow greater participation in decision-making, or on building the capacity of workers to address the endemic problems of alcoholism, lack of savings, gender violence etc. that are assumed to trap them in poverty. Instead, this chapter aims to give greater recognition to the tensions within the sector and the changes which have taken place in the social, political and economic environment of the country and in the lives of the plantation workers. Most importantly, this chapter aims to provide alternative ways of approaching the problem of poverty on the plantations.

The content of this chapter is based on a study in the tea and rubber plantation sector, *Moving Out of Poverty in the Estate Sector in Sri Lanka: Understanding growth and freedom from the bottom up* study (CEPA 2005), that CEPA carried out in 2005 for the World Bank's *Sri Lanka Poverty Assessment*, and as a contribution to its global *Moving Out of Poverty* study.¹ The study examined two core research questions:

- Why has the estate sector shown increasing levels of poverty?
- How have some people in the sector moved out of poverty and stayed out of poverty while others fall into poverty or remain trapped in chronic poverty?

The findings of the study suggest that addressing the persistence of poverty, marginalisation and vulnerability of the plantation sector requires a radical rethinking of the way the problem is approached.

2 Poverty and change on the estates

For most estate workers, except those who are chronically poor, being poor is a relative rather than an absolute concept. Poverty is not only related to income and consumption (in terms of wages and household expenditure), but also to health, education and other personal attributes. The study revealed that, with the exception of a few cases among the more dynamic youth groups, most workers could conceptualise poverty only within the restricted framework of the estate sector. Despite the relatively positive changes that have taken place the overall perception was that conditions had deteriorated in the sector over the last fifteen years. This perception was particularly strong among workers

¹ This chapter is based on Individual Interviews (II), Key Informant Interviews (KI) and Focus Group Discussions (FGD) from the study *Moving Out of Poverty in the Estate Sector in Sri Lanka: Understanding growth and freedom from the bottom up*. Extracts from interviews will be references with the type of interview, the district and where possible the informant's or group's gender.

Box 1: Milestones for the plantation sector

- 1840** The Crown Lands Encroachment Ordinance No. 12 of 1840: The crown acquires all 'waste' land and distributes these lands to estates
- 1867** Commencement of transfer of labour from South India
- 1931** Sri Lanka receives universal franchise under dominion status
- 1947** In preparation to receiving independence, Sri Lanka and India commence discussions on citizenship
- 1948** Ceylon Citizenship Act of 1948 passed. Indian Tamil workers on estates classified as temporary immigrants
- 1949** Ceylon Parliamentary Elections (Amendment) Act of 1949 disqualified those of Indian origin from the right to franchise
- 1950s** Ceylon Workers' Congress (CWC) becomes successor to the Ceylon Indian Congress Labour Union
- 60-65** S. Thondaman made an appointed Member of Parliament to represent the stateless Tamils
- 1964** Sirima-Shastri Pact paves the way for the repatriation of 600,000 persons of Indian origin to India. Another 375,000 persons were to be accepted as citizens of Sri Lanka which made them enter the polity
- 72-77** Transfer of estate schools to the national education system
- 1975** Land Reform (Amendment) Law No. 39 of 1975 - All privately owned plantations in Sri Lanka nationalised, lands transferred to state agencies
- 1976** Establishment of Janatha Estate Development Board (JEDB) and State Plantations Corporation (SPC)
- 1978** CWC enters parliament, S. Thondaman appointed to the cabinet as Minister of Rural Industries
- 1984** Unions won demand for 300 working days a year for every registered worker, equalisation of wages for men and women
- 1988** Citizenship for Stateless Persons Act, afforded Sri Lankan citizenship and right to vote to Tamils of Indian descent
- 1992** Re-privatisation of the management of estates - 22 companies, later 23, initial contract was for 4-5 years, lease was Rs.500
- 1993** Plantation Housing and Social Welfare Trust set up under the Ministry of Plantation Industries – a tripartite agency (government, estate management, trade unions)
- 95/96** Lease lengthened to 50 years, lease fee increased
- 1997** A separate Ministry established for estate infrastructure development
- 1998-2000**
CWC leader, A. Thondaman holds cabinet portfolio of Minister of Housing and Plantation Infrastructure
- 2006** Formulation of the National Plan of Action for Social Development of the Plantation Community 2006 to 2015

Sources: Centre for Poverty Analysis 2005, Ministry of Estate Infrastructure and Livelihood Development 2006

in the tea estates. However, despite this perception of community and sectoral degradation, estate workers recognised that there had been improvements at the individual, household level.

Perceptions of community deterioration were strongly influenced by comparison against an 'ideal type'. This idealisation of a mythical golden era is influenced by the institutional structure of the estate which historically created a paternalistic, dependent relationship between the management and the workers; management was seen to take greater responsibility for worker welfare and estate production was seen to be better managed. More recently, with the growth of identity politics and high levels of unionisation, the management-worker relationship has become more adversarial and rights-based. Any improvements to worker welfare or even productivity are compared against this past 'ideal' and found to be wanting.

The fortunes of the individual household are separated from that of the estate community by the critical role that non-estate employment plays in a diversified household livelihood portfolio. While the chances for a given household to increase their wellbeing are greater in circumstances where the estate is doing well, households in deteriorating estates are also able to move themselves out of poverty, quite independently from the estates.

the management-worker relationship has become more adversarial and rights-based

The most effective household livelihood portfolio was found to be one that incorporated estate and non-estate work, internal and external migration, and skilled and non-skilled labour. In these households estate work was consciously included so that the household could maximise the remuneration and housing package, and balance stability with higher yield. These families demonstrated that they were less vulnerable to lifecycle fluctuations, such as marriage and death, were able to meet the increasing costs of care and children's education, and made best use of the earnings of younger members and the EPF/ETF savings of the elders.

Overseas remittances are an important way in which household income can be supplemented, and the survey found that this external injection of income has made a significant contribution to households' ability to move out of poverty in the estate sector.

"We are in this situation because I went to Middle East, if not we would still be poor and totally dependent on the estate salary.

Children could get a good education without interruption.” (II, Female, 44, Private tea estate, Nuwara Eliya, CEPA 2005)

“We developed with our own effort, no drinking, house is well-constructed. I earn about Rs.8,500 tapping rubber. From the money my wife sent from Middle East I started the shop and bought the three-wheeler from the money saved from rubber tapping.” (II, Male, 40, Rubber estate, Regional Plantation Company, Kegalle, CEPA 2005)

2.1 Earning potential on the estates

Households' dependence on extra, alternative income sources, and the frequent debates in the government and business sectors about the poor profitability and competitiveness of the estate sector, could portray a misleading impression that there is a lack of work and potential earning capacity within the estates. The opposite is frequently the case. Many tea and rubber estates actually record shortages of labour, and the earning potential of estate work is above the poverty level of Rs.1,423 per month (Department of Census and Statistics, 2004). According to management, workers can earn a maximum of Rs.7,000 per month during the peak seasons, and Rs.1,500 per month during the off season. Workers confirmed this range:

“Those in the middle level earn about Rs.4,000 to 5,000 per month per worker. Those at the top level work everyday and get the attendance incentive for working 75% of the maximum days. They earn more.” (Female FGD, Regional Plantation Company, Kegalle, CEPA 2005)

“During the year, the number of days of work available to us varies: in the high season for three months we have 30 days of work a month, in the low season for three months we have only 12-15 days of work a month. During the rest of the time we might have about 18-20 days a month.” (FGD, Tea estate, Regional Plantation Company, Badulla, CEPA 2005)

So why do households fail to tap into this earning potential? The CEPA study found that the structure of the estate sector creates unfavourable *non-economic conditions* which influence household economic decision-making, leading to underutilisation of the earning potential on the estates despite the threat of poverty. The next section will consider these conditions, and how they are engendered by the structure of the estate socio-economy.

2.2 Structural tensions

The traditional structure of estate life, which has often been idealised as a paternalistic and protective relationship, has actually resulted in the creation of an enclave with a low paid, indentured labour force, stratified along ethnic lines and isolated from the surrounding rural communities. Workers' lives are controlled by a management which is responsible not just for the welfare of their workforce, but for all aspects of workers' household welfare, from the cradle to the grave. Although this structure has been eroded and the boundaries between the plantations and mainstream Sri Lankan society have blurred, the changes have also given rise to tensions between the economic expectations of plantation management and workers' articulation of their rights. Perceptions of marginalisation, exploitation, lack of dignity and lack of choice of work pervade the outlook of the workforce. These perceptions, in turn, direct the economic choices made by households.

The tensions are particularly manifest with regard to housing. The management perceives housing as workers' quarters, and considers it reasonable that provision of housing should mean that at least one member in the household works on the estate. For the workers, the estate is home, and they see no reason why the management should control their right to decide where they live and work, although they continue to expect their housing and external living environment to be maintained by management. Equally contrary perspectives are found in the perceptions vis-à-vis collective agreements, wage rates, the mandatory 25 days of minimum work and the incentives provided by each estate. Management sees these collective agreements as providing a package that very few other employers provide which ensure security of employment. Despite this, and the fact that many young people, especially on tea estates, aspire to continue working on the estates, perceptions of exploitation being forced to live on the estates are strong.

“Half the estate youth work in Colombo and in nearby towns. The management does not give us proper work on the estate, but they don't like us working out either. They threaten to take back our houses if we don't come back and work. So some of us are forced to come back and work on the estate.” (Youth FGD, Private rubber estate, Kegalle, CEPA 2005)

“We work hard and don't get paid. How can we work for 22 days? It's inhuman to ask us to work for 22 days a month. The managers - they do nothing and get paid.” (11, Female, 35, Rubber estate, Regional Plantation Company, Kegalle, CEPA 2005)

“The estate has to help us to educate the children so that they can get better jobs outside the estate. When the country develops we also can develop.” (II, Female 35, Rubber estate, Regional Plantation Company, Kegalle, CEPA 2005)

These perceptions are reinforced by a sense of political and social marginalisation. Despite the fact that the disenfranchisement of the Indian Tamil estate population ended in the mid 1980s, and most of the estate population have citizenship rights (although a large number still do not have identity cards), many feel strongly that they are excluded from the benefits of change in the rest of the country. Their identity, based on historical immigrant status and Indian Tamil ethnicity, has been strengthened through unionisation, and has given them a proletarian perspective absent elsewhere in the rural sector, providing them with a vocabulary to articulate their grievances.

“The political process has helped to develop other people, but not us.” (Male FGD, Rubber estate, Regional Plantation Company, Ratnapura, CEPA 2005)

“There might be changes in the country, but we don’t get any benefits.” (Female FGD, Tea estate, Regional Plantation Company, Ratnapura, CEPA 2005)

“Estate Tamils are cornered by everyone. No-one respects us. We are considered as a caste of the lowest status.” (Youth FGD, Regional Plantation Company, Ratnapura, CEPA 2005)

“The management of the estate can change these things, if not, the head office in Kandy or Colombo can. Failing the estate, the ministry can do something. The government gets the biggest profit out of the estates. But we are not even considered as human beings. We don’t know whether they consider us not good enough to change anything.” (Male FGD, Tea estate, State-managed estate, Kandy, CEPA 2005)

These perceptions affect poverty on the estates in two major ways. Firstly they are in themselves a dimension of poverty, relative poverty. Even households that have incomes significantly higher than the poverty line feel that they are members of a sector that is being given a ‘raw deal’ in comparison to the mainstream socio-economy, and that as a result they are considerably poorer. Secondly, household economic and livelihood decisions are strongly influenced by the sense of marginalisation and exploitation. Many households do not take full advantage of the available earning capacity on the estate as their adversarial-

dependent relationship with management, and the prevailing perception that estate work is degrading leading them to shun estate work.

The structure of the plantation system as it stands today is responsible for some non-economic dimensions of poverty within the sector, and also influences the economic decisions of the households. The system is also less than successful at creating a dynamic and profitable industry, which further constrains the upward mobility of residents within the sector.

3 Interventions in the sector

There are several organisations working with and in the plantation sector. These include the plantation companies, the institutions of government with specific responsibility for the plantation sector, the trade unions, organisations representing the smallholder sector and several Sri Lankan and international NGOs. Many of these institutions are focused on increasing the productivity of the sector, through technical and management improvements, better financing mechanisms, providing infrastructure services and improving worker welfare. International and local NGOs are also engaged in building the capacity of the resident estate population through educational and awareness raising programmes, through micro enterprise, credit and saving schemes and through development of community based organisations.

many households do not take full advantage of the available earning capacity on the estate

Many of these organisations view plantation workers from within the framework of the estates, and work in partnership with the estate management and the government organisations, specialising in improving workers' economic and livelihood options (e.g. the Plantation Human Development Trust). However, there appears to be limited engagement with the wider institutional structure of government, even at the local level. In 1995, the Central Provincial Council set up a select committee on the problems of the plantation workers, but this does not seem to have made much progress (Bastian 2003). The conventional trade unions are patriarchal, confined to securing wage benefits and constrained by their participation in mainstream politics. The community organisations within the sector also seem to be focused on addressing practical problems and have yet to develop into representative, non-partisan citizens' organisations that can play a more strategic part in enabling plantation workers (particularly women and young people) to negotiate their rights.

3.1 A radical rethink

Within this context, the CEPA research suggests that there could be three approaches to engaging with the plantation sector. The first is to continue with the type of interventions that have been described above, where engagement is within the existing structure. However, it is questionable whether the existing structure can enable worker populations to reach national levels of socio-economic development, and whether such levels can be maintained. Related to this is the question of whether the plantation companies have the capacity to increase welfare levels or whether there is a ceiling that has already been reached by the better run estates. We also need to ask whether, in this scenario, the feelings of 'exploitation', 'marginalisation' and 'lack of choice' can be extricated from the estate structure with which they are associated.

Another path is to actively encourage the natural changes that are taking place, so that the boundaries between the estate and other sectors become blurred, leading to a gradual disintegration of the 'total institution' of the plantation.

The third approach is to consciously mainstream the plantation workers into Sri Lankan society. This will encourage disintegration of the current structure, and will mean developing more mainstream employer-worker relationships, allowing the industry to attract labour from households that wish to be employed in the estate, and making the state responsible for the welfare of the population as it is for the rest of the country. For this to bring long-term benefits, it will also need to be accompanied by interventions that support the development of strong civil society organisations that enable plantation workers to lobby for their rights outside of the party-political arena, and enable dialogue with mainstream government, political institutions (including the trade unions), and the plantation managers. The decentralised government administration and mainstream sector specific central government institutions also need to recognise the rights of plantation workers and provide them with the same services as they do other citizens of Sri Lanka. This scenario would de-link the development of the people resident on the estates from the fortunes of the plantation sector, but the question of marginalisation and the challenges of identity politics might well remain.

it is questionable whether the existing structure can enable worker populations to reach national levels of socio-economic development

At the time of writing, a National Plan of Action for Social Development of the Plantation Community has been drawn up by the Ministry of Nation Building and

Estate Infrastructure Development. In line with the policy of the government, and the Mahinda Chinthana which emphasises 'a new life for the plantation areas', the overall goal of the National Plan of Action (NPA) is to reduce the poverty level and improve the standard of living of the Plantation Community as a priority target group. It is interesting to note that some sub-sectoral thrusts of this plan of action are weighted towards mainstreaming the plantation communities into Sri Lankan society, perhaps the first step in dismantling the historic institution that is the estate sector.

Box 2: National Plan of Action (NPA) for Social Development of the Plantation Community (2006-2015)

The National Plan of Action (NPA) recognises the value of mainstreaming the plantation sector into Sri Lankan society. It suggests that

"in order for the community to achieve a holistic development it has to be empowered to break away from its isolation to enter into the mainstream. Promotion of sports and culture, improvement of psychosocial behaviours, security for the elders and differently-abled people and integration with the neighbouring society forms a vital part [of the NPA strategy]" (Ministry of Estate Infrastructure and Livestock Development 2006).

More specifically, in the health sector, the NPA calls for the integration of the estate health services into the national system by 2015. Provincial plans to effect such integration are being developed as the first step. In the preventive field, Medical Officer of Health (MOH) areas will be established in the estate sector, according to national norms. Public Health Inspectors and Public Health Midwives' areas will be re-demarcated accordingly. In the curative field, there will be a phased takeover of hospitals at the level of rural hospitals. These will be upgraded, together with Base and District hospitals adjacent to plantations, and intended to serve the community. Services provided by the estate management will be supported through cluster-based Out Person Department services run by doctors and qualified paramedical personnel.

The NPA also plans to address youth unemployment on the estates by improving the working conditions and productivity on the estates, with a view to attracting youth back to plantation work, and improving the capacity of those who still wish to work outside the plantations.

The physical isolation of the plantation communities will be reduced through plans to rehabilitate 8,000km of estate roads and 200km of link roads, provide electricity to 112,500 households and commission around 442 sub post offices with postal delivery facilities. NPA also plans to construct 160,000 new housing units on a self-help basis together with attendant water supply and sanitation facilities.

Source: Ministry of Estate Infrastructure and Livelihood Development 2006

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Chapter 5

CONFLICT AND RECOVERY:

Challenging prevailing wisdom

Prashan Thalayasingam



CHAPTER 5

Conflict and Recovery: Challenging prevailing wisdom

Prashan Thalayasingam

1 Introduction

The research studies conducted by the Poverty and Conflict Programme at CEPA over the last two years have provided some key insights into the way people affected by conflict in Sri Lanka have been able to rebuild their lives and livelihoods. Some of these insights challenge preconceived notions about the timing and nature of post-conflict livelihood recovery, and it is the complex social processes involved in recovering from war that this chapter focuses on. The chapter begins with a brief outline of how the conflict in the North and East of Sri Lanka has affected communities before moving on to focus on conflict recovery, looking at how communities' coping mechanisms have changed following the ceasefire. The research findings highlight that these communities often do not wait for an external 'peace process' to be complete before beginning their own recovery process. Macro and micro peace processes are often working on different levels and at different speeds and are not as interdependent as may have previously been assumed. The chapter concludes by examining the implications of the findings for actors working on conflict recovery.

This chapter is based largely on CEPA's work in the *Moving out of Poverty in Conflict Affected Areas in Sri Lanka* study carried out by CEPA for the World Bank in 2005 (CEPA 2006). It also draws on ideas that emerged from studies undertaken during the same year on post-conflict justice (Thalaysingham 2006) and children affected by armed conflict (Wimaladharma, de Silva & de Silva 2005).¹

2 Conflict in the North and East

The conflict between the armed forces of the Government of Sri Lanka and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) began in 1983. Despite the massive loss of life and damage to infrastructure, the conflict has remained relatively isolated in the North and East. The eight contested districts of the North and

¹ This chapter is based on Individual Interviews (II), Key Informant Interviews (KI) and Focus Group Discussions (FGD) from the *Moving Out of Poverty in Conflict Affected Areas in Sri Lanka* study. Extracts from interviews will be references with the type of interview, the district and where possible the informant's or group's gender.

East have seen most of the fighting and war-related destruction, while other areas of the country have remained largely free of such direct destruction. The extent of conflict affectedness has also varied between the districts in the North and East. In the worst affected areas it has taken on the character of a civil war as non-combatants were drawn in and suffered as a result of the conflict. Parts of these highly contested tracts of land are still inhabited and the land supports communities who carry on with their lives within the conflict environment. However, the fracture lines between ethnic groups are evident in the North and East where minority Sinhala and Muslim communities have been significantly affected by the conflict. They are particularly vulnerable because of their minority status within these areas, as demonstrated in the following quote:

"In the past we had a good relationship with the Tamil people who now live in the Tamil border. We used to get to their areas and they came to our areas. We kept on interacting with them for a long time. They brought their bullocks to our side and we used to buy milk and cow dung from them. But one time we had a small problem between those people who brought the cattle to this side and the Sinhalese villagers with them about a cow and a Sinhalese person was killed. Then the dispute started and once the police went to solve the problem there was a shooting and a Tamil died. It grew and then the LTTE killed 44 Sinhalese people who lived near the border. Even there were times that Tamil people were also killed (by the LTTE); around 15-20. But still we haven't got enough guard to our village so we felt that the Tamil Tigers will come and kill us at any time." (FGD, Ampara, CEPA 2006)

3 Beginning the Recovery Process

The ceasefire agreement signed between the Government of Sri Lanka and the LTTE had a significant impact on the lives and livelihoods of the people in the North and East. While many people had reservations about the terms of the ceasefire, especially the perceived concessions made to the LTTE, people from communities in the North and East who were interviewed in the study spoke of the positive changes it brought about.

"There was a large resettlement after the MOU. Then the A-9 road was opened. People started returning faster than ever before. They got their own houses back. All the people displaced in 1995 and 2000, started to return to their homes. Some household items were provided to the people who returned by

some NGOs after MOU. Everybody in the village benefited from this. The people who went to India and other areas inside the country were beginning to return. The village started to catch its pace. Now most of the villagers are settled here again.” (KI, Mannar, CEPA 2006)

The changes in the conflict following the ceasefire allowed many people to begin rebuilding their lives and livelihoods, and the following section outlines different ways in which this recovery took place. Some people recovered their livelihoods by re-engaging with the same economic activities from before the conflict. Other people found and explored new livelihood options and coping mechanisms, some which arose out of the conflict. These recovery processes took place following the ceasefire between the conflict parties in the North and East. The main events following the ceasefire are presented in a chronology which records the various developments that took place in the macro peace process. The livelihood recovery processes introduced in the paper took place in parallel with the macro level peace process, but the research studies reveal that these processes did not affect each other; the micro level livelihood recovery processes seemed to operate independently of the macro level peace process. This is a significant finding for actors wishing to support post-conflict recovery as it frees them from depending upon the vagaries of a drawn-out peace process.

3.1 New livelihood patterns

Many of the communities that contributed to the research took the opportunity of a lull in the conflict in their area to work towards re-establishing their livelihoods. However, many speak of having to ‘start from the beginning’ and how the livelihood options that existed before the conflict have reduced.

“As we left the village almost all the livelihoods were affected. After we came back, all the livelihoods had to start from the beginning.” (FGD, Jaffna, CEPA 2006)

the livelihood options that existed before the conflict have reduced

“Even though new livelihoods emerged, they are not established because people did not have experience of these. People are used to fishing and coir work as their main livelihood.” (FGD, Jaffna, CEPA 2006)

People were used to certain types of work and the last statement underlines the difficulties they faced when trying to adapt to new livelihood opportunities. The conflict has prevented them from taking advantage of changes to the available

livelihood options, primarily because they have not had opportunities to learn new skills or engage in new trades.

Other people in different communities were able to take advantage of *new* livelihood opportunities which grew out of the communities themselves. They were often linked to a different aspect of an already established livelihood, e.g. establishing mills to process paddy grown in the area, or linked with other economic niches, e.g. establishing small scale bakeries.

“Some people earned some money and started new businesses like bakery, grinding mill, carpentry and grocery shops.” (FGD, Trincomalee, CEPA 2006)

“After my marriage I did wage labour for about two years. From my earnings I bought a small goat and I raised it. When it was big I sold it for about Rs.10,000 and bought a wandil madu (bullock cart). One day my father and I went to the woods to collect firewood. The LTTE caught us. My father begged and somehow we came home with the cart. After that incident I sold the wandil madu and built the bakery. From the bakery I had a regular income and it helped me to develop.” (II, Male, Trincomalee, CEPA 2006)

3.2 Migration and remittances

The conflict prompted many people to leave the depressed economic environment in their own areas and migrate to other areas to seek employment. Some were able to migrate to the USA, or Western Europe because of visas given on humanitarian grounds for people in conflict areas. The money these migrants remitted back to their families helped them cope with the lack of other income sources within their communities or helped supplement incomes made from the limited sources that were available. Most of this migration took place during the conflict period and continued after the ceasefire.

“After my son went abroad we did better. Coir work is the main source of income. My first son is working in UK. Daughter is also working in UK. My other son is working in Germany. They also send money.” (II, Female, Jaffna, CEPA 2006)

“Before my husband went to France we faced so many difficulties. We were severely affected by the 1995 displacement. Before he went abroad he did wage labour and business at the market. After my husband went to France my confidence has increased.” (II, Female, Jaffna, CEPA 2006)

People in the conflict areas, like many others in the country, also migrated to the Middle East seeking employment. The research findings suggest that while migration to Western countries appeared to be largely confined to the high conflict areas, migration to the Middle East for economic reasons was apparent in many communities.

“Main source of livelihood/income at present is my son’s income from abroad. I started working in 1980. I started doing cultivation work. After my marriage my income from agriculture was not enough for my family. That’s why I went to Riyadh. In Riyadh I was driver in a company.” (II, Male, Ampara, CEPA 2006)

“My husband went to Iraq last year, he earns Rs.20,000 per month. He sends us money every month, sometimes he sends once in 2 or 3 months. Before he went abroad he worked as a wage labourer for 15 years. Our income was enough only to manage the day to day needs. Now things are better.” (II, Female, Trincomalee, CEPA 2006)

Migration was one of the few economic opportunities available for people living in the conflict areas during the conflict period. People continued to migrate after the ceasefire and their remittances continued to help their families and communities recover and rebuild their lives. Actors wishing to enhance post-conflict recovery can add value to this process by advising communities and households on savings and investments helping to ensure that these resources are well managed.

3.3 Soldiers and Home Guards

The conflict also created another particular set of alternative income sources available to conflict-affected communities. The conflict prompted a rise in recruitment for the Sri Lankan armed forces and also created reserve units known as Home Guards. This force was affiliated to the police and the recruits received basic training and were stationed in areas close to their own communities. This enabled people to serve as Home Guards and receive a permanent wage while also being able to engage in their own supplementary livelihood activities. Taking up these occupations guaranteed a regular (and sometimes supplementary) income for households, although it also came at great personal risk.

“Some youth say its better to join the army rather than do paddy cultivation.” (FGD, Female, Ampara, CEPA 2006)

“Another thing that helped improvement was men joining the Home Guard services. Since they got a monthly salary they could

live without getting in to debt. This trend started about 9 years ago, the youth were recruited as Home Guards given a 3 months training and appointed (Anuyuktha) with the police. About 40 youth were recruited. No qualifications were considered, only the age. But now it's not the case. They ask for qualifications and the present young generation can't meet those criteria." (FGD, Female, Ampara, CEPA 2006)

Changes in the conflict will eventually lead to changes in the composition and size of Sri Lankan armed forces. It is vital that the reintegration of combatants be supported with plans to retrain them in skills they could use as civilians and to put in place mechanisms that would include them in a post conflict economy.

3.4 Government sector employment

Government services functioned to a limited extent and provided one of the few regular income sources available to people in the conflict affected areas. It also provided a certain amount of economic security to people who were forced to displace away from their areas of origin because they were able to take up these jobs again on their return.

"I started working in 1996. I passed my Advance level in Arts. I went and talked with the MP and got the job as a clerk in the port. As I joined I got about Rs.5,000 per month. And it increased gradually. I work only five days a week. I don't do any other business." (II, Male, Trincomale, CEPA 2006)

"At the age of seventeen I went to work in the Irrigation Department. I was working as a wage labourer for five years. ... I was paid Rs.4.50 per day. That was in the early 1970s. In those days I did ground clearance work like cutting grass and digging trenches. After five years of work I was promoted as a sluice controller. I was appointed to open and close the sluice by which the water level and irrigation level of the giant tank was controlled. I did this work until 1999. After that I got driving training and am now working as a driver for six years in the same department. We went to India like the others [conflict induced displacement]. But I returned after two months because I had been working for Dept of Irrigation. After three years my family also returned to the village. From 1993-1997 we lived in our village. We will stay here. Since I have been working in a government department apart from the time of displacement I got the salary." (II, Male, Mannar, CEPA 2006)

3.5 Non-conflict impediments to recovery

Communities who were experiencing a measure of livelihood recovery in the North and East also had to contend with other development-related factors that restricted and impeded this process. As conflict-affected communities develop, they face similar challenges to other developing communities. Challenges were caused by rising populations and lack of scarce resources, increases in the cost of living, social restrictions such as the dowry system and other issues, such as the lack of a support system to care for the elderly. These communities adopt coping strategies to deal with these challenges, seeking work outside the community to diversify and expand their income sources and resorting to economic migration.

“We think it is now harder than before because job opportunities are less these days when compared to our population. Now the farmers have to face a big problem because of the lack of water for cultivation. We can’t cultivate both seasons.

During that period we don’t have jobs (we don’t know other jobs also). So it is very difficult to live during that kind of situation. Some of them leave from the village, because to get jobs from outside of the village and some go abroad to find jobs” (FGD, Ampara, CEPA 2006)

“People want to leave this place because they do not have an opportunity to do a job, because they have to face irrigation problems. Not only for agriculture that they have a difficulty with regard to water, but also for basic day-to-day activities. We don’t get water even for the drinking purposes during the drought seasons. The drought season is after August. Some women go abroad because they want to improve their basic facilities and build a house, toilets and a well” (K1, Trincomalee, CEPA 2006)

as conflict-affected communities develop they face similar challenges to other developing communities

Actors seeking to support recovery in conflict affected areas must be aware of these non-conflict related developmental issues. It may not be sufficient to simply address the conflict related impediments to recovery when these other issues could also be significant.

4 Conclusion

This chapter reveals how some conflict-affected communities have maintained their livelihoods through different coping mechanisms throughout the conflict, and how some have now begun to recover new and old livelihoods in the wake of the peace process. The way in which this recovery has proceeded has implications for institutions seeking to support post-conflict development in Sri Lanka. Actors wishing to support livelihood recovery must realise that it is a long process and that different communities will recover differently. A single strategy for all conflict affected communities will not suffice and plans for support should be made around each community's pace of recovery and the opportunities which exist in that area.

The communities that contributed to the studies have taken up some of their traditional livelihoods but have also responded to changes in the economic environment. They have re-established some livelihood forms that are experiencing renewed demand and enhancing others because their economic potential grows as the communities recover. External interventions should support activities that communities have already adopted through their own initiatives, being aware that some prefer to re-establish the livelihoods they engaged in before the conflict, whereas other will take advantage of new livelihood options if they are available and accessible. Making this distinction, and understanding that there are different kinds of talents that need to be nurtured within any community, is critical.

One example highlights this issue. In Thirunelveli, projects aimed at building capacity have led to a saturation of women trained in sewing skills and consequently competition between recovering communities, sapping any benefits from the training. The focus group discussions revealed that many young women have received training in sewing, but unless this emerging livelihood receives an injection of financial assistance to start up income generating activities, competition between the trained women will negate any benefits that the training programmes have offered. The young women already speak about competition with neighbouring communities and there seems to be a risk that a saturation point within the community may be reached with more young women learning sewing skills.

"As I have learnt sewing, I would like to start my own business in sewing garments for order. To start that I need to have financial resources to invest on sewing machines and other relevant things, but I do not have the money. It is also very difficult to market the product due to heavy competition. It is also difficult to forecast the future due to fluctuating environment." (FGD, Female, Jaffna. CEPA, 2006)

Investment in a small garment factory may now be one good way to harness the collective skills of these young women, rather than leave them to compete with each other. However, longer term strategies need to be thought out prior to an intervention.

However, ending on a positive note, the research studies have shown that communities are not waiting for the green light from a macro political change to rebuild their lives. Despite the existence of the ceasefire on paper, the recovery processes this paper outlines took place against the backdrop of continuing sporadic conflict. This highlights the need for actors wishing to support this process to be receptive to the timing, attitudes and localised needs of the people they are seeking to support. It requires broadening the understanding of a post-conflict situation's macro and micro-level elements and recognising that some macro-level changes do not hold the same significance at the community level as may be assumed.

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Chapter 6

YOUTH IN SRI LANKA:

Progressive or regressive?

Sanjana Kuruppu and Azra Abdul Cader

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CHAPTER 6

Youth in Sri Lanka: Progressive or regressive?

Sanjana Kuruppu and Azra Abdul Cader

1 Introduction

Adolescents and young adults are a key force in any society, and in Sri Lanka they have long been the focus of particular attention, due in part to the prominent role young people have played in political and social unrest. Youth within the 15-29 year age group comprise nearly a quarter (24.3%) of Sri Lanka's population (DCS 2005). CEPA's institutional focus on youth commenced with the Poverty and Youth Programme (PAY)¹ which sought to improve the understanding of the particular challenges faced by poor youth in Sri Lanka, and continues to be a sub-theme of CEPA's programmes and services.

Sri Lankan youth played a central and violent role in insurrections in the 1970s and late 1980s; a response to frustrated and unfulfilled aspirations (Ibargüen 2004). Society's perception of young people has as a consequence been affected, with a tendency to associate 'youth' with immaturity, dependency, being devoid of obligation and irresponsibility (*ibid*). This chapter attempts to provide a more up-to-date context for young people's choices and aspirations, and an alternative view to some of these perceptions using the understanding of youth issues gained from CEPA's applied research. The chapter will use the insights from four studies; *Youth in Sri Lanka: A review of literature* (Ibargüen 2004), *Poverty and Youth Survey* (Ibargüen 2005), *Youth Organisations in Sri Lanka: Some dimensions and dynamics* (Kuruppu and Renganathan 2005) and *Moving Out of Poverty in the Estate Sector in Sri Lanka: Understanding growth and freedom from the bottom up* (CEPA 2005).²

The chapter stresses that youth is heterogeneous and policies that have a single broad focus have been unable to address many issues raised by this heterogeneity. The chapter will examine the development of selected policies highlighting their particular perspective on the problems of youth; why these policies were created, what they address and the resulting gaps. The chapter focuses on two issues, education and employment in relation to youth,

¹ The PAY Programme commenced in January 2002 and concluded in December 2004.

² This chapter draws from the qualitative data used in the *Poverty and Youth Survey* (Ibargüen 2005) and is based on Individual Interviews (II). Extracts from interviews will be references with the type of interview, the district and where possible the informant's or group's gender.

highlighting the findings from CEPA's work. The chapter concludes by stressing the need for more creative and targeted policies to address youth issues in Sri Lanka and for youth to take on the responsibility of accessing available opportunities instead of perpetuating a dependency culture.

2 Definitions of Youth

The global and national definitions of youth vary widely and both are context dependent. The United Nations categorises 'youth' as those persons falling between the ages of 15 and 24 years³, and the National Youth Services Council in Sri Lanka defines youth as between the ages of 14 to 29 years (Ibargüen 2004 and 2005).

The *World Youth Report* distinguishes between a standard definition of youth, based on an age classification and a sociological definition, the latter being more apt in policy formulation to address problems faced by young people (United Nations 2004). This sociological definition is derived using a series of transitions relevant to the life of a young person;

"from adolescence to adulthood, from dependence to independence and from being recipients of society's services to contributors to national economic, political and cultural life" (United Nations 2004:74).

Table 2.1: Youth population in Sri Lanka

Year	2005	2010
Total population (thousands)	20,473	21,557
Youth Population (15-24 years) (%)	17.9	16.1
Median Age (years)	29.6	31.6

Source: United Nations 2005

In Sri Lanka, as in many other countries, the extension of the period of youth is a relatively recent, post-colonial phenomenon. There has been a tendency for individuals to postpone formal employment and marriage with the advent of further educational opportunities. However, youth face different constraints and opportunities on the basis of culture, gender, location, education qualification and social position.

"Sri Lankan youth do not consist of an undifferentiated and monolithic generational entity. They are segmented by social class and by ethnicity, and cannot be characterised by a single unit of values, attitudes or behaviours. Youth experiences here in Sri Lanka, as elsewhere are largely contextual." (Hettige 1992a, cited in Ibargüen 2005:2)

³ As defined by the United Nations General Assembly and is inclusive of both years. The *World Youth Report* (United Nations 2004) also uses this definition.

The studies undertaken within the PAY programme⁴ highlight some characteristics which impact the definition of youth within the Sri Lankan context, including marital status, employment, intra-household status (such as being the head of household, a primary breadwinner), sector (urban, rural or estate), being in school or not. In Sri Lanka marriage indicates an end of youth, confirmed by a change in the social roles and his/her relationship with the community. These characteristics indicate that the use of a broad age-based definition is limited. A wider sociological definition would help address issues raised by the heterogeneity of youth.

3 Changing contexts and youth policies

In Sri Lanka policies explicitly dealing with youth arose out of the recognition that youth grievances contributed to the armed uprisings in the South, and the separatist conflict in the North and East. These periods of social unrest, perpetrated in part by youth, were followed by a spate of attempts at various levels to 'understand the problem' and present policy solutions. Many of these solutions focused on providing employment for young people in the public sector. Youth policies have retained a populist nature since these reactionary periods as this cohort is recognised as a significant voter base that can easily be mobilised.

youth policies have retained a populist nature since these reactionary periods

The Report of the Presidential Commission on Youth (March 1990) was the output of the first consultative macro-level intervention where youth received the dedicated attention of policy planners and decision makers. The resulting focus on youth development was largely confined to the Ministry of Sports and Youth Affairs until the 1990s but has since diversified to other ministries and decentralised government agencies such as the Ministry of Youth Empowerment and Socio-economic Development and the Ministry of Labour. Over the last decade changing contexts and increased recognition and prioritisation of youth in development planning and investment, have resulted in improvements in areas such as education, vocational training and Information Communication Technologies (ICT), all of which have impacted on youth.

The state owned Information Communication Technology Agency (ICTA)⁵ is driving an e-Sri Lanka initiative which aims to spread ICT services to the rural

⁴ *Youth in Sri Lanka: A review of literature* (Ibargüen 2004), *Poverty and Youth Survey* (Ibargüen 2005), *Youth Organisations in Sri Lanka: Some dimensions and dynamics* (Kuruppu and Renganaathan 2005)

⁵ <http://www.icta.lk/DefaultEnglish.asp>, accessed February 2007

and semi-urban population by establishing multi-service community information centres (*Nenasala* or Knowledge Centres⁶) in all parts of Sri-Lanka. Education reforms implemented in 1997 envisaged an overall revision of syllabi, from primary to tertiary level, a phased introduction of English medium teaching and an increased emphasis on teacher training, development and recruitment.

Youth unemployment was addressed through initiatives such as the Samurdhi programme⁷ which has youth development as one of its core objectives. The *Tharuna Aruna* programme⁸, job placement services such as Jobsnet⁹, the National Vocational Qualification (NVQ) initiatives developed by the Tertiary and Vocational Education Commission (TVEC)¹⁰ and attempts at mass absorption of graduates into the public sector have all contributed to creating avenues for capacity building and employment of youth in Sri Lanka.

The *Mahinda Chintanaya* (*Victory for Sri Lanka: Towards a new Sri Lanka*, President Mahinda Rajapaksa's Presidential Election Manifesto 2005), proposes the *Youvun Diriya* programme that promises 50,000 jobs during 2006 and 50,000 more in 2007 to unemployed graduates that would contribute to filling 33,000 vacancies in the public sector. The programme promises to make temporary and casual positions permanent and formulate graduate placement schemes to address the anomalies of graduate underemployment. Volunteer teachers would be made permanent and the *Skills for life – Jobs for skills* vocational training programme widened. However, whether the delivery of these pledges has matched the zeal with which they were broadcast is questionable. Just as with the promises of previous governments, young people have been left waiting, further inculcating the expectation that jobs are promised mainly for purposes of political mileage.

Some progress has been made in increasing employment potential and opportunities for youth. Employment opportunities within the apparel industry and in the Middle East have employed a significant number of young people, especially women, in addition to being major sources of foreign exchange. While these developments give the impression that youth issues are being addressed, 'pockets' of underdevelopment still exist. Many of the measures taken by successive governments were in response to problems experienced during an earlier era. The youth today face different challenges, and ideologies and constraints have changed.

⁶ <http://www.nanasala.lk/>, accessed February 2007

⁷ The state sponsored social assistance scheme Samurdhi (prosperity) initiated in 1995 is the front-line national poverty alleviation programme, one objective of which is to improve the economic and social conditions of youth, women and disadvantaged groups in society.

⁸ A program funded by The World Bank and the Government of Sri Lanka to re-orient unemployed graduates' career aspirations towards the private sector. <http://www.tharunaaruna.org/>, accessed February 2007

⁹ www.jobsnet.lk, accessed February 2007

¹⁰ <http://www.tvec.gov.lk/>, accessed February 2007

Education and employment for youth are two areas which have received considerable policy focus. However, to date these issues have been addressed without taking into consideration the heterogeneity that persists amongst youth. These issues are considered with a greater focus on satisfying young voters, and less attention on providing youth with an opportunity to contribute to development. The following sections will focus on education and employment to illustrate that policy prescriptions have had a limited impact on addressing the heterogeneity of youth in Sri Lanka.

4 Youth and education

The impact of education policies in Sri Lanka, mainly through monolingual instruction which was established in 1972, and the deficiencies of the education system in preparing youth for the labour market have posed significant hurdles for young people. While education continues to be seen by youth as the key to moving out of manual jobs and climbing the social ladder, young people also propose alternatives that could be worth policy exploration.

Free education up to tertiary level in Sri Lanka has resulted in high levels of youth literacy; 95.6% for 15-24 year olds (DCS 2005) but this has not been matched by equitable provision of and participation in tertiary education and labour markets. In 2005 only 14,520 candidates of the eligible 111,725 gained admission to universities (Central Bank 2006) indicative of the problems of availability, accessibility and quality of educational facilities. This is however only one angle of the debate about youth and education in Sri Lanka.

CEPA's research on youth reveals that education was valued by respondents for a variety of reasons, from helping to function as a productive member of society to the importance of learning and gaining enhanced knowledge. However youth interviewed were sceptical about the ability of the education they had received to prepare them for employment, whether entering the job market or seeking self-employment. They stressed the need for a more practical rather than merely theoretical orientation (Ibargüen 2005).

youth interviewed were sceptical about the ability of the education they had received to prepare them for employment

"I don't think the education system prepares you for a job. It should make you proficient in English and train you in specific areas." (11, Male, 21 years, Galle, Ibargüen 2005)

"It varies from school to school; it is not a consistent system and needs to change. Rural schools are especially disadvantaged."
(II, Male, 19 years, Galle, I bargüen 2005)

"... The subject should be more in line with the job market, neither is the education provided sufficient for self-employment."
(II, Female, 16 years, Kandy, I bargüen 2005)

"It is very poor, there is not enough preparation for the job market at all; many educated young people are not able to find jobs." (II, Female, 24 years, Galle, I bargüen 2005)

Qualitative differences in service delivery and few available opportunities for tertiary education are other issues of contention. Although Sri Lanka has a large government school network, only 6.6% schools are classified as Type 1AB (with science education) (Ministry of Education 2006). Whilst acknowledging gaps and identifying areas for improvement, youth indicate that despite these challenges they were satisfied with the ability to access education. Discussing limitations in quality and service respondents to the survey noted an improvement in comparison to the 1990s, citing the availability of alternatives to university education through short term courses such as the National Apprentice and Industrial Training Authority, and the external degree programme conducted by the Universities of Kelaniya and Sri Jayewardenepura (Kuruppu and Renganathan 2004).

Youth stress that education alone is not sufficient to secure employment. The strong dependence on the state for the provision of employment, limited opportunities in the industry and service sectors and a mismatch between educational outputs and job market requirements persist. The role of education in accessing entrepreneurial and private sector opportunities is debated amongst youth. Some see a strong link between education, whilst others cite the importance of networks, finances and personal and stakeholder initiative to access these opportunities instead (CEPA 2005 and I bargüen 2005).

"The educational system and what you learn is different from what jobs are looking for." (II, Female, 28 years, Hambantota, I bargüen 2005)

"The subject should be more in line with the job market. Neither is the education provided sufficient for self-employment." (II, Male, 24 years, Polonnaruwa, I bargüen 2005)

Box 1: Youth in the plantation sector

Over the years the plantation sector has shown low levels of educational attainment and high dropout rates, limited mobility because of ethnicity and identity, and poor access to information and resources. The marginalisation due to the geographic isolation of estates, particularly the tea sector, and low penetration of services in the sector are contributing factors.

More recently youth in the plantations have become primary drivers of change in the sector with increasing levels of education, mobility, awareness of other forms of socio-economic structures in Sri Lanka and opportunities to access the social economy outside the estate. Young people are aware of a positive change and opportunities for socio-economic mobility compared to the conditions faced by their parents, with improvements in education, health, infrastructure, mobility and integration.

Youth in the plantations feel they are far behind their urban and rural counterparts but acknowledge the ripple effects that movement out of the estate by young people from the previous generation have played an important role in shaping the aspirations of present-day youth.

Although indicators for youth development in the sector are lower than the urban and rural sectors, intra-sectoral improvements show that youth are upwardly mobile and have broken away from the confines of the estate, with off-estate work and self-employment in nearby townships and outside the region being the main causal factor. Greater levels of education have also meant that youth no longer want to remain on the plantations working as their parents have for generations. Increased interaction with the non-estate sectors through employment, education and social activity has broadened young people's outlook on what they can achieve in life.

Note: Plantation sector here refers to both the tea and rubber estates.

Source: *Moving out of poverty in the estate sector in Sri Lanka: Understanding growth and freedom from the bottom up*. CEPA 2005, unpublished. Background study for the *Sri Lanka Poverty Assessment* (World Bank 2007)

Clearly youth perceive education as valuable, yet they are aware that the current system is inadequate and offer alternatives to address these inadequacies. The current system has succeeded in creating a divide between rural and urban youth because of the quality of formal education and alternative education made available. The current system does not make youth employable and they suggest supplementing current formal education with vocational training and life skills development, whilst taking

note of other inadequacies related to accessing employment such as networks and wider economic conditions.

5 Youth and employment

In the years since independence the state sector has absorbed a large proportion of the educated youth, which has also meant the need to increase the number of jobs in keeping with the increasing population. This increasing demand for state sector jobs forced the state to introduce structural reform¹¹ in 1977 to track the growth of the state bureaucracy and this led to a stabilisation of state sector employment rates.

The high rate of youth unemployment in Sri Lanka has been linked to the education system and the mismatch it creates with the needs of the labour market; the lack of soft and hard skills, including computer skills, and English language ability. The capacity of the economy to absorb the number of prospective entrants into the job market is limited, and is further constrained with the expectations of educated youth compared to the actual availability of suitable jobs. Some young people prefer to be unemployed than take on work that has limited social recognition (Ibargüen 2004).

The changing economic pressures and youth responses to these pressures are highlighted in the *Poverty and Youth Survey*. It suggests that household economic instability and the need to contribute to household income could encourage people into employment. There is a recognition among some that their paper qualification does not automatically entitle them to a certain type of job, but there is a frustration that networks and alternative skills are as, or even more, important than qualifications or individual ability. Youth are also hindered by politicians who manipulate this situation during election time or take bribes in exchange for employment (Ibargüen 2005).

"If you can't find a job you ... cannot be idle, one must be willing to do anything, even if it doesn't suit your qualifications." (11, Female, 22 years, Kandy, Ibargüen 2005)

"I don't expect a job to suit my qualifications. If I get a job that pays me for my hard work I'll be satisfied." (11, Male, 21 years, Anuradhapura, Ibargüen 2005)

¹¹ Policies included trade and financial reform and limits on public sector participation in the economy and exchange rate alignment (Ibargüen 2004).

“Some people could get jobs. Some are unable to get jobs. If we have money we can pay a bribe to the minister and get jobs. Those who do not have money are unable to get a job. Sometimes ministers cheat because some paid money to get a job but never did.” (II, Male, 21 years, Batticaloa, Ibarгүйen 2005)

This willingness to undertake different forms of employment has its own impediments. Young people have expressed an increasing interest in self-employment and entrepreneurial activity as a response to the lack of mainstream employment and having seen the success of peers as established entrepreneurs (Ibarгүйen 2005). However, despite the increasing focus on youth entrepreneurship by a variety of stakeholders (such as donor and state support for small and medium enterprises and the establishment of the *Lankaputhra* Bank under the *Mahinda Chinthanaya*), sustainability remains a critical issue. The provision of start-up capital and basic training needs to be supported by appropriate business management techniques if such programmes are to be sustainable.

Box 2: Unemployment amongst youth in Sri Lanka: Some facts and figures

Definition of unemployment in Sri Lanka: Unemployment refers to the share of the labour force that is without work but available for and seeking employment.

Unemployment rate in Sri Lanka: 6.4%

Unemployment rate amongst 15-19 year age group: 28.3% and 20-29 year age group: 19.2%

Unemployment declined in 2006 in comparison to preceding years (11.3% in 1996, 8.8% in 2002, 6.4% in 2006)

Female unemployment declined from 12.9% in 2002 to 9.8% in 2006

Female unemployment remains double that of men: Female: 9.8%, Male: 4.6%

Unemployment among 20-24 year olds was 21.5% in 2006, declining from 27% in 2002

Unemployment among 25-29 year olds was 11.9% in 2006

The proportion of youth unemployment is approximately 40% of total unemployment in Sri Lanka

Note: Excludes the North and East

Source: Department of Census and Statistics 2004 and 2007

The readiness to engage in any form of employment is also evident in the context of employment in the armed forces. The conflict over the past two decades has meant an increase in employment in the armed forces and has been seen as a constant source of income to many rural households (Ibargüen 2004). At the time of writing, the recent escalation of the war effort has intensified government recruitment efforts. The increased source of employment must also be tempered with a host of other issues related to the dependency of households on the war economy as well as the destruction of a country's able-bodied working force. In the event of a peaceful solution the state would have to consider the existence of a large number of demobilised soldiers faced with issues of reintegration into the economic and social fabric of their communities.

young people have expressed an increasing interest in self-employment and entrepreneurial activity

Despite the willingness illustrated in the above analysis, it is true that some youth are still prepared to remain unemployed until they can find a job that meets their expectations in relation to their level of education. However, policies seem to focus more on addressing the issues of this cohort of youth as opposed to those who are willing to accept alternative forms of employment.

"Yes, they do think certain jobs are too low because they are qualified, they don't want to take jobs that are beneath them."
(II, Male, 17 years, Galle, Ibargüen 2005)

"People with a lot of qualifications feel it's demeaning to take on a job that requires lesser qualifications. This could be a shortcoming in the educational system." (II, Male, 21 years, Galle, Ibargüen 2005)

The ability to escape or overcome poverty needs to see a shift in attitudes on the part of young people, away from the expectation of being offered employment, towards proactively seeking employment. Young people need to break away from the idea that the provision of employment is the duty of the state. However, on the other hand the state needs to recognise the potential to build capacity and capitalise on existing human resources rather than simply using youth as a potential voter base.

6 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to provide an alternative perspective on youth issues in Sri Lanka using the qualitative research generated on youth within CEPA. It highlights that while reforms and revisions, such as the education reforms and the graduate employment schemes, have been put in place they are not sufficient to deal with the complexity of these issues.

The problems that young people experience cannot be attributed wholly to the need to change institutions and initiatives to accommodate youth aspirations. A balance must be struck; youth must take on the responsibility to try and access opportunities that are currently available and compete to access areas in which their untapped and underutilised potential may be fulfilled. The state, on the other hand, needs to mainstream youth into the socio-economic development of the country, involving youth in the process of policy development and supporting the capacity of young people to participate in initiatives that affect them and not simply adopt knee-jerk policies that are more linked to ensuring election success.

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Chapter 7

CEPA AND THE TSUNAMI:

How should a non-implementing organisation respond to a disaster?

Priyanthi Fernando and Fiona Remnant



CHAPTER 7

CEPA and the Tsunami: How should a non-implementing organisation respond to a disaster?

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1 Introduction

The extent and devastating impact of the tsunami galvanised an unprecedented response from individuals and organisations in both international and local communities. Individuals the world over felt the need to '*do something*' tangible to help, and for those in the countries affected the need was even more immediate. The response of civil society in Sri Lanka was absolutely vital in the early weeks following the tsunami, since government and aid agency infrastructure was not immediately in place. However, as this initial activity tailed off the question of how local organisations and individuals could contribute to the long-term rehabilitation and reconstruction effort became more complex.

The Centre for Poverty Analysis, as a group of individuals and as an institution, felt very strongly about the importance of lending CEPA's professional expertise and commitment to mitigating the impact of the disaster and to supporting the rebuilding efforts. However, the urgent, relief oriented needs needed to be balanced with the mid to long-term perspective of restoring livelihoods. The overall guiding principle was to rebuild to a level that was better than before, so that there was an opportunity to emerge from the crisis stronger than before. CEPA attempted to follow principles of sustainability and long-term impact, flexibility in the face of changing demands and situations, and transparency of information. However, CEPA's experiences, and those of many others involved in the reconstruction efforts in the two years following the tsunami, have demonstrated the difficulty of implementing such criteria.

This chapter examines CEPA's own response to the tsunami and how its involvement has evolved over time, both in response to changing external needs, but also as the organisation faced difficulties when reality hit hard up against the exigencies of our own stringent guidelines. CEPA is not an implementing organisation, and moving into an area in which we have little experience posed a great challenge to the organisation. Many other organisations, both in the private and non-profit sector, have ventured into unfamiliar territory in the aftermath of the tsunami; this chapter outlines some of these challenges and questions how this should guide responses in future disaster scenarios.

2 Advisory support

CEPA's institutional response was oriented along two lines: first, as a free source of *advisory support* to organisations assisting in post tsunami relief, rehabilitation and development (outlined in this section), and second, as a conduit for *funds* from friends and colleagues overseas for direct assistance to tsunami-affected villages. The two elements sought to use CEPA's knowledge and skill base as a platform for individual and institutional solidarity.

The first challenge which CEPA engaged with was the difficulty in absorbing the unprecedented outpouring of humanitarian support which followed the tsunami. Within a few weeks of the disaster CEPA published a guidance document building upon its experience and expertise to stress certain key principles to organisations and institutions dealing with relief (see Box 1). These principles were incorporated into a preliminary set of guidelines (CEPA 2005) that were widely shared with the public, media, and government and non-governmental actors in the tsunami relief effort. CEPA made a special submission based on the principles to the Task Force for Rebuilding the Nation (TAFREN) in its call for suggestions in early January 2005.

Box 1: CEPA's key principles for tsunami reconstruction and rehabilitation

- Better than before: Achieving a sustainable and lasting impact requires long-term support and commitment
- Flexibility and staying power: Rebuilding lives and livelihood requires time and patience and therefore a long-term commitment
- Respect for individuality: We need to respect and work with the different choices that people make based on their own coping mechanisms in the face of such a trauma

Source: (CEPA 2005:3)

A second activity was aimed at enabling organisations to focus their relief efforts by collating the many different information gathering activities which were going on concurrently. The surveys, needs assessments and other research activities placed considerable demands on the communities and overburdened the administrative structures.

In an attempt to limit these demands and ensure data was shared wherever possible, CEPA, together with a group of professional research organisations¹, designed a matrix which outlined 'who was doing what' in the tsunami affected areas. The matrix was hosted on the CEPA website and was free to all users.

The publication of the matrix was a timely and useful intervention. However, other larger data coordinating efforts which came along later (TAFREN/ UNDP and others²) eclipsed CEPA's efforts. As a non-implementing organisation CEPA was not directly involved in co-ordination and planning meetings therefore its ability to sustain the effort over the long-term and disseminate the matrix widely was limited. This was one of the difficulties CEPA had in carving out a role for itself post-tsunami. As an organisation dedicated to development CEPA felt that it had to play some role in the reconstruction effort, but, it had to accept external and internal limitations to what it could achieve.

As part of a longer term commitment CEPA was asked to act in an advisory capacity to support re-building efforts in the US-Galleon Fund supported housing construction project, implemented by the Hemas Group in Islamabath (see Box 2). CEPA's role was to facilitate community participation and consultation with the donors and construction companies, and ensure social considerations were incorporated into the project design and implementation. Many other rehabilitation activities which started as a response to immediate needs were carried out without much regard for long-term planning and community involvement and consultations was marginal or did not exist at all. In response to such issues, CEPA also took on an assignment with Transparency International Sri Lanka to develop and implement a capacity building initiative with communities in tsunami affected areas (see Box 3).

CEPA's participation in the Galleon project was severely hampered by external obstacles. Various pressures combined which constrained CEPA's efforts to ensure the project used a more participatory approach:

- Confusion and changes in government policy on the buffer zone width
- Pressure to build quickly, thereby making the donor somewhat averse to spending time on participatory methods

¹ Organisations participating in the matrix were: A.C. Nielson (Pvt) Ltd, Central Bank of Sri Lanka (CBSL), Centre for Policy Alternatives, Centre for Women's Research (CENWOR), Consortium of Humanitarian Agencies (CHA), Department of Census and Statistics (DCS), Humanitarian Information Centre (HIC), IMCAP Project at the University of Colombo, Institute of Policy Studies (IPS), Intermediate Technology Development Group (ITDG), International Water and Irrigation Management Institute (IWMI), Institute for Participatory Interaction in Development (IPID) M. G. Consultants (Pvt) Ltd, MARGA Institute, Graduate Institute of Management, Social Scientists Association (SSA)

² www.tafren.wow.lk , <http://www.undp.org/tsunami/srilanka.shtml#6di>

- The tendency of contractors to see participatory methods as obstacles that hinder their progress
- Intense political involvement of government elected representatives in the area with their own agenda

Box 2: Galleon Fund/Hemas Group housing construction project in Islamabath

Islamabath is in the Kalmunai D S Division in the Ampara District and the community lost 144 of its 1491 members to the tsunami. 325 houses, almost two-thirds of the houses in the community, were completely destroyed, and the remainder severely damaged. Given the restrictions imposed by the buffer zone (a belt of land adjoining the sea where rebuilding is not permitted), and the general scarcity of land in the Kalmunai area, a decision was made to construct multi-storey housing units. This is a departure from the norm and therefore residents had reservations about the project.

This project was not alone in suffering these problems, and these issues have dogged many other tsunami projects. Political involvement has been a particular issue, with local government institutions feeling threatened by the involvement of 'external' actors. In this case, CEPA's involvement was limited and sidelined when the political actors took a more proactive role. While projects should be careful not to undermine the authority of local government and should recognise the role of political representatives, the exclusion of development institutions with experience in participatory methodologies may jeopardise the full inclusion of beneficiaries in the process of rehabilitation and reconstruction.

Box 3: Transparency International (TI) capacity building initiative

The CEPA/TI initiative was based on using different participatory methodologies to strengthen communities' ability to deal with rehabilitation assistance. Many communities did not see any opportunity to voice their opinion or to contribute to the process, resulting in some hostility, a lack of receptiveness, and suspicion about the misappropriation of funds and quality of work. CEPA worked with TI on a pilot project which could be scaled up in other communities. Communities were given a space or forum to voice their opinion and determine feasible actions and initiatives that they could carry out, and an opportunity to prioritise their own capacity building needs; e.g. training on how to make the best use of newly acquired income generating skills, re-establishing income avenues in new localities, starting up community organisations, and adjusting to living in new locations within different social contexts and with different lifestyles.

CEPA has learned some valuable lessons from its experiences in an advisory capacity, and in hindsight these lessons highlight the difficulty of aiming for perfection in a disaster scenario. The guidelines CEPA published early on in the reconstruction effort reflect best practice recommendations, but CEPA as well

as countless other organisations found that they were not working in the ideal circumstances that such best practice necessitates. One key lesson that CEPA took from the experience was the need to develop new and different strategies for working with contractors and state officials involved in reconstruction. The principles of participatory development are not automatically seen as beneficial to the project by these parties who are keen to get the job done as quickly as possible. The onus is therefore on advisors such as CEPA to find a way to strike a balance between participation and rapid results.

principles of participatory development are not automatically seen as beneficial

Finding a solution which accommodates every actor's needs and wishes is almost impossible, and despite hopes of 'building back better', a win-win solution often remains elusive. In challenging circumstances such as the tsunami presented, the application of beneficiary participation is seen as an 'added bonus' rather than a necessity, and is therefore often overlooked.

3 CEPA's Solidarity Fund

The Solidarity Fund forms the second strand of CEPA's tsunami response. The Solidarity Fund channels money received from people linked to CEPA in some way directly into rehabilitation interventions in tsunami affected villages. The Solidarity Fund was guided by the basic principles that CEPA had articulated in its guidelines; sustainability and long-term impact, flexibility in the face of changing demands and situations, and transparency of information. The money from the contributors to the Solidarity Fund was deposited in two accounts, a rupee account and a foreign currency account, and is intended to be used in its entirety for the communities, with CEPA bearing the costs of managing and administering the interventions.

The fund initially supported a one-off initiative to provide sickles to farmers in the Ampara District, who had lost their implements and were unable to harvest their paddy soon after the disaster. Support for other projects was longer term, and based on three interrelated criteria:

- Communities that were dealing with poverty or were facing difficult circumstances *before* the tsunami
- Locations with representation of *all three ethnic groups* to prevent bias and minimise the conflict potential of tsunami assistance
- *Complementarity*, that is ensuring projects will complement other development and rebuilding work being done in the area

The CEPA Solidarity Fund currently supports the Social Welfare Economical and Industrial Development Organisation (SWEIDO) Vision, a local organisation in Thirrukovil in the Ampara district, chosen after consultation with a couple of communities and discussions with local government officials and other key informants in the area. The project is supporting 40 beneficiaries to re-establish livelihoods, including agriculture, fisheries, a village grocery and brick making.

CEPA has, however, faced challenges in disbursing the Solidarity Fund donations, often similar to those faced in the Galleon project, but in this case CEPA remained in control of the funds and the projects. Most people's initial response after the tsunami was to want to contribute in some tangible way, to ensure that funds were reaching the recipients directly and effectively. This very human response was what triggered the massive worldwide donations, but it is also what triggered chaos and confusion on the ground. CEPA is not an implementing organisation, and therefore lacked the experience of dealing with physical community projects. However, having observed the chaotic distribution of resources and with CEPA's instinctive desire to ensure funds were used to maximum efficiency (based on experience from years of monitoring the impact of development projects) CEPA decided to maintain control over which projects and activities the fund was used for.

Unfortunately, despite the considerable enthusiasm to be 'doing' (rather than researching and building knowledge), this was more difficult than was originally envisaged. One of the main internal constraints was that CEPA did not integrate this aspect of the tsunami response into its work schedule and allocate time and staff in the usual way. As a result, the implementation of activities supported by the Solidarity Fund tended to rely on the interest of staff who were willing to commit to overseeing the projects, but who were unable to prioritise the commitment over the long term as workloads increased. In addition, the restrictions posed by the self-imposed stringent guidelines CEPA committed to, and the lack of implementation experience, led to considerable delays in identifying where to spend the money. At the time of writing, almost two years after the tsunami, only one third of the fund has been spent.

CEPA has now made a conscious decision to move away from being a direct implementer, and has decided to use the Solidarity Fund to partner other organisations who have the appropriate experience, expertise and presence in the tsunami affected areas to help them support and rebuild damaged livelihoods. CEPA still has control over which organisations and projects meet the target of 'building back better' in a long term, sustainable manner, but working with partners should ensure that the money is put to good use sooner. Supporting SWEIDO Vision is one immediate consequence of this shift in thinking.

4 Lost opportunities?

While CEPA's attempts at implementation were limited, this experience combined with its engagement with other organisations dealing with tsunami assistance has given CEPA some insight into what has hampered the relief effort. Having outlined some of the challenges faced by CEPA in its response to the tsunami, this section looks at how these can be applied to the wider reconstruction and rehabilitation effort which, despite many good intentions, seems to have lost several opportunities to 'build back better'.

Principal among these was the opportunity to strengthen local government structures. Initially these structures were under severe pressure to provide information and to coordinate relief and rehabilitation activities, and often did not have the capacity to deal with the demand for their services. Central government and international agencies, themselves under pressure to utilise large sums of money within a limited time period, dealt with this situation by circumventing the existing administrative system and developing alternative structures. This aggravated tensions between central government and agencies, and may also explain the response of local government institutions, such as those CEPA dealt with, which attempted to reassert their control over the situation. Communication between central government, local government, and non governmental organisations was poor and led to severe gaps in knowledge of processes and of entitlements of those affected.²

The reconstruction effort also seems to have lost the opportunity to *institutionalise* community participation. As highlighted in this paper the pressure to show tangible results in a short period of time, and the importance of responding quickly to a very visible

communication between central government, local government, and non-governmental organisations was poor

need, meant that many agencies did not consult or involve communities in their efforts. The reconstruction process did not build sufficiently on the mobilisation of indigenous civil society institutions, especially the religious institutions such as mosques, temples and churches, the social networks of clubs and youth organisations, and the more 'liquid' groups that provided dynamic voluntary assistance in the immediate aftermath of the disaster.

This limited community participation and limited involvement of local civil society has had two unfortunate consequences. First, the end results of tsunami

² A more detailed analysis of this problem of coordination was published by one of CEPA's staff, Prashan Thalayasingam, in conjunction with Jesper Bjanensen from Uppsala University, Sweden. Available at http://www.cepa.lk/about/tsu_adv.htm

'projects' are often not owned nor deemed appropriate by the beneficiaries, and second, the relationship between the providers of tsunami assistance and the recipients has become one of patronage and dependence. This was very evident in the work CEPA carried out with Transparency International, where several participating community members refused to engage with the programme because they were not being paid for their contribution. The CEPA team and the co-facilitators of the programme were viewed primarily as 'yet another set of donors'.

CEPA's experience confirms what was (or what should have been) widely known from when the tsunami first struck: the opportunity to 'build back better' requires more focus on strengthening existing institutions and the positive processes that *already exist* in the community. This does not simply mean that humanitarian assistance should be delivered through government channels, rather that agencies should respect the experience and contribution that existing local networks and local government institutions can make towards reconstruction. Developing closer ties with these institutions and encouraging them to adopt participatory practices may require adapting the way in which implementing organisations work, with more emphasis on *communicating* the benefits of participatory methods.

However, this is not to undermine or ignore the difficulties that many organisations faced in Sri Lanka even when they did attempt to engage with local structures, and more emphasis should be placed on understanding why this proved so difficult.

**the opportunity to 'build back better'
requires more focus on
strengthening existing institutions**

5 Conclusion

Even with CEPA's relatively limited involvement with the post-tsunami effort, there are many lessons that it has learnt as an organisation that have internal as well as broader implications.

One important lesson learnt is the difficulty of bridging the divide between 'emergency' and 'development' actions. Guidelines based on strong developmental principles cannot always be implemented in an emergency setting. Making the transition from relief to rehabilitation to reconstruction requires changes in the way people (and organisations) think and work, as the consequences of the approach used in emergency relief can have serious implications at a later stage of longer term rehabilitation. For CEPA as an organisation, an equally important lesson was recognising the difficulty of moving from a research/advisory role

to a more practical, implementation role. Applying this lesson into practice means that in the short term CEPA has had to acknowledge its limitations in the disbursement of tsunami funds and delegate the implementation activity to other experienced organisations. Over the long term CEPA's skills are best applied to remaining within a research and advisory capacity, but in its role as an advisor it needs to take on board the lessons learned on how to straddle the emergency/long-term development response.

Another valuable lesson relates to the importance of engagement with decentralised, local power structures. CEPA's approach to influencing decision making already focuses to a large extent on influencing local governance structures, but it is important that as CEPA moves to engaging with policy at a national and global level it does not lose this focus. However, more research is needed to understand how aid agencies, communities and government interact – especially in times of crisis. This may reveal some of the causes of difficulties and frictions which are often experienced in disaster scenarios.

Finally, moving beyond some of the immediate challenges that have been faced, some space is required to explore alternative angles of the impact the relief and rehabilitation effort has had on the country. This article has made some reference already to the impacts that the tsunami has had on economic, political and social relationships, legal systems, and development institutions and practice, and alluded to the potential distortions of uncontrolled foreign aid flows. The concentration of the vast influx of financial and technical assistance in the tsunami affected areas is likely to have had a wider, but not so visible, impact on economic and social structures and development priorities resulting from a number of factors, such as shortages and increases in the price of labour and construction materials, changes in legal entitlements, presence of a large international community, political issues associated with the disbursement of tsunami assistance to areas of conflict etc. Learning from our experiences, perhaps one way that CEPA could contribute to the post-tsunami effort is by exploring these issues further, using its skills in applied research and analysis.

While the tsunami rehabilitation effort may have offered many an opportunity to learn a new skill or apply their experience in new ways, organisations should not forget that in a disaster situation *expertise* as well as goodwill is required, and a lack of the former can hamper more than help aid efforts. CEPA's experience demonstrates that in many cases it would be more effective for organisations and individuals to resist the temptation to become directly involved, and instead limit direct support to their area of expertise and channel indirect support through other experienced institutions.

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Off the Experts' Bookshelf

This list of recommended resources was compiled by experts in the field of poverty research in Sri Lanka. The resources have been categorised into those which are Sri Lanka specific and those which provide an international perspective on poverty. Thanks to Dr. Anila Dias Bandaranaike, Ganga Tilakaratna, Dr. Nireka Weeratunge, Dr. Dileni Gunewardena, Sunil Bastian, and Murthaza Esufally for contributing to the list.

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